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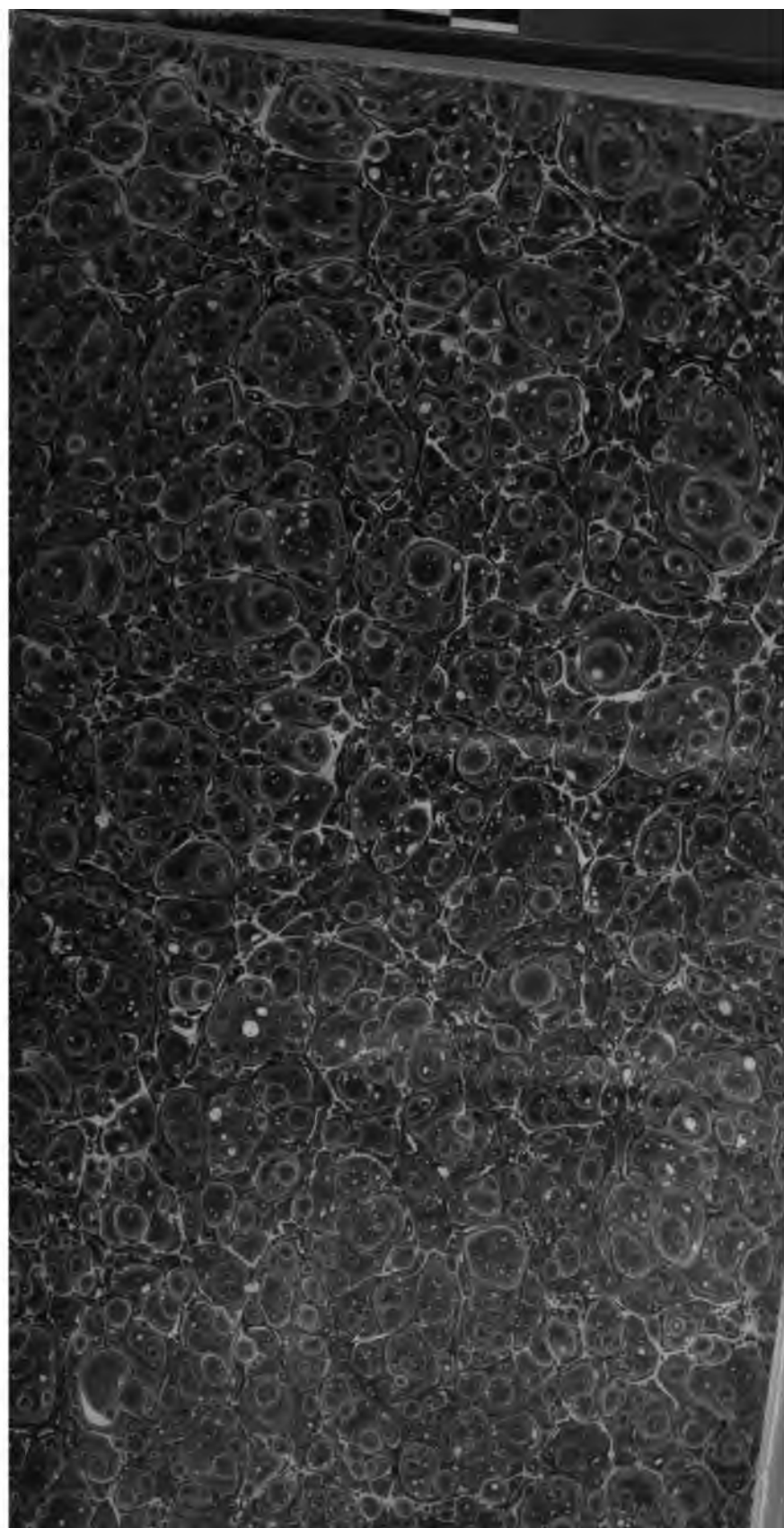
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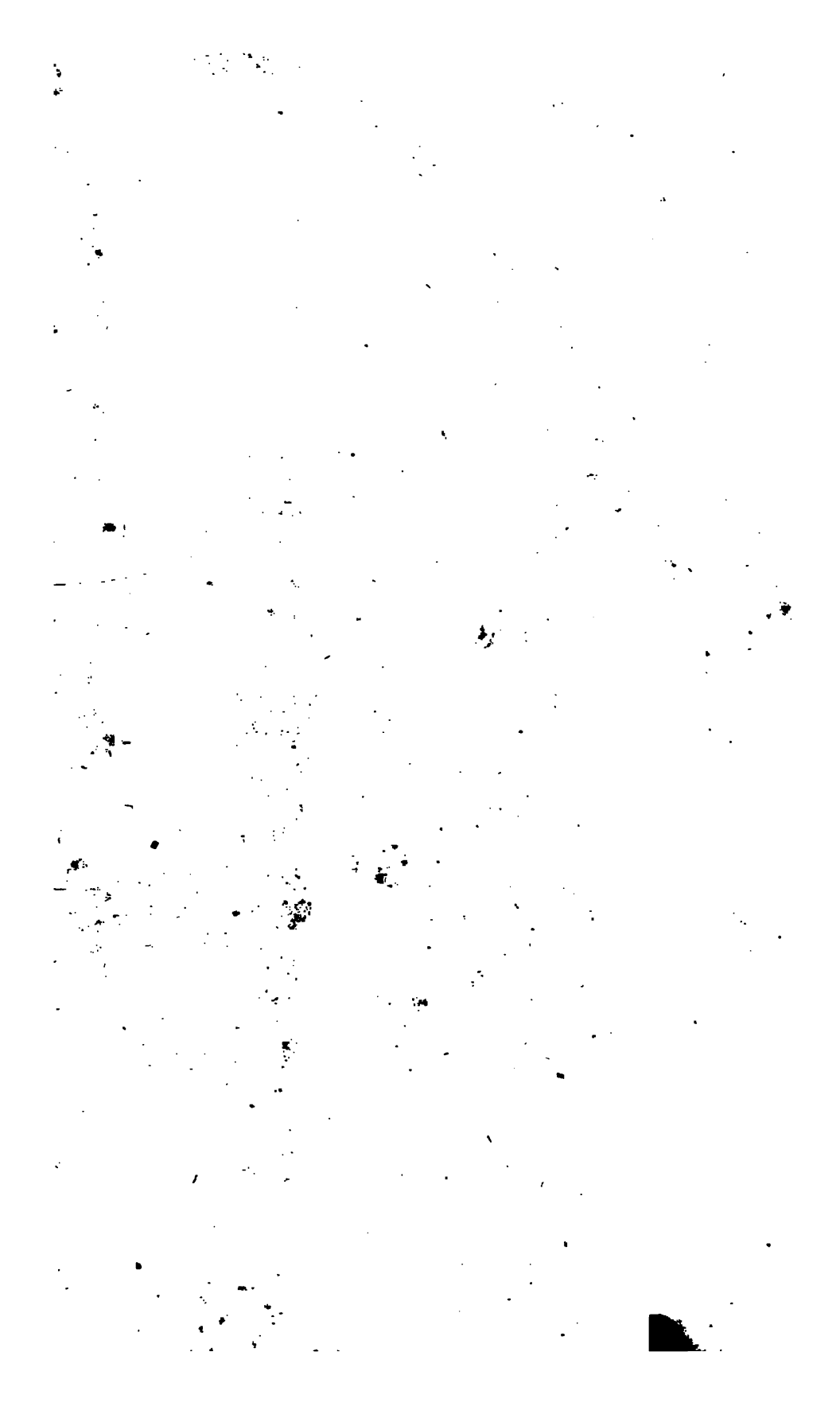
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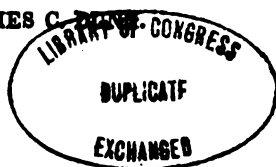
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REVIEW.

[From the *American Quarterly Review*.]

The Speech of Thomas Marshall, in the House of Delegates of Virginia, on the Abolition of Slavery. Delivered, Friday, January 20, 1832. Richmond: pp. 12.

[It is well known that Professor Dew, of Williamsburg, Virginia, has recently published an elaborate article, entitled "A Review of the Debates on the Abolition of Slavery, in the Virginia Legislature, in the winter of 1831 and 1832," most of which first appeared in the *American Quarterly Review*, and was subsequently given to the public in an enlarged form. This Review abounds in sentiments which might have been tolerated a century ago, but which are at war with the humane and liberal spirit that now animates the Christian world. Against an insinuation that the Colony of Liberia may already be stained with the crime of engaging in the slave-trade, we here enter our protest, being prepared to show that there is no colour of reason for such an insinuation: nor do we believe that Sierra Leone "has frequently aided the slave-trade." We will not say that none of the "hostes humani generis" may not have crept into that Colony, and thus perpetrated, covertly, their dark and odious crimes against human liberty; but if so, it has been done without the knowledge, and in defiance of the authorities of the Colony. Of the general principles and main arguments of the Review, it is not our purpose to speak. The article which we now offer to public attention, from one of the ablest men, and best friends of the Society, shows conclusively, that Professor Dew is erroneous in his principles, and fallacious in his arguments. The moral sentiments which pervade this article, are worthy of this country and age, and will, at a time not remote, become the prevailing sentiments of all good men.]

THE debate in the Legislature of Virginia at its last session is, beyond all question, the event which most materially affects the prospects of negro slavery in the United States. Every thing tells of a spirit that is busy inspecting the very foundations of society in Virginia—a spirit new, suddenly created, and vaster in its grasp than any hitherto called forth in her history. There is a serious disposition to look the evil of slavery (nothing less!) in the face, and to cast about for some method of diminishing or extirpating it. Causes not now needful to be named, have given birth to this disposition, so little to have been anticipated two years ago. The possibility of ridding Virginia of the evil of slavery in our generation, in that of our children, or of our grand-children, is suddenly made the legitimate subject of temperate debate. We shall presume to speak of it therefore in a temper of becoming gravity, and we hope without danger of giving offence to any one.

It matters not though a majority of the people of Virginia be not, in the first moment, willing to adopt, or even to consider plans already prepared for diminishing the mischiefs of slavery. It matters not, though it were conceded, that all the plans suggested last winter in the House of Delegates, were marked with the crudeness of inexperience, and the inadvertence of haste, and would all require to be abandoned for others more mature. It matters not, though it were conceded, that a becoming regard for public decency forbade any final step on so perilous a subject in the very first year of its agitation. We fix our eyes on the single circumstance, that the public mind of Virginia permitted, nay encouraged, the open deliberations of the General Assembly, for weeks, on the momentous topic, never before thought fit to be mentioned but in a whisper. The first blow has been struck: the greatest achievement that the cause of emancipation admitted, was then effected. *Le grand mot est lâché*—the great word is spoken out, and can never be recalled. Debate and speculation are on the instant made legitimate. The secret pulsation of so many hearts, sick with the despair of an evil they dared not propose to remedy, has now found a voice, and the wide air has rung with it.

We rejoice that we live to see this subject thrown into the vast field, in which are to be found so many of the prime interests of the human race—the same from which the ancient tragic poets derived their groundwork: the warfare between liberty and necessity; or more accurately, the sublime strife between the desirable and the actual. We rejoice, that full of doubts, embarrassments, and dangers, as is the thought of attacking the evil, as near alike to the attributes of Fate as seems its defiance of opposition, the obdurate unchangeableness of it even in degree, yet it is thrown open to speculation and experiment, and now stands fairly exposed to assault from the great Crusaders which have thus far redeemed our mortal condition from barbarism and misery—the unconquerable free will and undying hope. No mortal evil can forever withstand this open war; these its antagonist principles will be like the undercurrent at sea, “that draws a thousand waves unto itself,” will strive against obstacle, repair disaster, and convert all the contemporary events into good for their cause. Recent occurrences in the political history of foreign countries abundantly exemplify this fact.

The seal is now broken. We exhort the sons of Virginia to toil for the diminution of this evil, with all the prudence, the delicacy, and gravity requisite in the application of a great public remedy to a wide-spread disease. And in the worst event, let them rest assured that history has few places more enviable than would be the lot of the last advocate, who, left without allies, should come, in the grand language of Milton’s prose, “through the chance of good or of evil report, to be the SOLE ADVOCATE OF A DISCOUNTENANCED TRUTH.”*

We fix not our expectations so much on legislative enactments: as far as these are compulsory, and proceed only from a division in the minds of men, we deprecate them. But we direct our anticipations to the general will of the people of the state. Let reason and persuasion be the instruments of promoting a voluntary action. Until not merely a majority, but a great majority of the freemen of Virginia be convinced, persuaded, moved to demand liberation from the ruin that is consuming the land, there will be unworthy rudeness and indecorum in bringing in the violence of a new statute to begin the work of purification. She is now in the breathing space after the first mention of it; the spontaneous burst of agitated feeling of last winter shall either perish, or resolve itself into a wise, patient, judicious movement. The summer will have witnessed, by the temper it has matured in her, whether Virginia is capable—not of deep sensibility to supposed claims of patriotism; that the world knows her to possess—not of gusts of enthusiasm for purposes that are lifted above selfish cupidity; all, who know her, have witnessed her

* Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce.

passionate attachment to abstract truth, her susceptibility of lasting emotions in its behalf, and her readiness for every mode of self-denial, of privation and self-sacrifice.—But we are to witness whether, recalling her affections from the distant objects to which they have certainly been too exclusively devoted, she is adequate to manage her own possible destiny for good; whether she is framed for that high sort of civil prudence which knows how to project a vast plan of heroic justice, that it will require generations of men of the same temper to execute. We do not hesitate to believe that the ultimate result is not dubious: we repose the fullest confidence in Virginia, the mother of so many colonized commonwealths.

Unhappy America! how portentous a fate has proved hers! It was not enough that the dowry which she brought to Europe when first discovered, the bountiful millions which her mines of gold and silver yielded in the first hundred years, served only to enable Ferdinand, Charles V., and Philip II., to establish the Inquisition, and to crush the freedom of conscience by long and bloody wars, which nothing but American gold could have supported!—It was not enough that her fine race of generous barbarians (the finest the world ever saw) were to perish before the face of civilizing man! But she must suffer too, the pollution of being used as if discovered solely for the wo of Africa!—To the discovery of this continent, is due the existence in the world, to-day, of a single slave with a Christian master.

It was in 1620, thirteen years after the settlement of Jamestown, that a Dutch vessel from the Coast of Guinea sailed up James River, and brought the first slave into British America. We can almost see the hateful form of the slaver, as with her cargo of crime and misery, "rigged with curses," she bursts into the silent Chesapeake. We see her keel ploughing the pure, because yet free, waters, and now nearing the English plantations. Fatal, fatal ship!—What does she there? Can it indeed be that she comes (and so soon!) to pour the deadliest of hereditary woes into our cradle? How durst the loathsome freight she bears, the accursed shape of slavery intrude itself, of all lands on the earth, upon this vestal soil? How thrust itself among a race of Anglo-Saxon men in the seventeenth century? how bring its deformity athwart the bold and noble sweep of the common law, to mar it all? how mix its curses up (to a greater or less degree in all the British Colonies) with the mass of all our acts, at our hearths, our public councils, and our altars, and bring pollution to our childhood and decrepitude to our youth? On a land set apart by Providence for the best growth of manhood—where Magna Charta, the Petition of Rights, the Habeas Corpus, the Bill of Rights, and last, but greatest, the profession in their fulness and sincerity of the grand, transcendent rights of reason and nature, of liberty and equality, were to have their deepest roots;—a land the world's refuge and the world's hope;—how shall we not weep, when the ineradicable seeds are here planted, that shall curse with contradiction and inconsistency all the height of its pride, and make the manly and dilated heart, in the midst of its triumph at one side of its condition, faint and sick, sick to the core, with the dust and ashes of the other side!

We have put the truly statesmanlike speech of the son of the Chief Justice of the United States at the head of this article, because we believe it expresses the opinions of a majority of reflecting men in Virginia, and because it coincides more nearly with our own views than any of the other speeches in that debate. If it be inferior in fervid eloquence to some of the others, it possesses the rarer merit of coolness, impartiality, decision, and uncommon political sagacity. We cannot adequately express the satisfaction its perusal gave us, without running into panegyrick, which we are sure would be little acceptable to him. Mr. Marshall voted as well against Mr. T. J. Randolph's motion for submitting the question of abolition at once to the people, and Mr. Preston's, declaring immediate action by the legislature then sitting, to be expedient, as against Mr. Goode's motion to discharge the select committee from

the consideration of all petitions, memorials, and resolutions, which had for their object the manumission of persons held in servitude under the laws of Virginia, and thus declare it not expedient to legislate at all on the subject.—As regards the first two motions, Mr. Marshall believed that the public mind was not yet prepared for the question of abolition; that the members of that session were not elected in reference to it; and that there were other modes of ascertaining public sentiment on that great question, less agitating than would be the forcing it upon the people for promiscuous discussion. He objected further to Mr. Randolph's proposition (which embraced only one plan of abolition—that fixing the year 1840 as the time after which all slaves born should be declared public property,) because it was too specific, and instead of merely asserting a principle, offered a peculiar plan obnoxious to many objections. But he had still greater objections to Mr. Goode's motion to dismiss the subject wholly from the consideration of the house, with the implied understanding that the legislature decidedly repelled all invitations to deliberate on the possibility of diminishing the evils of slavery. He declared himself entirely convinced that slavery was fruitful of many woes to Virginia, that a general sense of *insecurity* pervaded the state, and that the citizens were deeply impressed with the conviction that something must be done. He said that there were sure indications that some action is imperatively required of the legislature by the people—that the evil has attained a magnitude, which demands all the skill and energy of prompt and able legislation. He follows up this opinion with much valuable illustration and a number of useful practical suggestions. Without entirely assenting to the objections of Mr. Marshall to the first two motions above named, we are delighted with the general tone of his remarks.

Before beginning to unfold more fully our own views of the present exigency in Virginia, we take occasion to declare distinctly that our purpose is not by overcharged pictures of the iniquity of slavery, or the cruel lot of the slaves, to raise a storm of gratuitous indignation in the minds of the people of the United States against Virginia. We believe that there is not the slightest moral tergite in holding slaves under existing circumstances in the south. We *know* too that the ordinary condition of slaves in Virginia is *not* such as to make humanity weep for his lot. Our solicitations to the slaveholders, it will be perceived, are founded but little on *the miseries of the blacks*. We direct ourselves almost exclusively to the injuries slavery inflicts on the whites. And of these evils suffered by the whites, the evil consequences of practising the immorality of slaveholding will not be our mark.—Reproach and recrimination on such a subject would answer no good purpose; it would naturally provoke defiance from the slaveholders. All the eloquent invectives of the British abolitionists have not made one convert in the West Indies. This is no part of our humour. It is *our* object to lure Virginia onward in her present hopeful state of mind. We mean to confine every word we write to Virginia. The whole scope of this article will be to *show the necessity of her promptly doing something to check the palpable mischiefs her prosperity is suffering from slavery*. We design to show that all her sources of *economical* prosperity are poisoned by slavery, and we shall hint at its moral evils only as they occasion or imply destruction to the real prosperity of a nation. Unless we first make this position impregnable, we shall ask no one to sacrifice merely to abstract humanity and justice. Nor shall we insist on Virginia's beginning action on this momentous subject, until we have shown that her genuine ultimate interests will be promoted by it. The best way of persuading men of this world to deeds which involve the sacrifice of present interests, is to convince them that a greater prospective interest may be thereby secured. We shall strive then to procure the concurrence of self-interest as well as the approbation of humanity. Hence, even should we succeed in making out our case as to Virginia, it will be instantly remarked that we have said very little that will touch South Carolina and Georgia, and

scarcely any thing applicable to Louisiana, Mississippi, and Alabama. If the prosperity of any of these is founded in circumstances of soil, climate, products, &c. of such nature and degree, as that it will not sink under the precarious specific (neck or nothing) of slave labour, *a la bonne heure*—let them go on. This is undoubtedly the case more or less, of the sugar, cotton, and rice plantation states. But it is not the case of Virginia. We propose to treat

I. Of the injury slavery does to the prosperity of Virginia. Let us cursorily indicate some of the evils which the experience of the United States shows to be consequent on slavery under ordinary circumstances, some of which Virginia has suffered in common with other states, and of some of which she has been peculiarly the victim. 1. An inertness of most of the springs of prosperity—a want of what is commonly called public spirit. 2. Where slave labour prevails, it is scarcely practicable for free labour to co-exist with it to any great extent. Not that the latter would not deserve the preference, both for cheapness and efficiency, but that many obvious causes conspire to prevent the rivalry being perseveringly sustained. Freedom being itself regarded as a privilege in a nation that has slaves, there is a natural tendency to consider exemption from manual labour as the chief mark of elevation above the class of slaves. In a republic this tendency is vastly increased. A disposition to look on all manual labour as menial and degrading, may safely be set down as a distemper of the most disastrous kind. We shall not dilate on this. It must instantly be admitted that nothing can compensate a nation for the destruction of all the virtues which flow from mere industry. Virginia has experienced this most signally: had her slave labour been ten times as productive as it has been, and grant that she possesses all the lofty qualities ever claimed for her, in their highest degree, she would still have been the loser by contracting this ruinous disposition. Nothing but the most abject necessity would lead a white man to hire himself to work in the fields under the overseer, and we must say that we cannot refuse to sympathize with the free labourer who finds it irksome to perform hard work by the side of a slave.—3. Agriculture is the best basis of national wealth.—“Arts,” says that eminent farmer Mr. John Taylor of Caroline, “improve the works of nature; when they injure it they are not arts but barbarous customs. It is the office of agriculture as an art, not to impoverish, but to fertilize the soil and make it more useful than in its natural state. Such is the effect of every species of agriculture which can aspire to the name of an art.” Now it is a truth, that an *improving* system of agriculture cannot be carried on by slaves. The negligent, wasteful habits of slaves who are not interested in the estate, and the exacting cupidity of transient overseers who are interested in extorting from the earth the greatest amount of production, render all slave agriculture invariably exhausting. How many plantations worked by slaves are there in Virginia which are not perceptibly suffering the sure process of exhaustion? Perhaps not one, except a few on the water courses, composed of the alluvial soils which are virtually inexhaustible. The uncertainty of the profits of a crop generally deters the planters in Virginia from giving standing wages to their overseers—indeed, it has too often happened that the salary of the overseer has absorbed all the proceeds. Hence it is usual to give him, instead of salary, a share of the crop. The murderous effects of this on the fertility of the soil may well be conceived. An estate submitted to overseers entitled to a share of the crop, (who are changed of course, almost yearly) suffers a thousandfold more than would English farms put out on leases of one or two years to fresh lessees. Twenty-one years is thought too short a term there.—4. It is a fact that no soil but the richest, and that in effect inexhaustible, can be profitably cultivated by slaves. In the Legislature of Virginia, it was repeatedly said that her lands were poor, and for that reason none but slaves could be brought to work them well. On the contrary, poor lands and those of moderate fertility can never repay the expense of slave labour, or bear up under the vices of that slovenly

system.—5. In modern times, in most cases where slave labour prevails, it has been found in plantation states and colonies. There are many obvious reasons why, if profitable any where, it must be only there. Now, if this be the case, it would appear that slavery, to be profitable, is essentially incompatible with a dense population—at all events, with a relatively dense population of freemen. No country can afford to be given up exclusively to agriculture in the shape of plantation tillage, or to devote the entire attention of all the men it rears to that occupation, except its soil be extremely fertile, and its products of the richest nature. Under other circumstances, the soil and products not making adequate returns, there is a vast waste of capabilities for other purposes, which the surface of many countries might well answer.—6. It seems agreed among the economists of the south that slaves are unfit for the business of manufactures. A most sensible essay was published in Philadelphia in 1827 by Dr. Jones, afterwards superintendent of the Patent Office at Washington, to show that slaves are not necessarily unfit for this employment. We were persuaded at the time, that, if his position were true, it would prove the most important of all suggestions in an economical view, to Virginia. It has surprised us, indeed, that the advocates of the perpetuity of slavery in Virginia have not seen the immense advantage of such an argument to their side of the question. But the entire current of opinion in the south (led by an invincible sentiment of hostility to the protective system) is that states where slave labour prevails, and where the whole capital for labour is vested in slaves, cannot manufacture. It will need no words to show what an injury this voluntary disability inflicts on a country which may happen to have the most felicitous capacities for manufactures.—7. Where slave labour prevails, it would appear that the rearing a large class of skilful mechanics is greatly discouraged. The slaves themselves, of course, never make mechanics except of the coarsest description. Although the whites in the cities are not entirely averse to becoming artisans, yet, in the country, the natural policy of the rich planters to have mechanics among their slaves to do all the needful business on their estates, deprives the white mechanics of their chief encouragement to perfect themselves in their trades, diminishes the demand for their services, and generally has the effect of expelling them from one neighbourhood to another until they finally expatriate themselves.—8. Slave labour is, without controversy, dearer than free. It suffices to state, that in the one case you have a class of labourers that have a direct interest in doing and saving as little as possible, so that they barely escape punishment; in the other, a class, every member of which has a direct interest in producing and saving as much as possible. But this position is too well established to justify any one in an argument to prove it.—The categories wherein the contrary holds true are cumulatively: *a.* it must be in a plantation country; *b.* it must be in a soil extremely and inexhaustibly fertile; *c.* where the products are of the greatest value; *d.* and after all, it must be where white men cannot endure the climate and the nature of the cultivation.—9. The experience of the United States has shown that slavery decidedly discourages immigration (to use Dr. Southey's word) from foreign countries into the sections of country where it is prevalent. It is not a sufficient answer to this to say that the emigrants are in general allured to the United States by the temptation of the rich country in the west, so that slavery cannot be said to repel them from the southern states. It is not true of the best emigrants that come to our shores, that they are intent on pushing into the pathless forest, to be there banished from all the blessings of a settled country. This is, in fact the positive passion of none but the hardy native pioneers, the Boones of Vermont, of New York, and Virginia. The Germans, for example, who are perhaps the most valuable of the emigrants to America, are not people who would prefer to make their home in the midst of the extreme discomforts and often cruel privations which the pioneers undergo. Besides, what repels all those emigrants who are not agriculturists,

and whose occupations lead them among crowds of men? Of immigration into the slave-holding States, except in some of the western States, where the principle of slavery is not yet predominant, it may be said there is none. The emigrants understand that their hope of employment there is forestalled, that the only labour wanted is indigenous to the soil; they feel that that labour is incompatible with their own, and they shrink from the idea of giving their children, who are to live by manual labour, a home in a slave-labour land, while fair regions, dedicated as well to domestic as to civil freedom, tempt their adventurous footsteps. With this evil may be classed the tendency of the whites of these States to emigrate from the soil of their birth.—10. Slavery begets inevitably a train of habits and opinions, which, to say the least, are destructive of all those springs of prosperity which depend on economy, frugality, enterprise. Young people bred up to be maintained by slaves are apt to imbibe improvident habits. Of its favourable operation on the spirit of liberty in the whites, we are not disposed to question the well-known opinion of Mr. Burke: the passage we refer to, is itself an evidence of the profound knowledge he possessed of the human heart. We consider it truer, however, of the spirit of liberty in its aspect of resistance to foreign oppression: in its home aspect it is, we think, comparatively just.—But as relates to its operation in equalizing the whites with each other, we throw out the suggestion without note or comment, that *no property gives rise to greater inequalities than slavery property*. We question, too, whether it could well be maintained that the *beau ideal* of a nabob—(we use the word in its fair, not invidious sense),—endow him with nobleness of soul, sensibility, the utmost delicacy of honour, generosity, and hospitality—is the finest specimen of our species. There are many solid and essential virtues (wholly disconnected with those named) which could not so well be dispensed with as some of those, in going to make up the being of whom *par excellence* nature might stand up and say “this is a man.”

We can now venture to define pretty accurately what sort of a country that must be, which having regard solely to the economical principles, is adapted to be for a long term of years a prosperous slave-labour State. It must possess an extremely rich soil, hence under most circumstances be a comparatively small country; (otherwise the greater the difficulty of finding a uniformly fine soil, and consequently the impossibility of making the *whole* State flourish), in a latitude the products of which, from their scarcity in the world, the permanent demand for them, and the possibility of rearing them in but few spots on the globe, are sure of a market at high prices, where the culture of such crops requires that the slaves be worked together in bodies, so that the constant supervision necessary over them may be performed by a few whites, and finally in a climate so nearly tropical, or otherwise precarious, as to make the exposure and toil insupportable to free (*say white*) labourers. A country uniting all these requisites, may be prosperous with slave labour. It possesses certain sources of wealth, by the help of which it may dispense with many others, that are the necessary resource of countries of moderate fertility, and which are under different general circumstances. Such a country seems to need the moral-economical springs less. It will, of necessity, contain a sparse white population, but it may be formidable in war from its superior relative wealth. The countries growing cotton, rice, and the sugarcane, bountifully, are of this description. For aught we know, Brazil may fall under the definition. The principal West India islands appear to be entitled to expect prosperity, (supposing no adverse adventitious circumstances) but Louisiana unites all the requisites more perfectly perhaps than any other country. South Carolina and Georgia do it but imperfectly, on account of there being so large a portion of both of them to which such description would not at all apply; Alabama and Mississippi do more perfectly than they. But it may boldly be said that *Virginia possesses scarcely a single requisite to make a prosperous slave-labour State*.

She has not the inexhaustible rich soils: her earth originally yielded fair returns to hard labour judiciously directed, but all such soils, as she has learned by bitter experience, are fated, under the hands of slaves, to deterioration down to utter barrenness. *She has too large a territory:* the curse of the presence of slaves and the monopoly of labour in their hands, is all over the State; the spots really adapted for profitable slave labour are few and scattered. *She has not the sort of products:* only a small part of the State produces cotton; the culture of tobacco, which was originally the general staple of Old Virginia Proper, after destroying immense tracts of good lands, is shrinking into a very diminished compass, and scarcely repays the cost of production under the average prices of the last fifteen years. If any one would cast his eye over the list of the Tobacco Inspections established by law, in the revised code of Virginia, he would smile to see places mentioned for inspection warehouses, in quarters of Virginia where no man has ever seen a hundred weight of tobacco. Besides this, there is an unlimited competition springing up around her, to reduce prices to nothing. With regard to the crops of tobacco of the western states, we can say with confidence, that there is a regular annual increase in quantity, with great improvement in its curing and management; so that it is fast taking the place of Virginia tobacco for consumption in the leaf in the north of Europe, and as strips in Great Britain. The article of tobacco is now cultivated in Ohio, Kentucky, Illinois, Indiana, Missouri, Tennessee, and in Canada, as well as Maryland, Virginia, the Carolinas and Georgia. The quantity raised is altogether too great for consumption. The other products of Virginia are the ordinary growth of all temperate, and most northern regions. *She has not the climate which would put slaves on the vantage ground above whites:* every part of her territory is adapted to the men of all climates, and she has not a foot of soil which nature declares that none but blacks shall cultivate, nor a product the cultivation of which demands lives and labours baser than those of white men. Tobacco is notoriously cultivated with success by whites in any part of the world, which is temperate enough to grow it. It is then a total miscalculation in every point of view—a false position for Virginia to have allotted to herself the exclusive labour of slaves.

But appeal is made to the history of the economy of Virginia to contradict this assertion. Is it demanded for instance, why Virginia should prosper before the Revolution as she did, with her slave labour, if there be a fatal error in her adoption of slavery? We may answer, that there is no great mystery in that. Virginia while a colony never did furnish the miracles of great and sudden fortunes which the West India and South Carolina nabobs used to exhibit in England. Adam Smith, in his day, made this remark:—At that time fine tobacco was an article only grown in Virginia and Maryland, and the prices were relatively to the times very high; whereas now, and for all future time, a competition wholly beyond the conception of that day, has completely revolutionized the market. But admit that the colony was very prosperous: if from this it is meant to argue that Virginia may again be so under the same system, we hope it will not at least be denied that the Revolution found almost all the lands which had been opened nearly or quite exhausted, showing plainly that the preceding hundred years had been passed in fits of profitable planting from the frequent resort to successive new lands. Mr. Taylor of Caroline had understood that 60,000 hogsheads of tobacco were exported from Virginia, when the whole population did not exceed 150,000. Had the fertility of the country by possibility remained undiminished, (as he says it would, if her slave agriculture had been any thing else than "a barbarous custom," not an art), Virginia ought in 1810 to have exported 240,000 hogsheads, or their equivalent in other produce, and at present nearly the double of that. Thus the agricultural exports of Virginia in 1810 would, at the estimated prices of the Custom House at that time, have been seventeen millions of dollars, and now at least thirty-four, while it is

known that they are not of late years greater than from three to five millions! This will at once show that the great crops of the colonial times were forced, or we may say *exaggerated* by the possession of means, which will never again be in her hands.

The fact that the whole agricultural products of the State at present, do not exceed in value the exports eighty or ninety years ago, when it contained not a sixth of the population, and when not a third of the surface of that State (at present Virginia) was at all occupied, is however a very striking proof of the decline of its agriculture. What is now the productive value of an estate of land and negroes in Virginia? We state as the result of extensive inquiry, embracing the last fifteen years, that a very great proportion of the larger plantations, with from fifty to one hundred slaves, actually bring their proprietors in debt at the end of a short term of years, notwithstanding what would once in Virginia have been deemed very sheer economy; that much the larger part of the considerable landholders are content, if they barely meet their plantation expenses without a loss of capital; and that, of those who make any profit, it will in none but rare instances, average more than one to one and a half per cent. on the capital invested. The case is not materially varied with the smaller proprietors. Mr. Randolph of Roanoke, whose sayings have so generally the raciness and the truth of proverbs, has repeatedly said in Congress, that the time was coming when the masters would run away from the slaves and be advertised by them in the public papers. A decided improvement in the Virginia system is taking place in some parts of the State, which consists in the abandonment of the culture of tobacco for that of wheat, indian corn, &c., which can be produced on soil too poor for tobacco, requires fewer labourers, and will not be so apt to reduce the fertility of the soil still lower. This is a judicious thing in itself, but here again recurs the truth we have already set forth: plantations with such products as these never can be profitably managed with slave labour. Wheat and corn will not do for this; let the planter turn his sons in to work his lands, and then these products will suffice. Tobacco was the only article which ever could by possibility justify the expense of slave labour in Virginia; and now we see that the wiser planters are to a great degree withdrawing their lands from it.

There is, however, one way in which capital invested in slaves may be said to be productive. We will now let the reader into a secret of slaveholding economy. The only form in which it can safely be said that slaves on a plantation are profitable in Virginia, is in the multiplication of their number by births. If the proprietor, beginning with a certain number of negroes, can but keep them for a few years from the hands of the sheriff or the slave trader, though their labour may have yielded him not a farthing of nett revenue, he finds that gradually but surely, his capital stock of negroes multiplies itself, and yields, if nothing else, a palpable interest of young negroes. While very young, they occasion small expense, but they render none or small service; when grown up, their labour, as we have already seen, hardly does more than balance the expense they occasion. The process of multiplication will not in this way advance the master towards the point of a nett revenue; he is not the richer in income with the fifty slaves than with twenty. Yet these young negroes have their value: and what value? The value of the slaves so added to his number is the certain price for which they will at any time sell to the southern trader. Should the humanity of the proprietor, however, and his rare fortune in keeping out of debt, prevail on him never to treat his slaves as live stock for traffic, he finds himself incumbered with the same unproductive burden as before. That master alone finds productive value in his increase of slaves, who chooses to turn the increase of his capital, at regular intervals, into money at the highest market price!—There are, we make haste to say, very many masters with whom it is a fixed rule never to sell a slave, except for incorrigibly bad character, so long as the pressure of necessity does not compel it. There are some who would

feel it to be the wanton breach of a tie next in sanctity to the most sacred of the domestic relations. But such sensibility cannot be supposed to be universal. Accordingly, the State does derive a tangible profit from its slaves; this is true to the heart's content of the adversaries of abolition, and that by means of yearly sales to the negro traders. An account, on which we may rely, sets down the annual number of slaves sold to go out of the State at six thousand, or more than half the number of births! The population returns show only a yearly addition of four thousand eight hundred to the slaves remaining in the State. If all these sales were the result of the necessities of the masters, while it must forever be lamented, it would at the same time be the most portentous proof of the financial ruin of the planters of the State.—But if otherwise, if but a common course of business regularly gone into for profit, what volumes does it speak of the degradation to which slavery may reduce its supporters! And will “the aspiring blood of Lancaster” endure it to be said that a Guinea is still to be found in America, and that Guinea is Virginia? That children are reared with the express object of sale into distant regions, and that in numbers but little less than the whole number of annual births? It may be that there is a small section of Virginia (perhaps we could indicate it) where the theory of population is studied with reference to the yearly income from the sale of slaves. Shall the profits to Virginia, from this contaminated source, be alleged as an economical argument to magnify the sacrifice involved in the abolition of slavery, and this too by statesmen who profess to execrate the African slave trade? For ourselves, we can see but little difference between this form of the internal slave trade and the African trade itself. But we have too deep a stake ourselves in the good name of the land of Washington and Jefferson, to be willing to admit that this form of profit from slaves is cherished by any but a very few persons.—This is not then an income which Virginia loves to reap. She scorns those who resort to it, and will count lightly of the sacrifice which the extinction of this fountain of impure wealth would involve.

Banishing this then out of view, there is no productive value of slaves in Virginia. Shut up all outlet into the southern and south-western States, and the price of slaves in Virginia would sink down to a cypher. Without the possibility of deriving from slave labour any of the benefits, by which in some countries it seems to compensate (whether adequately or not) for its pernicious moral effects, Virginia is cursed with an institution unproductive of good to her, and potent in mischiefs beyond all her fears. If ever there was a specific, which failing of its possible good effects, would induce irremediable pains, it is slavery. We check the struggling inclination to paint the woes Virginia has suffered from its miscarriage, in their true colours, but the truth would seem exaggeration. Take then the following temperate detail from the speech of Mr. Marshall, every word of which is true by the experience of Virginia.

“Wherefore, then, object to slavery? Because it is ruinous to the whites—retards improvement—roots out an industrious population—banishes the yeomanry of the country—deprives the spinner, the weaver, the smith, the shoemaker, the carpenter, of employment and support. This evil admits of no remedy; it is increasing and will continue to increase, until the whole country will be inundated with one black wave, covering its whole extent, with a few white faces here and there floating on the surface. The master has no capital but what is vested in [slaves;] the father, instead of being richer for his sons, is at a loss to provide for them—there is no diversity of occupations, no incentive to enterprise. Labour of every species is disreputable because performed mostly by slaves. Our towns are stationary, our villages almost every where declining, and the general aspect of the country marks the curse of a wasteful, idle, reckless population, who have no interest in the soil, and care not how much it is impoverished. Public improvements are neglected, and the entire continent does not present a region for which nature has done so much, and art so little. If cultivated by free labour, the soil of Virginia is capable of sustaining a dense population, among whom labour would be honourable, and where ‘the busy hum of men’ would tell that all were happy, and that all were free.”

Virginia has suffered, and is now suffering under all the ten specifications just given, and in a greater degree than any other of the slave-holding States.

could. Her statesmen and engineers mourn over her inertness of spirit for public improvements; her economists mourn over the little inclination of her citizens to labour of any kind; her agriculturists upbraid her for letting the soil sink into irrecoverable exhaustion, that she is burdened with the dearest sort of labour, and persists in applying to a country of originally moderate fertility, a system absolutely ruinous to any but the richest alluvial soils; that industry and frugality are banished; that she renders it virtually impossible to open a new source of wealth in manufactures, and that while the principle of population is almost stagnant among her whites, and her own sons are departing from her, she repulses by her domestic relations all the emigrants to America from the old world, who might else come in to repair her ruin. It is ridiculous to talk of the prosperity of a country wholly agricultural, with slave labour and exhausted lands. The proud homes of Virginia, from the Revolution down to this day, have been passing from the hands of their high-minded proprietors, to the humble overseers that used to *sit below the salt* at their board, and from them in their turn to some other newer *parvenus*: agriculture has failed to enrich. Of the white emigrants from Virginia, at least half are hard working men, who carry away with them little besides their tools and a stout heart of hope: the mechanic trades have failed to give them bread. Commerce she has little, shipping none; and it is a fact that the very staple of the state, tobacco, is not exported by her own capital—the state does virtually a commission business in it. All the sources of prosperity, moral and economical, are deadened; there is a general discontent with one's lot; in some of the first settled and choicest parts of her territory, symptoms are not wanting of desolate antiquity. And all this in youthful America, and in Virginia too, the fairest region of America, and with a race of people inferior to none in the world in its capacity to constitute a prosperous nation.

There are some facts disclosed by the population returns for 1830, which we are not aware have been fully brought to the public notice. Every one is now acquainted with the uncomfortable truth, that the whites east of the Blue Ridge had in 1790 a majority of 25,000, and that in the course of forty years they have not only lost it, but suffered the blacks to get an ascendancy in number to the extent of 81,000: thus the advance of the blacks is 106,000 in that half of the State in that period. But we may see by the subjoined table that there are not a few counties of middle as well as lower Virginia, (component parts of eastern Virginia) which have actually diminished in white population in the last ten years! The first five are counties between the Blue Ridge and the head of tide-water; the others below the head of tide-water.

Whites in 1820.		1830.	Whites in 1820.		1830.
Brunswick	5869	5397	King & Queen	5460	4714
Amelia	3409	3293	King William	3449	3155
Goochland	3976	3857	Lancaster	2388	1876
Loudon	16144	15516	Northumberland	4134	4029
Mecklenburg	7710	7543	Sussex	4155	4118
Fairfax	6224	4892	Stafford	4788	4713
James City	1556	1284	Warwick	620	619

These counties at an average annual increase of three per cent. (which is sufficiently moderate) would have added more than 20,000 to their aggregate numbers; they have sustained a loss of near 5000 in ten years, which is fully one twelfth of their capital in 1820. Conjecturally the people in these counties are as prolific as elsewhere; emigration, the result of the characteristic ills of Virginia, has done most to occasion this loss. All of these are fine counties.

We freely grant that a slow increase of population is possible in a country where the utmost is made of all its resources, and that in certain cases it implies a higher degree of civilization, for prudence in such matters denotes

civilization it seems. But unless the employment of prudential checks be suggested by danger of an overcrowded population, certainly they are little to be desired by statesmen. The unnecessary introduction of prudential checks leads to the application of means destined by Providence for the subsistence of men, to a thousand less worthy purposes; as, when that food, which would support the same number or double of human beings, is bestowed on pleasure, horses and dogs. Where population has not yet approximated the capacity of the country to furnish subsistence, it is premature and unhappy to begin the employment of too much prudence, to discourage marriages. In fact, this never will occur, unless some powerful agents have been at work to benumb, not merely the spring of population, but all the springs of prosperity. A very slow increase, or a diminution, would be an indication of want of prosperity not to be mistaken in most parts of the United States; for example, where subsistence is easy to obtain, and population can scarcely any where be said to have pressed on subsistence. It is said by some persons that the preventive checks (prudential) are in fuller operation in Virginia than in the north. We confess we had entertained an opposite idea. What is the usual age of marriages in Virginia, and what in New England? Is forecaste indeed more prevalent in Virginia than in New England? If this be indeed so, then unhappy causes must have been at work to produce it.

But it has been further said that the *standard of comfort* is higher in Virginia than in the northern States, that this denotes higher civilization, and thus the inertness of the principle of population is her highest eulogy. If this be her reliance for a high eulogium, we are sorry to say that the ground is rapidly slipping from under her feet, for the standard of comfort in Virginia has greatly lowered and is daily lowering. All the chief glories of Virginia style are faded: gone is the massy coach with its stately *attelage* of four and six horses, shut is the beneficent hall-door, which, as if nailed wide open, once welcomed all comers to its princely hospitality! The watering places no longer blaze with the rich but decent pomp of the Virginian, the cities but rarely bear witness to his generous expense. Every thing indicates that he has reduced his idea of a becoming style of living to a very moderate scale.— This ingenious supposition, therefore, will not account for the stagnation of population. The actual state of the standard of comfort, in effect, is itself a part of the universal evidence of her decline. If you would assert of any part of the United States, where the population was very slowly increasing, stationary, or retrograde, that it is not the worse off for that, you must at least exhibit proof that the positive amount of wealth of that part has been augmenting, and we may add, that, to be conclusive, the augmentation must be in the *inverse ratio* of the difference between the average activity of the principle of population in the United States, and its very reduced activity in that particular part of the country. If Massachusetts or Rhode Island could be said to be stationary in population, it might unquestionably be said of them too, that their augmentation of wealth and general prosperity was in this or a greater ratio.

But we look on this whole subject of the increase of national wealth, population, &c., in the case of Virginia, from a somewhat more elevated point. There are involved herein high and solemn obligations on Virginia if she would ever strive to fulfil her destiny. The introduction of industry and enterprise is matter to her of moral obligation; the endeavour to add to the stock of wealth of the State, as a token and source of general prosperity, is even a moral duty in her case. It is the distinguishing glory and responsibility of the American States, that

"In *their* proper motion *they* ascend;
 ———descent and fall
 To *them* is adverse."

It is only by "compulsion and laborious flight" that they sink at all. The sitting herself for the rivalry in prosperity and moral dignity, which the

Old World beholds in North America with awe and wonder, is the most august of all interests and duties, it seems to us, in the appointment of the Providence of the Almighty, save only one: *conscience* and *liberty* are the highest concerns to her and to every people! Let any one select for himself out of the pictures of the prosperity of the United States drawn in the books of travellers, of public economists, or of political speculators: Europe sighs at these bright sketches of transatlantic felicity; yet, of all these brilliant traits, how few are true of Virginia! Indeed though literally true of some parts of America, they are scarcely at all descriptive of this, or of any among the older slave-holding States. Suppose the war of American Independence had resulted in nothing but the establishment of the Atlantic slave-holding States as new sovereignties:—the world would have been still to seek for a home for the emigrants of all nations, and for the grand series of spectacles which are said to be the dearest sight in the eyes of the powers above: that of men congregating together to found new cities under just laws. Even as early as the date of the Federal Constitution, eastern Virginia had begun to show many of the symptoms of an old commonwealth: a tendency to decline, under the influence of an apathy almost on a level with that of the people of the Pope's dominions; while New-York appeared manifestly the cradle of a vast nation. It seems to us, we must confess, that of all the States, none is more unequivocally marked out by nature for the prosperous abode of a homogeneous race of freemen than Virginia. Her's is not a land which should have been stained by the tread of a slave. A philosopher who had surveyed the map of Virginia, noted between what degrees she is placed, with what a wealth of land and water she is endowed, and how she is rounded off into an empire to herself, would bear with amazement that she had suicidally adopted slave labour. We extract the following faithful picture from the official report of the principal engineer of Virginia for the year 1827.

"No where has the kind hand of Providence been more profusely bountiful than in Virginia; blessed with a climate, and a fertile soil, producing cotton and the best tobacco, besides the common staples of the northern States, to which she even exports her flour; abounding with rich mines; her coal nearer to tide water than that of any other State. Virginia is no less favoured in her geographical position: she occupies in the Union an important central position, and the mouth of the Chesapeake; that fine harbour, always open, strongly protected against aggression, is equal even to that of New-York. [Add to this that no State is more blessed in the number, character, and distribution of her rivers.] She possesses, besides, perhaps more than any other State, the elements of manufactures; she has in abundance water power, coal, iron and raw materials. With these immense resources Virginia may ask why she is not the most flourishing State in the Union? Why she does not occupy the commercial station for which nature designed her? Circumstances purely accidental and temporary can alone have produced this state of things."

It is food for irony, aye very bitter irony, to know that a country, thus made the fittest in the world for freemen, is not in fact good enough to be worked by slaves! We seem to have before us in her the image of a youthful power of the world lapsed from her high destiny, and in the homage of filial awe and grief we bow down with trembling over her decay! It is to us men of the western world as if the "Prince of the lights of heaven, which now as a giant doth run his unwearied course, should, as it were through a languishing faintness, begin to stand and to rest himself."* Yet, we fondly imagine, it is but for a moment: the fiery vigour shall soon work off the corruption, and the celestial origin shall quickly show itself in a career of uneclipsed beauty. And when Virginia, by disembarassing herself of all checks on her prosperity, and purging off all her evils, is fully girt for the race she has appointed to her, we are persuaded that there is not one wholesome feeling, not one patriotic principle, which might gain her the affection of the southern States, (let her not fear this), and the admiration of all, and that could make her eminent among commonwealths, which she would be found to want.

* Hooker, l. 2.

If such be the evils under which Virginia has already languished, it does not remain to consider whether they are likely to increase. They must increase; they are rapidly corroding all the hitherto sound elements, and they will go on to spread mischiefs of their own kind until they will be felt by all to have effected absolute ruin. But as soon as slavery has grown to a great extent, there comes in a new evil of a different cast: this is *danger*, physical danger. On this subject, we forbear to touch, except with a scrupulous hand. We feel all the delicacy of urging any considerations addressed to the fears of a gallant people. But there is that in the nature of a servile war, which sets at nought as well the most chivalrous courage, as the security of civil police and of military discipline. We may go on to say then, that in 1830, the whole population of Virginia was 1,211,272, of which 694,445 are whites, 469,724 are slaves, 47,103 free blacks; that 457,000 blacks are east of the Blue Ridge, while only 375,935 whites are east of the mountains.* We do not believe that in any short time to come the blacks will be able to rise and overpower the whites. But the experience of 1831 teaches what an amount of calamity in fact, and misery from alarm, may be the result of the insurrection of a contemptible handful of slaves. These partial risings may occur at any time: are they not worthy of anticipatory apprehension? But that the time will come when the blacks will be so numerous and so concentrated in a section of the State, as to be truly formidable to the whites, we cannot doubt, if the fixed principles of our species prove but faithful to themselves. We have seen how slow is the increase of the white population in Virginia, and we must not overlook the fact of the rapid increase of the black. Notwithstanding the constant drain of her slaves (say 6000, or one-half of their increase) to supply the plantations of the new States, the slaves have so multiplied, that though east of the Blue Ridge in 1790 the whites had a majority of 25,000, in 1830 the blacks had grown to a majority of 81,000! The emigration of whites in this period has by no possibility equalled that of blacks. What are the presages to be drawn from this? But some flatter themselves that this relative inequality will not increase—perhaps will not be even so great in 1840. Mr. Marshall has told us, that by the census of 1830, the number of slaves in Eastern Virginia under ten years of age, exceeds that of whites of the same age, more than 31,000! What can more solemnly show that the disparity existing in our generation is small compared with that which will in all probability exist in the generation of our children?

But it has been said by some that even this probable increase portends no danger, if the whites do but go on increasing, though in unequal proportions. It is proved thus:

The police necessary to keep order in a community is never greater than one man out of every hundred;—thus while the population is one hundred, the hundredth man may not be able to enforce obedience;—when grown to a thousand, the one hundred police men may succeed better, and when arrived at a million, the decimal ten thousand is certain to maintain order under all circumstances. In this way it is pretended that the security goes on increasing. It is all a mistake, then, that rebellions have ever triumphed in countries where the police (civil or military), amounted to ten thousand!—But every one sees up to what point it is true, that the safety increases *pari passu* with the materials of danger, and how as you pass that point the security diminishes. Virginia, herself, has already passed this point. We recommend this security to England in her police in Ireland: she will find the two millions of Protestants able to furnish twice ten thousand men, who demonstratively can keep down the five millions of Catholics without aid from

* It will be perceived that we have studiously avoided making invidious distinctions between Virginia east and west of the Blue Ridge, and this even at the risk of doing much injustice to the west. Once for all, it is to be understood, that the mischiefs of slavery are much less in the west than the east. But we are determined to regard the State as one, and the ills suffered by one part as the common calamity, proper for the deliberation of every county.

England: but if they cannot do it to-day, they surely will, when the two parties have each doubled their numbers. This method of deriving increasing security from redoubling danger, is parallel to Hermes Harris's definition of the indefinite article: "a method of supply by negation." It follows from it that Virginia was all along mistaken, when, before the Revolution, she essayed three and twenty times to gain the royal assent to a law to provide for her domestic safety by prohibiting the further introduction of slaves from Africa; that she but exposed herself to ridicule, when she taunted the king in the preamble to her constitution, with "the inhuman use of the royal negative;" and that Louisiana has wholly blundered in laying so many obstacles in the way of the introduction of slaves from the other States, under hope to save herself from future civil war. But the example of Brazil is pointed out to us: it is true that Brazil is imbruted by a proportion of four millions of slaves to one million of whites, and her unnatural empire still exists. Yes, and her existence hangs by a hair. If we are not misinformed, the German recruits that mutinied for ill treatment, and were quelled by the slaves being turned loose on them, (they were proclaimed free game to any slave that would massacre them—what the poor Germans would have called *vogel/frey*.) might give our speculatists a lesson on the terrors of the Brazilian slave population.

But grant it true, that the multiplication of the slaves will not go on at the present rapid rate, in Virginia: when we consider that there are adequate causes working which are certain to keep back the whites, it is impossible not to regard the increase of the slaves at any probable rate as full of danger. It is the simple case of a distinct race of people within our bosom, now nearly equal, soon to be more numerous than ourselves, exposed to every temptation (we do not say inducement) to become our deadliest foe. This is the danger which reasoning cannot check, nor argument avert. Police can never save harmless against an enemy that is at your hearth and in the most confidential relations with you. Besides, what profit does slavery confer on Virginia to make any one willing to see established a standing force of five or ten thousand men, at an expense equal to that of the whole peace establishment of the army of the United States?

The only rational ground for believing that Virginia will never contain the vast number of slaves, given by the estimates for the end of the next hundred years, is that the impoverishment of the state will make it impossible to maintain them.*

* We have omitted all mention of the Protective System as a source of ruin to Virginia. For the ills which we have specified, slavery seems to us an adequate cause. It seems at least reasonable to attribute no ill to the Tariff, except such as can be shown to have arisen since 1824. None of those enumerated have had so late an origin. The previous disabling of Virginia by slavery, has doubtless rendered her much more susceptible of injury from the errors of that system.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

[Communicated.]

STATISTICS.

The following statement was made out for the purpose of being embodied in an essay which I contemplate preparing for publication. But as some time will elapse before that article can be got ready, and as this statement will very well bear repeating, I beg leave to offer it now, for the Repository.

That part of the United States where laws have been enacted for the abolition of Slavery, contained in 1790—1,963,355 inhabitants;

in 1830—7,016,718 inhabitants.

That part where no such laws have been enacted, contained

in 1790—1,966,572 inhabitants; and

in 1830—5,849,302 inhabitants.

In 1790, there were north of the Potomac and Ohio,

Whites, 2,155,835: Blacks—186,344: Total—2,342,179;
In 1830, " 7,366,773: " 354,025: " 7,720,795.

South of the Potomac and Ohio,

In 1790, Whites, 1,016,629: Blacks, 571,019: Total—1,587,648;

In 1830, " 3,170,605: " 1,974,620: " 5,145,225.

Thus we see that in 1790, the Blacks south, were about half as many as the Whites: or, 1-3 of the entire population. In 1830, they made *two fifths*. The blacks had nearly *quadrupled* their number; and the whites tripled their's.—North, the *whites* are nearly *quadruple*; and the *blacks* not quite *double*.

If the southern increase of whites had been in equal ratio with the northern; there would have been, in 1830, nearly half a million more of whites, south of the Potomac, than there were. In 1790, the States which have abolished and prohibited slavery, had 629,288 more of whites than the rest of the country had; and in 1830, 3,214,032, more.

Of the entire population, the present slaveholding region had, in 1790—3,217 more than the present *non-slaveholding*; and in 1830, the non-slaveholding had, 1,167,416 more than the slaveholding.

South Carolina in 1790, 140,178 Whites, 108,895 Blacks.

" 1830, 257,878 " 323,580 "

East Virginia in 1790, 507,855 Whites, 303,976 Blacks.

" 1830, 375,940 " 457,039 "

Supposing the increase to go on as from 1790 to 1830, (and what is there to prevent it for 120 years?) there will be for the south

	Whites.	Blacks.	Total.
in 40 years from 1830,	9,400,000	and about 8,000,000	17,400,000
" 80 " " "	28,400,000	" 30,000,000	58,400,000
" 120 " " "	85,300,000	" 120,000,000	205,300,000

And for the north, in 120 years, a population of 320,000,000.

Admitting the country, south, to support 100 persons for every square mile, there would be subsistence for only 38,000,000. In 80 years the black population alone will exceed this, by 8,000,000; and we have 167,000,000 of people left without the means of subsistence. But will they stay there and starve, 5,500,000 human beings, *annually*? Surely not; if there be any possibility of going where subsistence can be procured.

But the blacks will not have the power to emigrate—the *whites must*.

The people of the north will want homes for their 300,000,000 of descendants, and will never consent to their exclusion from the fertile regions of the West by a population of slaves—when, by commencing *now* they might *all* be so easily removed, and to the very great advantage of the individuals immediately interested, as well as of the community in general.

The progress of the business will be this,—In about twenty years the south will have as many slaves as can be profitably employed. The poorer (the labouring) class of whites, will now find it difficult to procure a livelihood, and will forthwith emigrate to the other States. Next, the poorer class of *slaveholders* will sell off to their more wealthy neighbours, and remove also to the non-slaveholding States. They will be obliged to sell their slaves in the present slaveholding region, for no one, I suppose, imagines that it will ever be enlarged. After these, others will continue to sell off to the more wealthy who remain;—and finally, they, in their turn, will think themselves fortunate to be allowed the privilege of emigrating also without leaving any to *purchase* their slaves.—And after this, *the blacks themselves* will find it necessary to emigrate, by thousands and millions, mingling with the whites as at present, in a state of degradation and wretchedness, worse than slavery itself.

For this, there is no remedy but *colonization*—speedily and vigorously prosecuted.

POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES.

[From a Correspondent of the National Intelligencer.]

<i>North of the Potomac and Ohio.</i>			<i>South of the Potomac and Ohio.</i>		
1790	White	2,155,835		1,016,629	
	Slaves	147,293		550,604	
	Free colored	89,051	186,344	20,415	571,019
	Total,	2,342,179		1,587,648	
1800	White	2,877,643		1,426,846	
	Slaves	150,973		742,063	
	Free colored	75,793	226,771	32,604	774,667
	Total,	3,104,414		2,201,513	
1810	White	3,977,023		1,884,981	
	Slaves	151,595		1,039,769	
	Free colored	128,400	279,995	58,046	1,097,815
	Total,	4,257,018		2,982,796	
1820	White	5,436,737		2,429,832	
	Slaves	138,817		1,399,221	
	Free colored	156,484	295,301	77,040	1,476,261
	Total,	5,732,038		3,906,093	
1830	White	7,366,773		3,170,605	
	Slaves	140,985		1,868,058	
	Free colored	213,037	854,022	106,562	1,974,620
	Total,	7,720,795		5,145,225	

VIRGINIA.				
	<i>Whites.</i>	<i>Slaves.</i>	<i>Free colored.</i>	
1790 East of the Mountains,	507,885	291,273	12,708	
1830 do do do	375,940	416,259	40,708	
1790 West of the Mountains,	34,230	2,154	63	
1830 do do do	318,505	53,465	6,323	

SOUTH CAROLINA.				
	<i>Whites.</i>	<i>Slaves.</i>	<i>Free colored.</i>	
1790	140,178	107,094	1,801	
1830	257,878	315,665	7,915	

[The foregoing, will answer a part of Mr. BRBB's resolution. I pronounce it an accurate statement; and it cost me no little labour.]

FROM LIBERIA.

By the Ship Lafayette, and the Brig Ruth, despatches have been received from the Colony, bearing dates up to the 21st of February. The emigrants by the Hercules, the Roanoke, and the Lafayette had arrived in safety.—The Colonial Agent had been severely ill, in consequence of exposure in a canoe at sea, in returning from a visit to Grand Bassa, where a purchase has been made of a valuable tract of country on the south side of St. John's river, containing from 150 to 200 square miles, including the river and principal town, which the chief insisted should be included in the Colony, as he desired to become a part of it. This land is the best timbered in the Colony; and it is said has several mill seats on it. The settlement commenced there, appears to be in a prosperous state. The territory just obtained, through the well-directed efforts of the Agent, will prove of great value, and opens a new and interesting field to the enterprise of the settlers.

We state, with deep regret, that complaints have been made to the Board, by several of the emigrants, by recent expeditions, of the insufficiency and

unwholesomeness of the provisions issued to them, and of a want of that cordiality and kindness towards them which they might have reasonably expected from the earlier settlers in the colony. Evils doubtless there are in the colony, which should be remedied, and to the execution of measures for effecting this, will the immediate and most earnest efforts of the Managers be directed. These evils arise, in great part, from the neglect of agricultural pursuits, and to habits among a certain class of the settlers, which have grown out of their success in trade, and which excite in the community generally, an overanxious desire for immediate gain, although in manifest disregard of the lasting improvement and prosperity of the colony. Experience is the great teacher of society as well as of individuals, and it cannot fail to change the present state of things. The Managers have ordered ample supplies for the new settlers to be forthwith shipped to the colony, and adopted the most efficient means for the redress of all grievances.

A recent arrival brought us the last number of the *LIBERIA HERALD*, under date of January 10th. It contains a well written editorial article on the New Year, in which the writer dwells with much feeling and even eloquence, on the propitious progress of the colony, and on its advantages to his colored brethren. We subjoin the concluding passages of the article referred to:

"But while we have been attending to those things which affect our outward comfort, the intellectual wants of our rising generation have not passed by unnoticed. Schools have been established in our different settlements, and efforts are making to raise means for another among our re-captured Africans. Have we rich friends in America, who feel willing to aid the cause of God and man, by dispelling the moral darkness around us? Spare a little of your abundance, toward the cause of education among our re-captured Africans, and the blessing of hundreds will descend upon you. With the increased means of the society, more attention has been paid to the comfort of new comers, and during the past year, three extensive buildings have been put up solely for their accommodation.

"With the year that is past our colony has also extended her limits, and so securely do the emigrants to Grand Bassa consider themselves located, that most of them have sent for their families, who left here a few days since in the *Margaret Mercer*, for that settlement.

"We should consider ourselves as a peculiarly favored people, for even now while the demon of disunion is about to enter among the confederated states of our native land, we have been spared from any thing of that kind; our commerce has been extending, and our infant colony becoming more known to the civilized world. The very name of Africa, hitherto, has been a terror to mankind, but we thank God, that there is one spot in it, upon which the eye of philanthropy can rest with pleasure, as the workmanship of its own hands—one spot to which the weary wanderers of the ocean can repair for refreshment and health."

Since the preceding number of the *Herald* was published, *thirteen* vessels had arrived at, and *twelve* sailed from the port of Monrovia.

From the price current contained in the last *Herald*, it appears that at its date there was no supply in the colony of Beef, cargo No. 1; Blue Bafts, Corn Meal, Molasses, Gin, N. England Rum, Shoes, or Shad; and that Flour, Mackerel No. 3, Pork, &c. were selling at high prices.

LETTER.

AGENCY OF ELLIOTT CRESSON, ESQ., IN ENGLAND.

This zealous and indefatigable friend of the Society, has excited a deep and extensive interest in its behalf, throughout a great part of England and Scotland. The following letter gives an account of a meeting, recently held at Dundee.

DUNDEE, 23rd January, 1833.

DEAR FRIEND: A public meeting of the Anti-Slavery Society, in this place, was held this evening, in the Steeple Church, for the purpose of giving Mr. Cresson an opportunity of pleading the cause of the American Colonization Society.

The Rev. Dr. Peters in the Chair, opened the meeting with prayer, and introduced Mr. Cresson:—

Mr. Cresson then rose, and in a most eloquent speech, gave an interesting account of the nature, operations, objects, success, and prospects of the American Colonization Society, and of the settlement of freed slaves at Liberia, and powerfully set forth the claims of the negro and much injured Africa, on British benevolence. Having concluded:

It was moved by the Rev. James Thomson, seconded by the Rev. John Macvicar, and

Resolved, unanimously, "That this meeting, hail with the highest satisfaction, the establishment of a Colony of manumitted slaves, and of other persons of colour at Liberia, as a most likely means of promoting the christianizing and civilizing of that much injured country; and for eventually putting an end to the disgraceful traffic in human beings which has too long prevailed in different parts of the world."

On the motion of the Rev. David Russell, seconded by Mr. Andrew Low, it was

Resolved, unanimously, "That this meeting feel particular pleasure from observing that the whole of the proceedings of the American Colonization Society are based on a becoming regard to the principles of genuine christianity; the only sure foundation on which either personal or national prosperity can be reared; and without which, the best human institution must utterly fail to promote the freedom or the happiness of mankind."

On the motion of Mr. Cruickshank, and seconded by the Rev. Mr. Renney, it was

Resolved, unanimously, "That this meeting express their approbation of the principles and proceedings of the American Colonization Society; and their earnest desire that a scheme so propitiously commenced, may be zealously prosecuted, until the whole slave population of North America be manumitted; and such a spirit of rational and enlightened freedom diffused over the length and breadth of much injured Africa, as may by the divine blessing serve to put down forever, the cruel and demoralizing traffic in human beings throughout that vast continent."

On the motion of the Rev. Matthew Frazer, seconded by Mr. Daniel Urquhart, it was

Resolved, unanimously, "That a collection shall be made at the close of this meeting, and the amount paid over to Mr. Cresson for the American Colonization Society, to be applied by them, in such a way as to them may appear best, for the accomplishment of their truly humane and christian objects."

Mr. Frazer now read extracts from a circular, under date 14th January, 1833, which he received from the Anti-Slavery Society, London, recommending the importance and propriety of the duty of petitioning Parliament, earnestly praying for the immediate and entire abolition of slavery in all the colonies of Great Britain, under such provisions as may be found necessary for the safety of all parties:—And on the motion of the Rev. Mr. Thomson, it was unanimously agreed, that petitions to this effect should be drawn up and signed by the President and Secretary of the Dundee Anti-Slavery Society, and transmitted in proper time to both Houses of Parliament.

The Rev. Dr. Peters pronounced the Apostolic benediction, and the meeting was dissolved. The collection amounted to £9 s12 d10.

MATTHEW FRAZER, *Secretary*.

Under date of NOTTINGHAM, ENGLAND, 25th August, 1832, Mr. CRESSON writes:

"My last was a month since, announcing, I believe, our first meeting at Norwich, and the subscription of nearly £60. Soon after I had a small meeting at Wisbeach, the birth place of Clarkson, and others with good success, at Long Sutton, Holbeach and Spalding. I found a most hearty welcome in some places where I little expected it. The week before last I had five meetings in four days. Though unwell, I summoned all my strength to return to Lincoln, and held a second meeting there as I had first done at Boston. It was very crowded, the Mayor in the chair—and the next morning I found enough had been sent to our friends, (£15) for sending two manumitted slaves to Liberia. At Spalding, they had reached three. I also held a small meeting at Newark. I rode over to Derby yesterday, and was received most kindly."

Mr. CRESSON, writes from AYTON, YORKSHIRE, November 11th, 1832, That great opposition has been raised against the Society, by those who urge the immediate, entire and unconditional emancipation of all slaves, and that many misrepresentations have been urged against the Society. At Beverly, a circular was set afloat to destroy his prospects, and he adds: "I felt aroused by honest indignation, and in a style of earnest, and I found of cap-

vincing argument, I was favored to make nearly 1000 persons feel, that although they came as our enemies, they could not leave the house, other than our friends. Indeed in many places, I have been surprised and gratified to observe, how far honest, straight-forward, earnest labour has produced similar results. To return to the Branches in which I have been most busy, the Secretary of the Corresponding Committee at Hull, is James Bowden, Esq., and as Hull is in the Naval centre of that part of England, please let his cover parcels for the Rev. Mr. Gledhall, Sec. of the Doncaster Col. Society; Miss Roby, Sec. of the Ladies Society at Doncaster; J. Hutchinson, Esq., Sec. of Selby Col. Society; Miss M. Langhorne, Sec. of Alford Ladies Branch; Henry Lucas, Esq.; Another parcel for the United Ladies and Gentlemens Society, Louth; Thomas Peckslay, Esq.; Sec. of Lincoln Branch; John Campion, Esq., Sec. of Whitby Branch; Humphry Sandwith, Esq. Sec. of Bridlington Branch; Thomas Sandwith, Esq., Sec. of Beverly Branch, and Dr. Eddison, Sec. of Nottingham Branch; each of these to be separately done up and directed, yet all to be under cover to James Bowden, Hull.

About the period of my last, I had a large meeting at Nottingham; about fifteen hundred attended. I then tarried a few days at Newstead Abbey. Doncaster was then my head quarters for some time, and spent some days in visiting the neighboring gentry, some of whom attended. Two Branches were formed, and nearly £30 paid. Both there and at Leeds, the Ladies are endeavouring to get up Bazaars for us. I also visited York, and in their meeting, had an audience of about eight hundred. Selby possesses a liberal Rector, who opened to me his magnificent old church, built in 1068, presided at the meeting, and by this, secured an audience of about fifteen hundred; the Committee writes, that nearly £40 has been subscribed. It will appear by the above list, that I stirred up Alford and Louth. At Hull, I made good our principles and practice against various allegations, and secured some warm friends, and about £20. At Bridlington too, in addition to £8, much good feeling was excited, and several good Ladies will try a Branch. At Whitby, one thousand attended at the first meeting, and at the second, more than could be accommodated in our place of meeting; much good feeling was excited, and the Rector, Rev. F. H. Pope, presided; many came forward at the close of the meeting, and an annual subscription was made of £8. Late on the same evening, a poor old widow called on our Rev. Chairman, and told him that she could not, peacefully go to rest, until she gave him £1 for so noble an object, and he was so delighted with the circumstance, that he brought it to me at candle light yesterday morning, knowing that I was on the wing. I had a stormy ride in open vehicles, both before and after meeting at Guisboro, and although under circumstances so chilling to the system, yet my mind has been warmed by the belief, that in most of my visits, positive good has been effected, even where little cash has been received. Thus, during the few hours spent at G., a female friend who had been so interested in my statements, as to have left us one-fourth of her fortune in a former will, and had been so poisoned by an Agent of the Anti-Slavery Society, as to cut us off, was by this visit set right.

Do you want Arabic Testaments for schools or distribution in Africa; if so, you can mention it when you reply to Dr. Hodgkin's proffer to secure a fount of Arabic Type, and I can get a liberal supply sent out by the Bible Society, via Sierra Leone.

StOCKTON 11th—I have had a public meeting here this evening, and have been much pleased with the result, for the Mayor, Leonard Ransbeck, Esq., proposed the formation of a Branch—So, also do the Ladies. Independent of the subscriptions, the Wesleys made up £16 to send out a manumitted slave preacher and wife, to be approved by Rev. G. G. Cookman.

Under date of January 1st, 1833, from ABERDEEN.

In Edinburgh we had a noble meeting. From a paper forwarded by Mr. Cresson, it appears, that this meeting was held in St Andrews Church, and that Lord Moncrieff, the Lord Advocate, J. A. Murray, Esq., M. P. James Simpson, Esq., Advocate, J. S. More, Esq., Advocate, the Rev. Dr. Ingles, Rev. Dr. Grant, Rev. Edward Craig and other Clergymen and influential individuals, honored the meeting with their presence—Lord Moncrieff presided, and made an impressive speech. After an interesting and eloquent address from Mr. Cresson, the Lord Advocate made an eloquent speech and submitted the following resolution.

1. *Resolved*, That this meeting view with unmixed satisfaction, the establishment of the free and independent settlement of Negroes on the West Coast of Africa, called Liberia, under the patronage of the American Colonization Society—because they consider it as the most likely means to civilize and christianize the natives of Africa—to diminish, and ultimately annihilate the slave trade, by preventing its supply at its source—and to forward the cause of the abolition of slavery itself, by opening a channel in which benevolence may flow safely, in providing for the emancipated negro an asylum and a country in a region and climate for which his physical constitution is peculiarly fitted.

Dr. Grant seconded this resolution and supported it in an able manner.

The second resolution was then offered by Mr. Simpson, Advocate, and seconded by Mr. Wardlaw Ramsay.

2. That this meeting are disposed to welcome a plan, which with a due regard to the free-will, rights, and feelings of both the black and white population, tends to commence the cure of the evil of slavery itself, by re-establishing the African in possession of every social and political right in the land of his ancestors.

J. A. Murray, Esq., then introduced the third Resolution with some appropriate remarks,

in which he expressed his concurrence in the sentiments so admirably expressed by the noble Chairman, and the Lord Advocate.

3. That this meeting highly approve of the principles and motives of the American Colonization Society, and applaud the judicious course which they have followed, in doing all the direct good in their power, while they carefully avoid in any way interfering with other existing institutions; and in particular, in leaving Anti-Slavery, and Negro Education Societies, and the American Legislatures themselves, to pursue their proper course in the great work of justice to the injured sons of Africa.

That a collection now be made in aid of the funds of the Colonization Society, and subscription papers lodged at the different Banks; the proceeds to be received and transmitted to the Society's Bankers in London, by a Committee, consisting of the following gentlemen, for the purpose of corresponding with the Society in America, in any way that may promote the great cause of African deliverance, and of maintaining in Edinburgh a sympathy with their benevolent views, and an interest in their success:—

Lord Moncrieff
Lord Advocate
Solicitor General Cockburn
Rev. Dr. Grant
Rev. Dr. Inglis
Rev. John Hunter,
Geo. Forbes, Esq. Coates House
Sir J. W. Riddle
R. M. Ramsay, Esq.
James Simpson, Esq.

Alex. Cruickshank
Rev. Wm. Ennes
Charles Maclaren, Esq.
George Combe, Esq.
Dr. Gillies
Alexr. Craig, Esq.
Mr. McCallum
Farq. Gordon, Esq.
Rev. Edward Craig

The several resolutions having been moved and seconded, were put from the chair, and carried with unanimous approbation.

Mr. Simpson then moved a vote of thanks to Mr. Cresson, who had done his duty so nobly in advocating the cause of the oppressed, and illustrating so graphically, the intended objects and intention of founding the colony of negroes in Liberia. He was sure a warm expression of thanks would embody the feeling of every one present.

Lord Moncrieff said, we have one sincere pledge that Mr. Cresson comes among us with disinterested views. He came all the way from Philadelphia, and has been a long time in this kingdom, making what efforts he could to enlist British feeling in the object of his mission, and this entirely at his own expense.

Mr. Cresson, in returning thanks, professed himself unable to express a tithe of the gratitude he entertained for the honor conferred upon him by the meeting. He saw in this mark of their approbation an earnest of the change of feeling which had taken place in this country with regard to America. When he last visited Great Britain, about seven years ago, he thought there was a prevailing disposition to undervalue and talk lightly of the institutions and people of his native country; but he was happy now to observe, that feelings quite the reverse were generally diffused.

In his letter, Mr. Cresson observes:—

“When I first arrived at Edinburgh, the clouds which loured rendered my prospects gloomy, but when I presented the evidence of our just claims to their confidence and regard, my cause was won with some hundred persons who had been much affected by the attacks upon us, and to none do we owe more than to Mrs. Fletcher, a lady of great influence with the highest classes. The Committee seem disposed to resolve themselves into a permanent Branch, in which case, I shall hope that £100 now subscribed, and received at the two meetings, will be made up to £300 as requisite to founding a little separate town to be called EDINA.”

From the Greenock Advertiser of the 28th of January, we perceive that a pretty numerous and highly respectable meeting has been held in that City, at which sundry Resolutions in favour of African Colonization were adopted. Bailes Baine, Esq., presided; the meeting was addressed by Mr. Cresson, Rev. Mr. Cunningham, the Rev. Mr. Morran, and others. A Committee was appointed to receive donations.

The Aberdeen Journal of the 6th of February, contains a highly encouraging account of a meeting held the previous week in that city, at which Alexander Bannerman, Esq. M. P. presided. Eloquent speeches were made by Mr. Bannerman, Mr. Cresson, the Rev. Principal Dewar, the Rev. D. Simpson, the Rev. J. Brown, (the resolution offered by this gentleman was seconded by Sheriff Watson,) Abercrombie Gordon, Mr. Parker and Mr. Foote.

The following resolutions were adopted:

Resolved, That this meeting view with satisfaction, the establishment of the independent colony of Liberia, as being the most likely means of civilizing and Christianizing Africa, and of abolishing the slave trade.

Resolved, That the meeting view the existence of the two classes of white and black in one community, as a serious evil, producing domination in the one and degradation in the other; and that the meeting welcome the plan laid before them, as it tends to establish the African in the possession of his social and political rights, in the land of his ancestors.

Resolved, That the meeting highly approve of the principles and conduct of the American Colonization Society; that a collection now be made in aid of its funds; and that sub-

scriptions be received at the banks, and a committee appointed for furthering the objects of the society. The motion was seconded by the Rev. Mr. Allan, of Union Chapel.

The Scots Times, printed at Glasgow, gives a full and interesting statement of the meeting held in that city on the 20th of February, to aid the colony of Liberia. Andrew Mitchell, Esq. took the chair, and after addresses from the chairman and Mr. Cresson, on motion of Principal Macfarlan, (who introduced the resolution with a short and eloquent speech,) seconded by Mr. Smith, of Jordanhill, it was

Resolved, That this meeting are disposed to welcome the plan of the American Colonization Society, for the establishment of the free and Christian settlement of negroes on the west coast of Africa, called Liberia, by which an asylum is provided for the emancipated negro in a region and climate peculiarly adapted to his physical constitution; and which, with a due regard to the free will, rights, and feelings of both the black and white races of men, tends to commence the cure of slavery, by re-establishing the African in the possession of every social and political right in the land of his ancestors, by preventing all traffic in slaves, and by introducing civilization and Christianity into that quarter of the globe; and accordingly this meeting highly approve, not only of the principles and motives of the society, but also of the judicious course which they have followed in doing all the good in their power, while they carefully avoid in any way interfering with other existing institutions.

Dr. Smyth moved the next resolution, which was seconded by Baillie Paul, and also unanimously agreed to :

Resolved, That subscription papers be now opened, and a collection made, in aid of the funds of the Colonization Society; the proceeds to be received and transmitted to the society's bankers in London, by a committee consisting of the following gentlemen, who shall have power to add to their number, and who shall continue from time to time to collect and remit such further sums as may be contributed; and also to correspond with the society in America, with the view of promoting the great cause of African deliverance, and of maintaining in Glasgow a sympathy with their benevolent purposes, and an interest in their success:

The Very Rev. Principal Macfarlan, D. D.
The Rev. John Smith, D. D.
The Rev. Wm. Kidston, D. D.
The Rev. J. G. Lorimer,
The Rev. George Almond,
The Rev. Chas. Brown,
Hugh Cogan, Esq.
Patrick Falconer, Esq.
Wm. Gordon Mack, Esq.
A. W. McGeorge, Esq.
Henry Paul, Esq.
Robt. Jamieson, Esq.
Walter Buchanan, Esq.
Robert Bartholomew, Esq.
J. J. Duncan, Esq.

The Rev. D. Nasmyth,
Professor Hocker,
William Dunn, Esq.
James Smith, Esq.
Andrew Mitchell, Esq.
James Hutchinson, Esq.
John Bain, Esq.
Andrew Tennent, Esq.
Andrew Galbraith, Esq.
John Ker, Esq.
Archd. Harvey, Esq.
J. A. Fullerton, Esq.
James Mitchell, Esq. Secretary and Treasurer.

It is delightful to know, that the people of England, are thus ready to express their approbation of our cause, that they are disposed to contribute to its success, and we trust that our own countrymen will feel prompted by a stronger spirit, and moved to larger deeds of benevolence to Africa, in view of the approving aspect and generous co-operation of the generous and noble-minded of Great Britain.

INTELLIGENCE.

REPORTS OF AGENTS.

Rev. J. N. DANFORTH reports, under date of Boston, March 1, 1833, that the Rev. Mr. Pearl has passed through the principal towns of Vermont, and been engaged occasionally in public discussions. He, (the Rev. Mr. Danforth) has been writing and circulating a series of weekly numbers throughout New England and New York, "adapted to meet the present state of the public mind, and to obviate objections which are disseminated by the friends of the New England Anti-Slavery Society"—Has made particular efforts, and succeeded in obtaining the "services of some gentlemen of the best talents and devotedness to the cause of benevolence," who, at the annual meeting of the Massachusetts Society, addressed the congre-

gation with the happiest effect. A powerful impulse was given to the cause in that region, through the instrumentality of that meeting. Mr. Danforth delivered an address to the young men, in the old South Church, which was well attended:—He was enabled to get up a meeting of about one hundred, for the purpose of forming a Young Men's Society; and, though interrupted by Messrs. Buffum & Garrison, took the preparatory measures to the organization of an efficient institution.—At a subsequent meeting it was completed, and HENRY HUGGEBFORD, Esq. was elected President, and B. B. THATCHER, Esq. Secretary.

Being in Marblehead, he heard that Mr. Garrison, one of the leaders of the New England Anti-Slavery Society, (who had with

such perseverance opposed our cause,) had given public notice of a lecture to be delivered by him in the Lyceum at Salem, on Monday evening, Feb. 18th, on the origin, principles, and tendency of our society. The writer went to Salem to endeavour to obviate, if possible; the injurious effect that might result from the strange and distorted views which enemies to our institution are known to inculcate concerning it. He did not consider one so adverse as Mr. G. to the society, a proper person to expound its doctrines. He called on Mr. Garrison, and offered to debate the question with him that evening. Mr. G. offered his coadjutor, Mr. Buffum, as a substitute on another evening. They were permitted to draw up their own resolutions, and the whole evening of the 18th was spent in debating the first two of the following resolutions:

1. *Resolved*, That the authentic publications of the American Colonization Society demonstrate that the institution originated with slave holders, and that it does not appear that they have manumitted their own slaves.

2. *Resolved*, That the avowed and only object of the society is, to remove from the United States, and colonize in some foreign country, that portion of the people of color who are already free, or who may hereafter be made free by the influence of anti-slavery principles.

Resolution 3d, prepared by Mr. Buffum but not discussed:

1. *Resolved*, That the tendency of the society is, to give increased security and interest to the slave system, and especially to the domestic slave trade; also to excite and perpetuate unholy prejudices against the free people of color in this country.

The first resolution passed, Mr. D. thinks, from some misapprehension of its purport, particularly of the latter part, since it is to be determined by evidence, that most of the managers hold no slaves at all; and the manager who owned the largest number, had offered them their freedom, which they declined accepting. The meeting having adjourned until Friday evening, when Wm. Ladd, Esq. Dr. Flint, Mr. Garrison and others, took part in the debate, the second resolution was rejected by a large majority; the third resolution was dropped in silence. The full development of the objects of the society on this occasion, placed it in the power of its friends to pass their vote in approbation of these objects; but they wished not to continue the controversy. All we ask, says Mr. D. is to be permitted, unmolested by captious objections, and unreasonable obstacles to pursue our object: the colonization and Christianization of Africa. We have no need to fear discussion. Any fair comparison of views must result, in an enlightened community, in establishing our positions on a strong and impregnable basis.

J. G. BIRNEY, Esq. writes under date of Huntsville, Alabama, Jan. 24th, 1838, "That many free people of color in Tennessee, begin to talk much about going to the colony. At New Orleans, March 18th, he writes: "On

Sunday evening, the 10th instant, I addressed a large meeting for about an hour and a quarter. The effect, I have reason to hope, was to remove all prejudices against the American Colonization Society, and promote a general approbation of the scheme. Although I had gone into the examination of it in reference to the peculiar condition of this state, and of the south generally, as far as I thought was at all necessary, there was nothing like opposition or alarm created. The blacks, both free and slaves, were permitted to be present. At a subsequent meeting a collection was taken up among a few friends, amounting to \$20 62 cents. The legacy of Judge Workman, it is expected, will soon be paid."

Rev. H. B. BASCOM reports from St. Louis, 5th March, 1838:—Had addressed an unusually large audience the day previous—the collection exceeded a hundred dollars, and considerably more than one hundred members joined the society: left the collection in the hands of the society. He says our interest here is strong.

The same gentleman reports again from Glen Cottage, Kentucky, 26th March, 1838, that he had delivered an address in Louisville, Ky. which produced \$150. This sum he left with the society there, and also paid over to the agent of the society, the Rev. Geo. Light, \$50, to enable him to send away some emigrants, which, including a remittance from Cincinnati, and the collection at St. Louis, makes in all \$500.

The Rev. E. W. SEWON writes, under date of Portsmouth, Ohio, January 22d, 1838, that he has visited Circleville, Chillicothe, and Portsmouth, and received in money, about \$200; thinks that a good impression, in favor of the cause, was made in Columbus. One of the most interesting meetings was principally of colored people, who had been opposed to the cause from not having been acquainted with the objects of the society.—"Many of the most violent afterwards gave their names, expressive of their willingness to emigrate." He acknowledges the receipt of the following sums in Columbus: Hon. John McClean, \$10, Gen. Walter Flamer, \$15, and L. Reynolds, Gen. Dille, Chas. Eggleston, Governor Lucas, Gen. Worthington, Uri Scely, J. Hammond, Doct. Goodall, J. McDowell, Mr. Fairbank, Mr. Ridgeway, A. N. Riddle, N. Swayne, Gen. Patterson, E. Begelow, each \$5. Delivered an address at Circleville, collected \$28, and added about 30 members to the society: he also induced nine others to join him in giving each \$5 to the Cincinnati Colonization Society, \$50. Ten others gave each \$1. Delivered an address at Chillicothe; owing to the weather the congregation was small but liberal: the collection was \$27. At Circleville he also received from eleven persons \$50, and added 35 members to the society. In Portsmouth delivered an address and collected \$28 14: he also formed a society, of which 75 persons became members: the amount of the subscription was \$86. He thinks "the cause is rapidly gaining ground, and that the free colored population only need information to make them hail the friends of colonization as the friends of their race."

Under date of March 9, 1833, he writes that he has visited Marietta, Parkersburg, and Cincinnati: In the latter place made an address, and collection in the Methodist Church of \$115. In Marietta, in the Presbyterian Church, \$34. In Parkersburg, a collection of \$6; also acknowledges the receipt of \$100 from Judge Burnet as his subscription on G. Smith's plan; also \$143 from the Cincinnati Colonization Society. He also acknowledges three gold rings from young ladies. He adds that he must resign his agency—an important station in the west being destitute of a Methodist ministry, to which he has been preferred by the Bishop. He says, "I have consented, believing the calls of the church superior to any other; but let me say there is no change in my feelings with regard to the society. No—though I may now cease my exertions as an active agent, I will ever be the ardent friend of our high cause, and will do any thing for the society that lies in my power."

Rev. JAMES LATTA, recently appointed an agent, writes, under date of Greenville, Illinois, 14th February, 1833, that the State Society agrees to furnish to the parent institution one thousand dollars in ten years, by annual and equal instalments—called a meeting of the citizens of Greenville, Bond county, Illinois, and formed a society consisting at present of 43 members, and received subscriptions to the amount of \$15 55.

Rev. GEO. LIGHT, of Kentucky, writes under date of 1st April, 1833—On March 22d, 73 emigrants left Louisville to join 33 others who were waiting at Shawnee town. Capt. Shrodes offered them a passage in his boat to New Orleans without charge. The emigrants are in general young and healthy; some are mechanics, others can read and write; 100 are from Kentucky; 5 from Jonesborough, East Tennessee; and one from Ohio who goes as the representative of from 3 to 500 colored persons, who have a settlement in Brown County. Should he bring a favorable account, they will emigrate. (We have also sent out one from this state to return in the fall: if he report favorably, there will be no further difficulty in procuring emigrants in the west.)—96 of these emigrants were *slaves*, tendered by their owners for that purpose—the rest were free. The impression made at Louisville was astonishing, and many of the free colored population wish to go with the next expedition. We have collected funds sufficient, I believe, to defray the expense of all the emigrants from Kentucky. Received the following sums of money, and appropriated them to defray the expenses of the five emigrants from Jonesborough, and the one from Ohio, from the Brown County Col. society \$51; cash received by the society at Cincinnati, by Mr. Savage \$30; of the Rev. H. B. Bascom \$30; collected by him for the parent society—in all \$161. He believes that in all, between 250 and 300, some from the west and south-western states, will be at New Orleans ready to emigrate.

AUXILIARY SOCIETIES.

Virginia.—The second annual meeting of the Colonization Society of Virginia was held in the Capitol at Richmond, on Friday evening, January 4, 1833, Chief Justice MARSHALL, the President of the society, in the Chair.

Resolutions were passed accepting the annual report of the managers, recommending to them to present a memorial to the Legislature then in session, praying an appropriation towards defraying the expense of transporting free coloured persons emigrating from the State to Liberia; and appointing as delegates to the ensuing annual meeting of the American Colonization Society, in Washington, the President of the State Society; John Tyler, one of the Vice Presidents; and the Hon. Wm. S. Archer.

The following gentlemen were elected officers and managers for the ensuing year, viz:

President, John Marshall; *Vice Presidents*, James Madison, James Pleasants, John Tyler, Briscoe G. Baldwin, Joseph L. Fry, Hugh Nelson, Wm. H. Broadnax, Wm. Maxwell, Thomas Massie, John F. May, H. G. Winston, and Abel P. Upshur; *Treasurer*, Benjamin Brand; *Corresponding Secretary*, John Rutherford; *Recording Secretary*, David I. Burr; *Managers*, W. H. Fitzwhylson, Robt. G. Scott, John H. Eustace, William Crane, James E. Heath, Hall Neilson, Nicholas Mills, Thos. C. Howard, Fleming James, H. A. Claiborne, Joseph Mayo, and John H. Pleasants.

The report of the Board of Managers is a perspicuous and satisfactory document. It exhibits, in a true point of view, the principles and objects of the society; notices the groundless suspicions which have been entertained against it; and, in animated terms, shows the beneficent results which have been reached, both by the parent society and by its Virginia auxiliary. Among the interesting details of the Report, it appears that during the past year, \$1,569 55 have been contributed to the purposes of the society; that additional members have been united to it; that many of the "most intelligent, active, and useful citizens of Virginia have abandoned their opposition to it, and several have become its members;" that auxiliary societies have been formed in several parts of the State; and that not less than five hundred free blacks have, during the past year, emigrated from the State to Liberia.

After citing the testimony to the prosperous condition of the colony, borne by Capt. Benjamin Page of the United States Navy, in his letter of April 9, 1832, to the Secretary of the Navy, the managers add the following impressive commentary:—

"Here is presented a thriving settlement, springing into life in a distant and uncivilized country. Adopting a republican form of government, and proving by its acts in a series of years, that it possesses ample virtue and intelligence, to conduct prudently and advantageously its own political and municipal affairs—framing laws of the most judicious character—creating offices, and filling them with her best citizens—punishing the vicious,

and giving adequate protection to the rights of persons and of property—instituting a system of schools and education—regulating commerce, both external and internal; and evidencing, in every particular, an entire capacity for self-government. What a contrast is presented to the reflecting mind, between the free men of this colony, and their former condition in our own happy country!

Massachusetts.—The annual meeting of the Massachusetts Colonization Society was held in Park-street Church, on Thursday evening, Feb. 7, 1833. At half past 6 o'clock, the Hon. STEPHEN C. PHILLIPS, of Salem, took the chair. After a voluntary on the organ, the meeting was opened with prayer by the Rev. JOEL H. LINDSLEY.

The credentials of Delegates from auxiliary societies were then received, when it appeared that the following gentlemen had been appointed by the respective societies.

Worcester Co. Auxiliary. Hon. W. S. HASTINGS, A. D. FOSTER, and C. ALLEN, Esqrs.
Hampshire. Hon. ELIPHALET WILLIAMS and GEORGE BANCROFT, Esq.

Hampden. Hon. WILLIAM B. CALHOUN, Hon. PATRICK BOIES, Hon. GEORGE BLISS, and GEORGE ASHMUN, Esq.

Berkshire. Hon. THOMAS B. STRONG and Hon. EDWARD STEVENS, of the Senate.—SAMUEL M. MACKAY and HENRY MARSH, Esq. of the House.

Franklin. None.

A letter was read to the meeting from his Excellency LEVI LINCOLN, Governor of the Commonwealth, excusing himself on the ground of previous engagements, for not being present on the occasion. After a brief, but eloquent tribute to the objects and measures of the society, Gov. Lincoln says:

"I can see nothing in the history of the past operations of the society which should create distrust of its salutary influences in any section of our country, much less give cause for hostility to its humane and Christian charities, directed to enlightening the ignorant, sending a pure religion to the heathen, restoring the African to his native land, and making that land the residence of the happy and the free."

A letter from the Hon. SAMUEL LATHROP, President of the society, was communicated to the Secretary, expressing the regret of the writer at his inability to attend the meeting and preside over its deliberations; suggesting the expediency, that the office of President should be conferred on some individual, residing nearer than himself to the place of its meetings; and commenting, in forcible and favorable terms, on the objects and tendency of the institution. "I view," says Mr. LATHROP, in conclusion, "the establishment of the Colonization Society, as one of the means among the benevolent operations of the day, and the principal one, for the regeneration of a continent."

The report was read by the Secretary, Dr. J. V. C. SMITH. This paper is replete with just views, and with interesting facts in relation to the colony, which, however, it is unnecessary here to particularize, as they have already been communicated to the readers of this journal.

The Hon. ALEXANDER H. EVERETT mov-

ed the acceptance of the report, and accompanied his motion with some eloquent remarks, well deserving extensive circulation and attentive perusal. We regret much that the limits of this number forbid us to transfer to it the whole of Mr. EVERETT's speech.—We cannot resist the temptation to insert some passages.

After adverting to the origin, objects, and probable, as well as actual results of the Colonization Society, and remarking that "one of the most enlightened and distinguished noblemen of England, Lord Althorp, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, at a late public meeting, pronounced the colony of Liberia to be one of the greatest events of modern times," in which declaration, Mr. EVERETT avows his entire concurrence; he thus proceeds:

"A variety of circumstances, Mr. President, seem to concur to render the present moment, and the place where the colony has been founded, the most propitious that could possibly have been selected for such a purpose. At a time when the failure of innumerable attempts to explore the central regions of Africa, and the untimely death of the enterprising travellers who have engaged in them, had nearly induced the friends of humanity and improvement to abandon the undertaking, two or three parties, more fortunate than their predecessors, have succeeded almost simultaneously, in penetrating by different routes, into the heart of the interior of this mysterious continent. All the great geographical problems connected with it, that had so long baffled the curiosity of inquirers, are now solved. An obscure and unpretending Frenchman, without education or advantages; two English brothers, belonging to the class of domestic servants, have, to their lasting honor, accomplished what scientific travellers and powerful associations had so long attempted in vain. The position of Timbuctoo has at last been ascertained,—the course of the Niger has been explored. That river has been found to empty itself into the Atlantic Ocean at a point not very remote from the infant colony of Liberia. The portion of Africa which it waters, appears, from the accounts of these travellers, to be one of the finest regions of the globe—resembling in its physical characteristics, the valley of the Mississippi—blest with every advantage of soil and climate, covered with towns and villages, peopled by a race who have made no inconsiderable progress in the arts of life. Within a very few years, perhaps months, we shall hear of steam boats navigating this unexplored river, of which, two years ago, the most learned geographer did not know the direction or outlet. Thus a free and easy communication with the most populous and cultivated portions of Africa has happily been opened at the very moment when the first germs of improvement have been planted on the coast, and every facility is afforded for a rapid diffusion of their fruits over the whole continent.

I confess, Mr. President, that I look forward with much satisfaction, to the results of these interesting events. I anticipate with very great pleasure, the period when the whole south-western coast of Africa will be covered with flourishing settlements

of free blacks, and when a constant and free intercourse will be held between them and the inland nations in their neighborhood. I rejoice at it, not merely because it will open to our enterprising merchants a new and lucrative branch of trade—although this of itself is no contemptible advantage—but, Sir, I rejoice at it because it will, as I have already remarked, utterly and forever annihilate that abominable traffic, which, for the last three centuries, has been the standing disgrace of Christendom: I rejoice at it, because it will elevate millions of our fellow men from a rude and semi-barbarous, to a civilized condition. Is it not delightful, Sir, to think that the schoolmaster who, we are told, is abroad every where, will shortly be at home in Africa?—That the light of learning will very soon visit her populous towns and cities?—That the apostle of the true religion will pitch his tent under the shade of her lofty palm trees?—That the banks of her broad and noble rivers will resound with the sweet music of the songs of Zion? Is there any thing visionary in these anticipations? Sir, they are simple statements of facts which are going on before our eyes. While I am now speaking, the enterprising brothers, who first broke the spell, which for ages preceding had shrouded the course of the Niger in a cloud of impenetrable mystery, are ascending that river with their steam boats. While I am now speaking, preparations are making in this very city, to take advantage of the first opening afforded by the discoveries that they may make, for the purpose of establishing missionary stations in the heart of Africa. No, Sir, there is nothing visionary in all this. I have stated merely facts, but they are facts more strange, more interesting, more delightful than the fairest dreams of the most poetical fancy.

"In all this movement, Mr. President, the colony at Liberia, and the others that will probably be established on the same plan, will be the most effective and useful instruments. But, Sir, we are sometimes told that all these efforts will be unavailing—that the African is a degraded member of the human family—that a man with a dark skin and curled hair, is necessarily, as such, incapable of improvement and civilization, and condemned by the vice of his physical conformation, to vegetate forever in a state of hopeless barbarism. Mr. President, I reject, with contempt and indignation, this miserable heresy. In replying to it, the friends of truth and humanity have not hitherto done justice to the argument. In order to prove that the blacks were capable of intellectual efforts, they have painfully collected a few imperfect specimens of what some of them have done in this way, even in the degraded condition which they occupy at present in Christendom. Sir, this is not the way to treat the subject. Go back to an earlier period in the history of our race. See what the blacks were and what they did three thousand years ago, in the period of their greatness and glory, when they occupied the fore front in the march of civilization—when they constituted in fact the whole civilized world of their time. Trace this very civilization, of which we are so proud, to its origin, and see where you will find it. We received it from our European ancestors: they had it from the

Greeks and Romans, and the Jews. But, Sir, where did the Greeks and the Romans and the Jews get it? They derived it from Ethiopia and Egypt,—in one word, from Africa. Moses, we are told, was instructed in all the learning of the Egyptians. The founders of the principal Grecian cities, such as Athens, Thebes, and Delphi, came from Egypt, and for centuries afterwards, their descendants returned to that country, as the source and centre of civilization. There it was that the generous and stirring spirits of the time—Herodotus, Homer, Plato, Pythagoras, and the rest, made their noble voyages of intellectual and moral discovery, as ours now make them in England, France, Germany and Italy. Sir, the Egyptians were the masters of the Greeks and the Jews, and consequently of all the modern nations in civilization, and they had carried it very nearly as far—in some respects, perhaps, a good deal further than any subsequent people. The ruins of the Egyptian temples laugh to scorn the architectural monuments of any other part of the world. They will be what they are now, the delight and admiration of travellers from all quarters, when the grass is growing on the sites of St. Peter's and St. Paul's,—the present pride of Rome and London.

"Well, Sir, who were the Egyptians? They were Africans:—and of what race?—It is sometimes pretended, that though Africans, and of Ethiopian extraction, they were not black. But what says the father of history, who had travelled among them, and knew their appearance, as well as we know that of our neighbors in Canada? Sir, Herodotus tells you that the Egyptians were blacks, with curled hair. Some writers have undertaken to dispute his authority, but I cannot bring myself to believe that the father of history did not know black from white. It seems, therefore, that for this very civilization of which we are so proud, and which is the only ground of our present claim of superiority, we are indebted to the ancestors of these very blacks, whom we are pleased to consider as naturally incapable of civilization.

"So much for the supposed inferiority of the colored race, and their incapacity to make any progress in civilization and improvement.—And it is worth while, Mr. President, to remark, that the prejudice which is commonly entertained in this country, but which does not exist to any thing like the same extent in Europe, against the color of the blacks, seems to have grown out of the unnatural position which they occupy among us. At the period to which I have just alluded, when the blacks took precedence of the whites in civilization, science, and political power, no such prejudice appears to have existed. The early Greek writers speak of the Ethiopians and Egyptians as a superior variety of the species:—superior, not merely in intellectual and moral qualities, but what may seem to be much more remarkable, in outward appearance.—The Ethiopians, says Herodotus, excel all other nations in longevity, stature, and personal beauty. The black prince, Memnon, who served among the Trojan auxiliaries at the siege of Troy, (probably an Egyptian prince) is constantly spoken of by the Greek and Latin writers, as a person of extraordinary beauty, and is qualified as the son of Aurora or

the morning. There are, in short, no traces of any prejudice whatever against the color of the blacks, like that which has grown up in modern times, and which is obviously the result of the relative condition of the two races. This prejudice forms at present, as was correctly observed by President Madison in one of his speeches in the late Virginia Convention, the chief obstacle to the practical improvement of the condition of that portion of them who reside in this country."

Mr. EVERETT candidly avows that he had once been not very favorably impressed in regard to the character of the Colonization Society; announces his liberation from that prejudice; and successfully refutes the objections against it which are peculiar to its opponents in the northern section of our country. While on this part of his subject, the orator makes the following pregnant observation:

"I cannot but hope, that reflection and experience will gradually satisfy such of our fellow citizens in this neighborhood as are now disposed to doubt the expediency of our efforts. In the mean time, Sir, the opposition which we have to encounter here, has at least this good effect, that it affords to our Southern brethren the best evidence they can possibly have, that this institution is managed with the necessary discretion and moderation. When they find it attacked, as too favorable to the interests of the proprietors of slaves, by men, whom we may, perhaps, without offence, denominated the indiscreet friends of freedom and humanity, they will naturally conclude that we have observed, in our proceedings, the caution which the nature of the object so imperiously dictates, and that our errors, if we have committed any, are on the safe side."

We subjoin the concluding paragraph of Mr. EVERETT'S address:

"Permit me, Sir, before I close, to congratulate you and the association upon the manner in which the vacancy, occasioned in the presidency of the association by the lamented decease of the last signer of the Declaration of Independence, has been recently filled. The venerable sage of Montpelier, Mr. Madison, has consented, by accepting this place, to lend the sanction of his great name to this good cause. It would be quite superfluous, Sir, to attempt to enlarge on the value of this sanction, or to recapitulate the numerous titles which this eminent statesman and patriot has acquired to the esteem and confidence of his country. This last labor will close, in a truly consistent and honorable manner, the serene, and, I trust, long to be protracted evening of his glorious life. The concerns of the association, Mr. President, as we have just learned from the able Report of the Agent, are in every respect in a very flourishing condition. The colony has surmounted the difficulties incident to every new establishment of this description, and has reached a point from which its future progress may be regarded as comparatively easy and sure. The order and comfort prevailing among its inhabitants, have already excited the admiration of the neighboring Africans, and created a strong impression in favor of civilization, improvement, and Christianity. The liberality of some of the States has furnished an abundant supply of additional resources, and every appearance seems to

prognosticate, for the association, a career of constantly augmenting activity and usefulness. Let me hope, Mr. President, that no inauspicious event may occur to blast these fair prospects, and that we may witness, within our own time, some of the great results which this association is destined to produce abroad and at home."

On motion of WILLIAM LADD, Esq. of Maine, it was

Resolved, That the American Colonization Society merits the confidence and patronage of all who are opposed in principle to slavery.

On motion of Mr. STOW, it was

Resolved, That the objects of the American Colonization Society, commend themselves, with peculiar urgency, to the approbation and aid of every Christian in the land.

On motion of the Rev. G. W. BLAGDEN, of Boston, it was

Resolved, That the aspect of Divine Providence is highly favorable to the operations of the American Colonization Society.

On motion of the Hon. CALEB CUSHING, of Newburyport, it was

Resolved, That every patriotic and peaceful citizen of the United States, while he seeks by suitable means, to better the condition of our colored population, should anxiously abstain from acts inconsistent with the text or spirit of the Federal Constitution; and which have a tendency therefore to introduce into the country, general evils of incalculable magnitude, and at the same time, defeat all benevolent designs in behalf of the blacks, by subverting the union of the States.

The foregoing resolutions were sustained by addresses from the gentlemen respectively who moved them, from which we have unfortunately no room for extracts.

The following gentlemen were elected officers of the society for the ensuing year; viz:

President, Hon. Samuel Lathrop; *Vice Presidents*, Rt. Rev. Alexander V. Griswold, Hon. H. A. S. Dearborn, Hon. Wm. B. Calhoun, Hon. Isaac C. Bates, Hon. Alexander H. Everett, Heman Humphrey, D. D., Theodore Sedgwick, Esq., His Honor Samuel T. Armstrong, Thomas Napier, Esq., Hon. Stephen C. Phillips, Hon. James Fowler, Hon. Daniel Waldo; *Secretary*, Doct. J. V. C. Smith; *Treasurer*, Isaac Mansfield, Esq.; *Managers*, Rev. Ebenezer Burgess, Dedham, Hon. Josiah Robbins, Plymouth, Hon. John W. Lincoln, Worcester, Rev. Howard Malcolm, Boston, Rev. E. S. Gannet, Boston, Hon. Eliphalet Williams, Northampton, Charles Tappan, Esq. Boston, Prof. S. M. Worcester, Amherst College, George A. Tuffs, Esq. Dudley, Doct. J. S. Butler, Worcester, Thomas A. Greene, Esq. New Bedford, Hon. Wm. S. Hastings, Mendon, Hon. Ira Barton, Oxford, Rev. B. B. Edwards, Boston, Charles Stoddard, Esq. Boston, Rev. William Hague, Boston, Rev. John Pierpont, Boston, Samuel M. McCay, Pittsfield, William J. Hubbard, Boston, B. B. Thatcher, Esq. Boston.

The proceedings in Virginia and Massachusetts, of which we have given a brief outline, cannot fail to be deeply interesting to our readers, and to every friend of our good cause. It is cheering to philanthropy to find that in the two states, with whose history so many lofty and patriotic recollections are

associated, so many of their brightest and purest names are enlisted in the great work which this society was instituted to accomplish, and in dispelling the delusions which prejudices of the most contrariant character have opposed to its progress.

The *Louisville Colonization Society* has made an interesting report of its rise, progress, and present condition, to the Parent Board. It was formed on the 28th day of February, 1829, and its first annual meeting was held on the 5th of June, 1830, on which latter occasion, a Report of the proceedings of the Board of Managers for the year, was made, and a resolution passed requesting a collection from the churches on the 4th of July. It appeared from the Report, that the society had been visited by the Rev. Mr. BASCOM, and had paid over to him \$100.

The second annual meeting was held June 5, 1831, at which the annual Report was read, and an eloquent address made by JOHN W. CHILTON, Esq. to a large assembly. During this year a correspondence was opened with the state society at Frankfort, and other societies in the "Valley of the Mississippi," on the subject of procuring emigrants sufficient to charter a vessel from New Orleans to Liberia.

The third annual meeting was held July 14, 1832, when addresses were delivered by Dr. JOHN P. HARRISON and WILLIAM F. BULLOCK, Esq. During this year died the venerable President of the society from its commencement, Capt. Abraham Hite, a hero of '76, and John W. Fraser, Esq. the Secretary of the Board of Managers, was unfortunately killed by an accident on board a steamboat. A public meeting was held, at which an address was delivered by R. S. Finley, Esq. to a numerous audience, and committees appointed to solicit aid throughout the city.

Since the annual meeting, the Board of Managers was convened at the instance of the Rev. Mr. LIGHT, an agent of the parent Board, to endeavor to aid in the transportation of 100 emigrants from "the Valley," to rendezvous at Louisville. It was resolved to raise \$600 towards this object. The last meeting of the Board was held a few days before the date of the Report, at which the Rev. Mr. LIGHT attended, and received an order for all the funds at the command of the society, viz: \$907 97 cts. The emigrants were then collecting in the city previous to their embarkation for Liberia, via New Orleans.

This auxiliary society has received from life subscriptions \$240; from annual subscriptions \$326 52 cts. from churches \$157 63 cts. from the Episcopal Sunday School \$4 10 cts. and in donations \$107:—amounting in the whole to \$805 25 cts. Besides this amount, the Board state that other sums have been received by the agents, which have not passed into the auxiliary treasury. Nearly all the above amount has been paid to agents at Louisville, or transmitted to the Parent Board.—The treasury was, at the date of the Report, empty; but the Board were sanguine of being able to make up the above-mentioned sum of \$600, over the \$300 already paid.

The society now numbers eighty-five, and 148 annual members; a number which, say the

Board, though small, is larger than that on any list of members of any benevolent society in the city. They declare "that a growing attachment to the interests of this great cause is very evident."

The Report is transmitted in pursuance of an order of the Board of Managers, by a committee consisting of HENRY E. THOMAS and JOHN P. SMITH. The officers of the society are, *President*—WILLIAM C. BULLETT.—*Secretary*—JOHN P. MORTON. *Treasurer*—HENRY E. THOMAS.

The *Carlisle, Clinton County, Colonization Society* has been recently organized in the state of Illinois, at a meeting of the citizens of that county, at which Col. ROBERT CROCKETT acted as chairman, and BENJAMIN BOND, Esq. as Secretary. A constitution was presented and adopted, and the society was formed under the above title to, "as auxiliary to the Colonization Society at Vandalia, which is particularly designed to aid the parent institution at Washington."

The following gentlemen were elected officers of the society: viz.

President—Col. ROBERT CROCKETT. *Vice Presidents*—Hon. CHARLES SLADE, JAMES TEMPLE, Esq. *Managers*—HARRY WILTON, Esq. Capt. C. U. HOLSTEAD, HENRY WILCOX, Esq. THOMAS SLADE, Esq. Major JOSEPH HUEY, A. G. MAKEY, Esq. *Secretary*—BENJAMIN BOND, Esq. *Treasurer*—JOHN M. WEBSTER, Esq.

After an address from the Chair, a resolution passed requesting Mr. BOND to deliver an address to this society on the 4th of July next.

On the occasion mentioned, 81 persons became members of the society, and \$56 were subscribed. The annual meeting of the society will be held on the 4th of July next.

The Secretary, from whose letter, under date of March 4, 1833, the foregoing particulars are extracted, concludes by saying: "The prospects of this society are indeed flattering, and from the interest manifested, no doubt can be entertained, but that its importance will continue to increase, and that much good will result from the united efforts of its friends."

Newville, Cumberland co. Pa. Society.

The officers of the society for the present year are—*President*, Rev. Alexander Sharp; *Vice President*, Capt. James Piper; *Managers*, Capt. John Dunlap, John McCrea, Robert Greacy, James Montgomery, Thomas Lindsey, Andrew Sharp; *Sec'y* and *Treas.* Jno. Blean.

We have hitherto been prevented from noticing a communication, under date of December last, from Messrs. H. C. TAYLOR, DAVID O. HUDSON, and T. H. BARR, a committee appointed by the *Auxiliary Society of the Western Reserve College*, to prepare a statement of its condition and prospects. From this statement it appears that the society was formed about two years ago, with the approbation of the faculty, and that nearly all the individuals then students in the college, became members. The meetings of the society have been regular and its condition prosperous; and it has done every thing to assist the parent institution, compatible with its limited

resources. Recently the exertions of Mr. Garrison, and other advocates of his opinions, have excited opposition to the auxiliary society. The extent of this adversary influence was tested on a late occasion, when the society lost eight, and received an addition of more than thirty members. The strenuous but temperate course of its friends has hitherto prevented any positive injury. A perseverance in the same measures will doubtless be attended with the happiest effects.

From Liberia.—Letters have been received at Salisbury from several of the emigrants who last fall left that place for Liberia. They express themselves highly pleased with the colony, its soil, productions, &c. Several numbers of the *Liberia Herald* have been received at this office, where they may be seen by any person who may wish to peruse them. We intend to make some extracts from them for our next impression.—*Village Herald, Princess Anne co. Md.*

The Rev. Richard Bibb, of Kentucky, has liberated 32 of his slaves—furnished them with clothing, besides \$444 in money, and sent them to Liberia.

THE AFRICAN EXPEDITION.

The John Doughan, White, is arrived from Africa, and brought letters from Mr. Richard Lander, who reached Cape Coast Castle on the 7th of October, in 72 days from Milford. The vessels had touched at the Isle de Los, Sierra Leone, and other places, for the purpose of procuring supplies of fuel for the two steamers. Several cases of fever had occurred, but no deaths in consequence had taken place. At Cape Coast every attention had been shown by Gov. McLean, and the several officers there. Mr. Lander has been so fortunate as to procure Pascoe and the other natives, who accompanied him in his perilous undertaking, to trace the mysterious Niger to its termination, and these persons are to proceed with him. He has also been able to engage two individuals from the Eboe country, one of whom is the son of a king in that district, and both of them not only speak, but read English, and must therefore be of great utility. The iron Steamboat, *Alburka*, is a most useful vessel, remarkably cool and dry, and sails exceedingly well. The expedition had experienced bad weather, having been six weeks in the rainy season, with severe lightning, which run down the sides of the *Alburka* into the water, the iron acting as a conductor thereto. The ships were to sail from Cape Coast about the middle of October, and would not stop at any place; but proceed direct up the Rio Nunez into the Niger. Mr. Lander was in excellent health, and sanguine of ultimate success.—*Liverpool paper.*

Colonization Society.—At a late meeting of the Trumbull county Presbytery, holden at Bazetta, the following notice was taken of this society:

"On motion, it was resolved, that this Presbytery feel an increased confidence in the Colonization Society, and commend it to the prayers and patronage of all the churches under our care."

COLONIAL SLAVERY.—London, March 19.

In the House of Lords, on Mr. F. Buxton being called upon by the Speaker, Lord Althorp, said he had to request his honorable friend not to bring forward the motion of which he had given notice, respecting colonial slavery, at the present moment. As ministers had intimated their intention of preparing some measure on this subject, he thought that the honorable member could not do any thing more advantageous to the question itself, than to postpone his motion until he heard what were the plans His Majesty's ministers had in contemplation.

Mr. F. Buxton said that no gentleman was more conscious than himself, that it would be far better that this great question should be taken up by government than by any individual member of that house, and he was ready on the present moment to postpone his motion upon two conditions: 1st, that ministers would be prepared with a plan for the entire and immediate extinction of slavery; and 2d, that they would name the day that they would introduce the plan to the house. It was indispensable that the question should be settled in the present session, and by that house, or it would be settled in another place, and in a far more disastrous way. Therefore, however obstinate he might appear, and however painful it might be for him to resist the requests, both public and private, which had been made to postpone the question, he felt compelled to proceed at once with the motion, unless government fixed a day on which they would be prepared to explain their plans with respect to colonial slavery.

Lord Althorp said it was impossible for him to comply with one of the conditions mentioned by the honorable member; but with respect to the other—that government should fix a day on which they would bring forward their question, he certainly had no objection to state that government would be prepared on Tuesday, the 23d of April, to state the views they took on the subject. Of course, he could not at the present time, state what the plans were which His Majesty's government had in contemplation.

Mr. F. Buxton said, that in reference to the words "entire and immediate extinction of slavery," used by him, he perhaps had expressed himself rather unguardedly, because one of the great objects he had in view was the safe and satisfactory settlement of the question. (Hear, hear.) With the promise given by the noble lord he was perfectly content, and should therefore withdraw his motion.

Mission to England.—Mr. Garrison, editor of the *Liberator*, is about to embark for England, as agent for the Anti-Slavery society of New England. He declares that his principal design is to correct the views of the British public in regard to the Colonization Society. We are sorry this task has not been assigned to a man who can treat those who oppose his opinions with kindness, and whose prejudice against the Colonization Society, is less inveterate. We think the society will have little to fear from this mission.—*Cincinnati Journal.*

We cannot help thinking that the opposition to the Colonization Society, which is getting up at the North, particularly among the advocates of immediate emancipation, will be a great benefit to that institution. It will tend to remove the jealousies which have existed at the South, and which still exist to a considerable extent, against the colonization plan. The favor of the slave holding States, superadded to that of the great majority of northern men, will give the society a degree of strength and influence which it has not before enjoyed.—*Journal of Commerce.*

"It is stated that Mr. Wirt, the late Attorney General of the United States, has purchased a tract of land in Florida, on which he proposes to cultivate the sugar cane, under the superintendence of Lieut. Goldsborough, his son-in-law. No slaves are to be employed, but the labor is to be performed by several hundred German emigrants, who have been engaged to proceed thither."

Correspondence.—The following is an extract from a letter to the Editors, from a correspondent in Andover, Mass.

"The following resolutions were passed by the 'Society of Enquiry' in this Seminary, on the evening of March 19, 1833.

'Resolved, That the system of African Colonization, as adopted by the American Colonization Society, merits the patronage and support of all who are opposed to slavery, and of all who are desirous of elevating the intellectual and moral condition of our free colored population.

'Resolved, That we regard the manifestations of Providence, in the establishment and prosperity of the colony at Liberia, as indications of good to Africa; and especially in the influence that colony exerts in the extermination of the slave trade, and the diffusion of the principles of Christianity and the blessings of civilization throughout the African continent.

'This society embraces all the students except three or four; and I have reason to believe, that all who would have voted against the resolutions were present. The vote on the first resolution stood as follows:—Yeas 55, Nays 9; on the second, Yeas 60, Nays 4.'

To the facts here stated, we are happy to add, on the authority of the *Journal of Humanity*, (published at Andover,) that 'the officers, trustees, and visitors of the Seminary, are, without exception, decided friends of the American Colonization Society.'—*Colonizationist.*

Our readers will find in the present number a summary of the information which has been received since the appearance of the last number, in reports from the agents of the society. While a portion of this is not so encouraging as was expected, and might be desired, the residue and much the greater, is of the most cheering character, and justifies the most sanguine hopes of the future progress of the institution towards accomplishing the beneficial results which it has in view.—The Report of the Rev. Mr. LIGHT possesses peculiar interest, as indicating that the true purposes of the society are beginning to be properly understood in the Western States.

That important section of our country, so conspicuous in the race of improvement, will not, we are satisfied, be found wanting to an enterprise so conducive to its interests, and recommended by so many high sanctions of philanthropy and social utility, as that of the American Colonization Society.

We take this opportunity of respectfully suggesting to the friends of the society in every quarter of the union, that the present period is one exacting from them the employment of every suitable opportunity for familiarizing the public mind with the genuine views and principles of the society. It is not to be disguised, that they are too often, and in too many places, made the subject of systematic misrepresentation. While the opponents of the society at the South exhibit it as a wild and unjust scheme of abolition, its Northern adversaries describe it as a cunning device for perpetuating the evils of slavery, by increasing its advantages to the slave owner. Reflecting and candid minds will perhaps perceive in these conflicting accusations, a sufficient vindication of the society; and to them farther defence would be superfluous.—But those who are influenced by interest or prejudice, are but too prone to believe one or the other, or even both of the antagonist calumnies which have been adverted to. Let us refer to the *Constitution* of the society to refute these misstatements of its principles, and to its past *acts*, for a defence against the aspersions which bespeak suspicion of its future conduct. If honest but intemperate zeal reproaches us with being too slow, let us convince it, as we can do, that too great haste would destroy the cause in whose favor it would be exerted. If an equally honest, but a timid caution, fears that we move too quickly, let us satisfy it by fair argument, that its apprehensions are groundless, and that less energy would soon degenerate into inactivity. And if the plan of the institution seems to any good men to fall short of his own idea of speculative perfection, let us entreat him to consider that a plan more admirable in theory, would in all probability, be unattainable in practice. Above all, let us earnestly invoke the wise and the good throughout this wide empire, to forego their own peculiar schemes, and to meet on the neutral and common ground which this society presents, and where the wise and the good may meet without sacrificing any principle, and with the certain prospect of achieving by their co-operation, objects dear to Christianity and to benevolence.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY.—The Board of Managers of the Colonization Society have appointed PHILIP R. FENDALL, Esq. of this city. Assistant Secretary, who, from his well known character and abilities, may be expected to render important aid to the cause.

RETURN OF DR. TODSEN.—This gentleman has returned in the ship Lafayette in consequence of ill health, and we are happy to add his strength has greatly improved by the voyage. Dr. Todsen has been very successful in his treatment of African fever, and acquired much reputation as a physician while on the African coast.

CONTRIBUTIONS

To the American Colonization Society, from the 31st of December, 1832, to the 15th March, 1833.

Proceeds of note discounted at Bank of U. States for \$1000,	\$989	33
Collection in Infant School, taught by Miss Agnes Craig, at New York, in the Lecture room of the John Street Methodist Episcopal Church,	12	
Collections by Gersham Hyde, Esq. Portland, Me.	30	95
John Kennedy, for balance due from him of monies advanced for the Expedition in Ship Lafayette,	40	96
George Humphreys, of Pocahontas co. Va. per Gales and Seaton,	4	
Subscriptions to Liberia Herald, as follows; viz:—		
Samuel H. Janney, Alexandria, D. C.	\$2	
Hugh C. Smith, do	2	
Francis Savage, Germantown, Ky.	2	6
Hon. Theo. Frelinghuysen of N. J. his payment on Gerrit Smith's plan,	100	
Collection in Methodist Episcopal Church, Alexandria, per Rev. John Day, omitted in May last,	14	
New Hampshire Colonization Society, per Hon. Samuel Bell,	268	
Rev. Daniel Parker of Richmond, Clermont co. Ohio, as follows:—		
Collection at Republican Meeting House, between New Richmond and Batavia, in his county,	\$8	
Colonization Society of his Town,	2	10
From the Managers of the Maryland Fund—monies disbursed in fitting out expedition, per Lafayette,	5180	
Massachusetts Col. Society, per Isaac Mansfield, Treasurer	500	
Rev. Overton Bernard, Sussex co. Va. per Hon. R. Y. Mason,	30	
J. G. Whitwell, subscription for 1833,	1	
Willis Fawcett of Washington, D. C. Annual Subscription,	1	
W. C. Ellison, do	1	
P. W. Gallaudett, do	2	
Mr. Hand, do	1	
Mr. Perry, do	1	
Mr. Ould, do	1	
Hon. Mr. Williams of North Carolina,	1	
Gen. Peters of Lebanon, Ct.	1	
B. C. Sanders of Washington,	1	
Mr. Hinton, do	1	
Rev. Mr. Hammett, do	1	
John McDonough, Esq. of N. Orleans, his subscription on plan of Gerrit Smith,	100	
M. Freeman of Salem, Washington co. N. Y. as follows:—		
Collection in Rev. John Whiton's Church, on Thanksgiving day,	\$16	
Martin and Adams' subscription to Repository,	2	
M. Freeman's do do	2	20
M. A. Terrell, McConnelsburg, for part of sum subscribed in that neighborhood, when Mr. Crosby was there,	15	
Union Col. Society, Carlisle, Pa. per Rev. John Jacobs,	2	51
Donation by Rev. John Jacobs,	2	49
Hon. T. Emerson of Windsor, Vt. his second payment on plan of G. Smith, Esq.	100	
Collection in Presbyterian church, Fredericksburg, Va. per Wm. H. White,	20	
Wm. H. Campbell's subscription for 1833,	1	
Bardstown and Nelson co. Aux. Society, per Samuel Carpenter, Treasurer,	37	
Collection by Rev. John Munson, Harrisburg, Pa. in his Plain Grove Prest. Ch.	5	
Phinias Bradley of Washington, D. C. to constitute him a life member,	30	
Rev. Reuben Post, Washington, D. C. Annual Subscription,	1	
James H. Doughty, do	1	
Rev. Mr. Mann, do	1	
Edward Bernard, do	1	
Edwin Sheriff, do	1	
Rev. Mr. Noble, do	1	
Doct. Geo. Terrill, do	1	
Edwin Bernard, do	1	
Lewis H. Flewry, do	1	
Sundry persons in Washington, to constitute them members of the Society, per W. C. Ellison, as follows:—		
Rev. Mr. Noble \$1—J. F. Caldwell 1—Andrew Coyle 1—Thomas G. Settle, 1—Anthony Holmead 1—George Wood 1—George Hill 1—William Wood 1—Jas. Larned 1—R. S. Briscoe 1—J. Kennedy 1—S. H. Owens 1—F. G. Blackford 1—D. Saunders 1—John McLeod 1—Leonidas Coyle 1—W. A. Bradley 1—John Catlett 1—Wm. Dougherty 1—Edward H. James 1—James Kearny 1—John Dawson James 1—James McLeary 1—Wm. James 1—John M. Moore 1—J. R. M. Bryant 1—J. H. Wheat 1—A. Shephard 1—Wm. Greer 1—A. B. Waljer 1—G. E. Dyson 1,	30	

Collection in July last, in Presbyterian ch. Silver Spring, Pa. per James Williams of Hagerstown, Md.			10
Everard Peck of Rochester, N. Y. as follows:—			
Collection at a Methodist meeting at Livonia, by Rev. E. Williams,	\$4	08	
Do by Elder Parker, at a Methodist prayer meeting, at West Meadow,			1
First Congregational ch. in Riga, by Rev. E. Meade,		8	64
Female Aux. Col. Soc. of Rochester, by Mrs. Selah Williams, Tr.,	40	—	48 72
John C. Richards of Baltimore,			1
George Cattell's subscription,			1
John P. Ingle of Washington, his subscription,			5
Maj. E. J. Weed, do do			1
A. C. Gibbs, do do			1
Rev. N. Hatch, do do			1
Col. A. Henderson do do			1
Wm. D. Bowie, do do			1
R. S. Cox of Washington, do do			1
Wm. B. Shepard of N. Carolina, do do			1
Samuel Kneller of Washington, do do			1
Mrs. Williams, do do			1
Mrs. Woodside, do do			1
Mrs. C. Polk, do do			1
Saml. Fitzhugh, do do			1
Charles Kellog of Kellogsville, N. York, per Hon. Mr. Doubleday,			10
Ladies of the 1st Pres. ch. Philadelphia, to constitute their pastor, the Rev. Albert Barnes, a life member,			30
The Ladies of Washington, in part to constitute the Rev. Mr. Post of Washington, D. C. a life member,			15
A little girl four years old, the child of S. H. Sigourney, Hartford, Conn., to purchase Bibles for any child going to Liberia,			1
Collection by Rev. D. Parker, per Leonard Armstrong of Little Miami, Hamilton county, Ohio,			10
Rev. Wm. Winans of Centreville, Miss., as follows:—			
For Repository for Rd. Bledsoe, Natchez,		\$2	
" " Rev. T. Owens, Rocky Spring		6	
" " F. Ford, Clinton,		5	
" " Col. John G. Richardson,		2	
Donation, per Rev. Thomas Owens		10	— 25
Hon. Harman Denny of Pittsburg, Pa. as follows:—			
From Rev. T. Herron, 1st Presbyterian church, Pittsburg,	\$57	50	
" " from Bible class of Mr. Gray, in Alleghany Town,		2	09
" " per Rev. Mr. Huges, from congregations at Salisbury and Warren, Pa.		12	75
" " per Rev. Moses Allen, for congregation at Racoon,		7	
" " per Rev. Mr. Riggs, from Scrubgrass congregation,		5	50
" " per Rev. Mr. Torrence, from congregations of Lexington and Pleasant Hill, Richland county, Ohio,		5	75
African Repository per Rev. Mr. Torrence, from Rev. Dr. Patterson,		6	
James McKown, Tr. Frankfort Col. Soc. Brown co. Pa.	14	31	
Charles Brewer, Esq., Pittsburg,		25	— 145 00
Matthew Carey, Esq., subscription on plan of Gerrit Smith,			100
Walter Lowrie, Esq., Secretary of the Senate, a contribution,			30
Thomas H. Hubbard, Esq. of Utica, N. Y., his annual subscription, per Hon. L. Beardsly,			30
Hamilton and Rossville, Ohio, Col. Soc., J. Beal, Esq., Tr. per Hon. T. Corwin,			11
Clinton county, Ohio, Colonization Society, per do			8
Rev. H. B. Bascom, deposit in the Cincinnati Branch,			200
Proceeds of note for \$1500, discounted in Office of the U. S. Bank,			1484
Professor Eben. Adams, of Hanover, N. Hampshire, per Hon. R. Choate,			2
Edward Chadwick, Trustee, under the Will of John Coffin Jones, late of Boston, for proceeds of sales of Ohio lands, which in conformity to the 14th clause in the Will, the Trustee was directed to pay over to the American Colonization Society, to be by that Society, or such other Institution as may be duly authorized therefor, applied at their discretion, in trust for people of color, in promoting their Colonization in Africa, from time to time, per Hon. Edward Everett,			86
Wm. A. Somerville, near Loretto, Va. per John P. Ingle of Washington, D. C.			14
J. P. McCorkle,			1
Rev. Abner Kirkpatrick of Rockingham co. Va.			20

Total \$8970 88

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VOL. IX.]

APRIL, 1833.

[No. 2.]

REVIEW.

[From the *American Quarterly Review*.]

The Speech of Thomas Marshall, in the House of Delegates of Virginia, on the Abolition of Slavery. Delivered, Friday, January 20, 1832. Richmond: pp. 12.

[CONCLUDED.]

II. The practicability of greatly diminishing the evil of slavery, in Virginia. Are these ills incurable? Or if they can never be wholly remedied, may their disproportionate progress not be checked? May they not in fact be diminished?

Before we proceed to speak of any particular plan for effecting this, let us briefly recount the objects which are proposed to be accomplished by any such schemes. It is expected to afford sensible relief to Virginia by withdrawing her slave labour, and substituting free labour in its place, by the superior cheapness and efficiency of which an impulse will be given to the inertness of the principles of prosperity. It builds on the supposition that the State can afford the gradual withdrawal of her present labour, which it has been fully shown can never prove profitable to her, (though it may to other States), and that she can afford it, because she has immense capabilities which could not fail to draw to her an adequate supply of productive labour, of a very different class, which would more than compensate her for the loss of the former. It counts on the hope of rearing in Virginia and inviting from abroad a yeomanry to till the large plantations of the rich proprietors, but much more to give new life to her husbandry, by the introduction of a large class of diligent faithful small farmers not interested to impoverish the soils further, but who would soon repair their present decay. It cherishes the hope of creating an extensive class of mechanics, and of tempting the establishment of manufactures; and, by a general revivification of the habits and spirit of the State, to build up cities, and render Virginia one of the most flourishing, as she is perhaps the most favoured, of all the Atlantic States. It is to be hoped that a fund for compensating the individual masters may be obtained, and thus that value in hand may be left, at the same time that the

slaves are withdrawn; yet so thorough is the conviction of the ruinous character (in an economical view) of exclusive slave labour to Virginia, that it is believed, if the masters could be tempted to a gradual deportation of the slaves, without a farthing of compensation from government, there would be ultimate gain, and not loss, from it. The very last cases to which we would compare such gradual withdrawal, of what is in fact not a source of wealth, would be the expulsion of the eight hundred thousand Jews from Spain under Ferdinand and Isabella, or that of nearly a million of Moors under Philip III., or that of the Huguenots from France; in all which cases the persons expelled carried with them greater personal wealth in proportion to their number, finer skill, and more thriving habits than were left behind them, besides that in them, the expulsion was virtually immediate. Such comparisons, to say the least, are not supported by very cogent analogies.

We are fully persuaded ourselves that the emancipation of the slaves, and their transportation out of the limits of the State, will be the only mode of action on the subject which will be beneficial either to the blacks or the whites. We too, are of opinion that a general emancipation of the slaves, on the supposition of their remaining principally among us, would engender evils, the aggregate of which would be greater than all the evils of slavery, great as they unquestionably are.* We shall therefore make no further allusion to this idea.

We think that most of the arguments of the opponents of all action, on the ground of its futility, err from a mistake of the terms of the problem. The problem is not, with those projectors who offer no compensation to the masters, to prevail on Virginia to deprive herself in one day of one hundred millions of property, and to expel from her borders at once half a million of labouring hands. This would indeed be ruin to every class of interests, and would be an impossibility in terms. Still it is pretended that a gradual plan for the same object, no matter how slow and how wisely directed, though it operate not on the certain interests but the contingent, not on the actual but the potential, no matter though, by asking a small sacrifice to-day, it give ample opportunity, and put in the master's reach new means, of making the future sacrifices supportable, yet that it makes no difference; that it implies the total wreck of that amount of capital, and the loss of that amount of productive labour. Now, we humbly conceive that time is of the very essence of a problem like this. It is true that in any view of the case, some sacrifice would be involved, but we wholly reject the idea that it rises to that degree. On the other hand, when compensation is talked of as possible, it is not meant by any one that there is any fund in America which could purchase at once, at the actual price, all the slaves in Virginia and transport them. The proposition we mean to discuss is, to relieve the State of the annual increase of the blacks, with the hope of benefit in a double aspect: first, by keeping the black population stationary to check the increase of the evils and dangers; second, to prepare in this way a method of finally extirpating the great evil itself. But the pecuniary amount of this annual sacrifice (supposing such sacrifice to be supported wholly by her own means, or to be gratuitous) is by no means the measure of the loss to be suffered by Virginia. The loss to the wealth of the whole State from the abstraction annually of five or six thousand slaves, productive as they are of mischiefs of an economical nature, may not be at the time very great, and in a very few years may, by countervailing benefits, not otherwise to be obtained, be rendered merely nominal.

* While this is true of African slaves in a community of white men of the European species, we are by no means persuaded that such would be the necessary result in a case of masters and bondsmen of the same race. Such we know is not the opinion of German statisticians or the experiments of the last forty years in middle and eastern Europe. English travellers have treated of the Teutonic and Slavonic sections of Europe (the last are not to be studied rightly except through the medium of German books and the German language,) with a wrong headedness only equalled by their fashion of travel-writing in the unlucky United States; always except Russel's Tour in Germany.

For ourselves, we desire to be distinctly understood to dissent from the opinion of Mr. Faulkner and others, *that property is the creature of civil society*, and from all the consequences deduced therefrom as means of arriving at the authority to deprive the master of his slave. Nor do we consider, however perfect the right of a community to abate nuisances, that the right of peremptory action on this subject can well be rested on that ground. Nor yet do we consider that the requirement of the Bill of Rights of Virginia, that private property shall not be taken for public uses without due compensation, is to be evaded by the plea of public necessity: the provision of the Bill of Rights (which in this case is merely declaratory of the law of nature) is intended as well for exigencies as for common occasions, and is meant to be equally sovereign over both. Necessity gives the public a right to take private property—this is undeniable; but under condition of compensation. If compensation cannot be made to-day, it is due to-morrow; if impossible for the present generation, it is just to impose a share of it on posterity; if it cannot be made in full measure, it is at least due so far as it can be made. This we take to be the rationale of the operation of the right of necessity. We will tell these gentlemen, that there is one ground, and only one, which could ever be a logical justification (we do not speak of its moral propriety) for peremptorily depriving the master of his slaves without compensation: any such bill must make its own defence by reciting, in its preamble, that the claim of property in slaves is unfounded. But we, for our part, earnestly hope that no one may ever think any such law expedient.

We also decline assenting to the opinion of some of the abolitionists, that, though the master's right over his living slaves should be conceded, yet he has no claim of property in the unborn, for the reason that there can be no property in a thing not *in esse*. This position is wholly untenable under any jurisprudence. All systems lay it down that there may be a present right to a future interest: it is potential if not actual, and is many times saleable for a valuable consideration. The civilians treat the increase of slaves as precisely on the footing of the fruits of any other *thing*. Let it be avowed, then, that the State has only a right to do with the future increase what it has a right to do with the living slaves. We do agree, however, that the public mind will be much more ready to yield to a plan, which is to begin its operation with the children yet to be born, than if it began with the slaves now existing.—The difference between the potential value of these contingent births and the value of actual lives, it is superfluous to say, is very great. Mr. Jefferson had his true view of it, when he said, the sacrifice would not be felt to be very great, being the surrender "of an object which they have never yet known to counted as part of their property."

Having made these disclaimers, we venture to lay down some principles of our own. First, it is to be assumed that no human being has an abstract right to hold another in a state of perpetual involuntary bondage, much less with a descending power over the posterity of that other. It is quite impossible to conceive of any rational being's holding the contrary of this proposition. No two men could look each other in the face and assert it. This truth being postulated, its proper use is not to lay it aside and never let it be remembered again in the course of an argument on the subject of abolition.—Our adversaries in words universally admit it as readily as we demand its acknowledgment. But almost the whole train of their reasoning involves a total forgetfulness of it. The true use of it is to introduce the element of moral duty into the problem of the economist, and to furnish the *motif* of virtue, as one of the ways and means in solving the complication of difficulties, which appear to obstruct all the plans of abolition that can be proposed. While, then, we promised not to claim a sacrifice to mere abstract justice, we can by no means consent to its being wholly cast out of view. We hope to be pardoned for adding here, that should Dr. Whateley ever have a clever disciple in logic in America, we trust he will favour us with a treatise on the true functions of general truths in moral reasoning. We really believe that there

are some politicians in our country, who could be persuaded to define abstract principles, to be propositions which are true in terms, but false in every conceivable instance of their application! Second, we admit, nay we will maintain against any adversary, the innocence of slaveholding, under present circumstances, in Virginia. But it is with this qualification: we have always held the opinion that almost every master in Virginia believed it his duty to emancipate his slaves, whenever he was convinced that it could be done to the advantage of the slave, and without greater injury to the master than is implied in the continuance of the bondage. Such we still believe to be the general sentiment there. If there be a single owner who neither hopes that, in some future day, this occasion may occur to him or his posterity, nor intends should it occur to avail himself of it, then we must confess that we cannot hold his sentiment to be entirely innocent. We defy contradiction when we say that in Virginia, from the year 1776 down to 1832, the prevalent sentiment ever has been that slavery was not entailed on the State for ever. None of her economists has ever defended the abstract right over the slaves, none has ever been willing to believe in the perpetuity of slavery, as far as we know, except that Mr. Giles has expressed in his golden casket (*mons a non moriendo*) certain opinions which are, it must be admitted, incompatible with the future possibility of renouncing the dominion over them. Third, we admit that slavery does not exist in Virginia in any thing like the rigour which some misguided persons connect with the very idea of slavery. An inhuman master is rare, and cruelty to slaves is as little habitual as other crimes. But if an anti-abolitionist who regards domestic slavery as the optimum among good institutions, while asserting the benign and sacred character of the relation of master and slave as observed in Virginia, should boast that Virginia is "in fact, a *negro raising* State for other States," and that "she produces enough for her own supply and six thousand for sale," we must say that this is a material subtraction from the truth of his picture of the sanctity of the relation. It would be well to recall it and thrust it out of view.

We proceed now to speak of the practicability of devising some plan for the relief of the State. One main point to be gained is this: that the people of Virginia be impressed with a thorough conviction of the exceeding desirableness and the urgent necessity of *doing something promptly*. The great triumph will be when, on the fullest view of the present interests, moral and economical, of this generation, and of its duty to the posterity who are to inherit the "fee simple" of Virginia, there shall be, in the minds of a great majority, the clear and unalterable opinion that slavery is not a source of prosperity to her, and that it will not do for this generation to attempt nothing to bring about a change.

Another great point is, *that some plan be adopted with the sanction of the State*. It is of vastly more importance to the final deliverance of the State, that a mode be selected and come forth to the world with the crowning sanction of the State, than it is what that mode may be. For, it is certain that the public opinion, thus solemnly announced, will be an instrument for the execution of the plan, the power of which we cannot exaggerate to ourselves. The public once predisposed to its success, half the task is done.—This brings us at once to the consideration of the first among our ways and means for diminishing the evils of slavery: the moral elements which will be at work for its accomplishment. These elements are powers as well known in political economy as others which seem more substantial. We utterly protest against this question being argued as if the emancipation were in fact a mere money speculation, and the success of the adopted plan were to rise and fall according as its pecuniary temptations were greater or less than those from some other accidental quarter—as if there were no other reasons likely to have the slightest effect on the master, but such as went to show that he was thereby to make a good bargain, so far as his poor, circumscribed, present and personal interest was concerned. It will be monstrous indeed, if, in

a problem like the present, of which the very terms are instinct with moral forces, a calculator should leave wholly out of his estimate of means of working it, the value of a little virtue, a slight sense of justice, and a grain of common honesty, as agents. It is most true that we too propose to advance the interests of those who now hold slaves, and believe that this will be effectually done by some radical plan of emancipation: but it is by the help of the moral considerations that the masters must be led to look on their higher and ultimate interests as worthy of some sacrifice of present inferior interests.—We readily assent to the opinion that the enthusiasm of abstract virtue is not the true temper in which a great work, like the present, should be undertaken, or carried on; and we cannot more distinctly express our views on the matter, than by citing the following passage from the *African Repository* of September 1827:

“This is not the age of enthusiasm: far from it. Too large a part of the talent of the age is devoted to caricature, to ridicule; and what is more, too large a part of the good sense and good learning of the day is in the hands of those who look for the ludicrous part of every plan, by much too large to permit the public mind to be heated with unnecessary zeal, even in the best cause, or to uphold for a long time any grave farce. It is the age of practical reason, of great moral truths rigidly established by cool practical experiment, the age which has relieved human nature from the apprehension that any of the baneful evils in society are sealed and fated on us by our own imbecility, by proofs which are intended for the most plodding, the most determined enemies of novelty. Enthusiasm is not fit to be trusted with any great scheme, unsteady, blind, and indiscriminating as it is. The most anxious zealot is little wiser who would not rather trust his cherished plans to that state of devotion to principle so naturally rising up in this age, which, tempered by prudence and restrained by fear of the charge of absurdity, takes its course calm, collected, and like the cloud of the poet, ‘moveth altogether, if it move at all.’ Public opinion and public feeling, when thus informed, are indeed the voice of God.”

But we must be understood to be far from deeming lightly of the power of philanthropy. A senator from South Carolina once said with much piquancy, that “benevolence somehow was rather an unsuccessful adventure in the south.” There, as elsewhere, avarice and ambition seem to come of a healthier stock, and last their day and generation: but do not let us libel poor nature in the south so scandalously as to suppose that when the disinterested feelings are in question, “there is no throb under the left breast,” as Persius has it. It was hitherto said that avarice has been more successfully pelted by the satirists than any other passion; but we doubt if philanthropy has not had quite a sufficient share of worrying. We do not love to see any one succeed in discrediting all reliance on philanthropy. Whether philanthropy has ever proved competent to carry through, unassisted, any one great work, matters very little: it is happily the fact that it rarely fails of commanding a thousand auxiliary interests to lend it subsidy. But among the successful agents in any undertaking for ameliorating the condition of human life, one of the chief, and that which could least be spared, will always, as hitherto, prove to be those feelings which are founded in sympathy for others, and in a sense of duty. “Many,” says an English moralist with great force, “are the modes of evil—many the scenes of human suffering; but if the general condition of man is ever to be ameliorated, it can only be through the medium of belief in human virtue.” But even suppose that all change in the world is to be effected merely by the triumph of one sort of interest over another. What then? We need but ask of our theorists of human nature, that we be permitted to believe that man’s selfishness is distinguished from that of the brutes by a power of large discourse in his calculations; that he is capable of balancing a contingent interest against one certain, a future interest against a present; that he is capable of weighing one species of valuable interest, such as money, against another, such as the acquisition of moral habits which would prove in their turn more profitable; that he is capable of the conception that individual interest is often best promoted by generosity to one’s country; and that it is one of the commonest of human propensities to be prodigal of wealth, of ease, and of life, for the welfare or the honour of one’s country, so that the age which is to come after may not receive an in-

heritance profaned by hereditary disgrace. Give us these capacities in human nature, and upon them we will build you up a hope for the noblest undertakings. But were we to suppose a large body of men elevated to this *enlightened pitch of self-interest*, and united for some great purpose, we much fear that we should be parasitical enough to offer them the adulation of ascribing to them a spirit a little more disembodied than selfishness—"of the earth, earthy." If it be meant to assert, that the immediate and personal interests are the only safe reliances in any problem of human action, we boldly deny the assertion. Remote, prospective interests have often been the dominant motives over a whole nation. But the labours of mere philanthropy have been, in fact, invaluable, and when combined with the holy impulse of conscience, it has proved in our own day, that it is capable of success in enterprises of the vastest scope, and beset with the most obstinate difficulties.

By the aid of these moral elements, we are able to dissipate the apprehension which has been expressed by some, lest, even if the number of five or six thousand were annually deported, it should be found that the operation proved wholly nugatory, *under the stimulated influence of the spring of population*. Some have imagined, that, if government were possessed of means to compensate the masters, at the present average price of slaves, the desire of government to purchase would elevate the price beyond the natural value, and that consequently the *raising* of them would become an object of primary importance throughout the State, thus inducing a general resort to every means of rendering the race more prolific. It might be answered, first, that to those who know the state of things in this respect in Virginia, it would seem not easy, even for Euler himself, to imagine more liberal encouragement than is at present afforded to the blacks. Besides, it by no means appears that the best way to succeed in giving a perfect elasticity (a property in practical mechanics hitherto wanting) to this delicate spring, would be to devise special plans for its improvement. Any increased propensity to promiscuous intercourse would of course not add very much to the production. But all this objection is futile in the extreme. If the day is ever to arrive when a bill is to pass the Virginia Legislature for the purchase and deportation of the annual surplus, it will naturally be an expression of the sentiments of the State, that slavery is an evil to the commonwealth. No one will thank the Legislature for passing a bill through the forms under favour of accidental circumstances, whereby the public sentiment is not embodied, and a large majority of the citizens pledged to a hearty co-operation in its execution. Surely we must be pardoned for saying that we shall on no account believe that every scheme which ingenious cupidity can contrive to render its operation nugatory, will be unscrupulously resorted to throughout the State. That some slaveholders would avail themselves of the most immoral means of encouraging the spring of population, and thus *pro tanto* thwart the law, may of course be expected, but never that such shifts would be the general resort.* It is superfluous to add, that such a moral phenomenon would itself point out the remedy, which would be found in a different tone of legislation.

While we are on this head, (the probability of such a law's proving nugatory,) we may notice another objection. It has been said, as we have already noticed, that Virginia produces enough slaves for her own supply, and six thousand for sale. It may be subjoined to that statement, that, if motives of humanity did not prevent many masters from selling negroes who could most advantageously be spared, she would be able to sell five times that number, were there purchasers for them. Now, suppose the government of Virginia

* It is no reply to this to say that such an abolition bill will only pass by being forced on eastern Virginia by the valley and western Virginia. The whole argument assumes that the State has a fair compensation to offer to the master; for the quickening of the spring is to be occasioned by a great market demand. When compensation becomes possible, the east will be as willing to yield as the west. Moreover, in any form of abolition, it is a woful delusion to suppose that the parties for and against the movement will be all the non-slaveholders on the one side, and all the slaveholders on the other. Did we not think it indecent to speak of divisions in the State, we would say we have entire reliance on middle Virginia, as well as the valley and the west.

enters the slave market resolved to purchase six thousand for emancipation and deportation, is it not evident, they say, that it must overbid the southern slave trader, and thus take the very slaves who would have gone to the south? Not in the least likely. The average estimate of \$200 per head, has been made under the stimulus of a large demand from the south, as great as it is ever likely to be hereafter, (doubtless greater,) and of the competition of slave traders in every parish. The price of slaves in Virginia has always been regulated more by foreign demand (of late years, entirely regulated by it) than by the home value. In this situation of things, if a new buyer were to come into the market (we blush to use these words as applied to the operation of the government under the beneficent law of which we are speaking) resolved to buy at any cost every slave whom any owner might be desirous of selling, it is true that the slaves who would else have been sent to the south, would, among the rest, fall into his hands. But were our new buyer only resolved to purchase as many as six thousand, and the southern traders were desirous of buying six thousand more, it would only be for the former to wait till the demand of the latter was supplied, and then buy his own number; for, as soon as the inducement of the not inhuman destination of the slaves, who might be sold to the new buyer, had been brought into play, we dare say that Virginia would willingly, as she well could, spare twelve thousand per annum at the same price. This shows at once, that as long as the demand exists in the south, the due quota can be annually furnished from Virginia, and that this drain for the relief of Virginia will not in this way be stopped. Thus much to show that putting money into the hands of the State, to purchase from willing masters, would not at least prove nugatory by merely enabling the State—*actum agere*—to buy the very slaves, none other, who would otherwise have departed from the State. The fund will manifestly act as auxiliary to the operations of the southern traders, and in the precise measure of its magnitude will extend additional relief to the overburdened State. It is not irrational to suppose, if the State were to fix a fair maximum price, beyond which it would not buy, that it would find many more slaves offered at that price than it could yearly take, and thus masters would come to offer them at even lower than the average price. Should, unhappily for Virginia, (for however mortifying it is, this outlet is her only safety valve at present) the southern markets ever be closed by the legislation of the southern States, then we may indeed thank the supposed fund for supplying their place. If no substitute for that outlet be then found, the present sources of danger and ruin are frightfully increased indeed!

We confess that we count largely on the operation of the moral elements to induce many masters to surrender their slaves voluntarily and gratuitously, if the State would provide the means of colonizing them out of the United States. In the year 1816, when slave labour was infinitely more profitable than it is now, as all know from the inflated prices of tobacco, &c. &c., Mr. Randolph of Roanoke, who is, perhaps, better qualified to speak for the slaveholders of Virginia than any other man, said;—"if a place could be provided for their reception and a mode of sending them hence, there were hundreds, nay thousands, who would by manumitting their slaves, relieve themselves from the cares attendant on their possession." We repeat most emphatically the declaration of General Brodnax, and add that there can be no mistake in asserting that "there would be again another class, (he had already heard of many) while they could not afford to sacrifice the entire value of their slaves, would cheerfully compromise with the State for half of their value."

It is not denied by us, too, that the adoption of some plan with the sanction of the State will have the moral effect (not to excite a feeling of insecurity and apprehension as to this kind of property, and so incline the owners to dispose of it at a loss)—but to weaken the almost exclusive attachment of the master to this species of property, to make him cast about for means of making his other resources more available, and to set him upon certain broad and liberal calculations, whereby he may satisfy himself that more prosperous and

more valuable interests may be had in exchange for this property. In the beginning, and for several years, there would, we do not doubt, be as many furnished for transportation (exclusive of the present free blacks) as would be wanted, without any cost for their freedom; and after the experiment of colonizing a large number annually is fairly tried with success, then we would draw to an almost unlimited amount on this bank of humanity without fear of protest.

Will any one say that the inefficiency of moral restraints to check commercial cupidity, is shown in the impossibility of checking the African slave trade? We reply, that we know that this impossibility was urged as one of the best reasons against its prohibition by laws in England and other countries; but that it was clearly wise nevertheless to prohibit it, for the following if for no other reason: the law would effectually prevent all men who were not desperately depraved from lending their future countenance to it. It is known that men like the excellent Mr. Newton of Olney were owners of slave ships—the public voice of Christian England once expressed, such men and all others with a single spark of virtue, abjured it for ever, and left it to pirates alone. Besides, even as to this example, we are content to say, that in America, with a coast the most tempting in the world to smugglers, yet since 1808 we are not aware that attempts have been made to violate the laws against the introduction of slaves from Africa. Indeed we hope that Edwards's apprehension, that their importation into the West Indies could never be stopped, has not proved altogether just as to the British possessions.

But it is time to proceed to the other means, on which we rely, for the liberation of Virginia from her exigency, and in so doing to unfold more distinctly what practicable mode of action there is. Once for all, we declare that we have, however, no confidence in any plan except under condition that it be accompanied with the public favour: if the people of Virginia really desire relief from their slaves, we believe most solemnly that it can be obtained without ruinous consequences to themselves. Touching the specific project of Mr. T. J. Randolph, we refer to what we have already cursorily said, both as to the reasoning by which some have supported it, and as to the merit of the conception of beginning with the after born. We believe that means may be found to colonize the annual surplus of the slaves of Virginia, and to purchase such a portion of that surplus as it may be necessary to purchase.

The annual increase of slaves in Virginia (leaving out of view the 6000 supposed to be taken off to the southern markets) is less than 5000. If this number of slaves be valued at the average of 200 dollars per head, the sum necessary to purchase them will be about a million of dollars. To defray the expense of their deportation to Africa and subsistence there for some months will, on the satisfactory calculation of Mr. Matthew Carey, to which we must refer, at 25 dollars per head for adults and children, require 125,000 dollars—add to which the cost of deportation of 1200 free blacks (their annual increase,) 30,000 dollars, and we have the sum of 150,000 dollars. That the State of Virginia has no possible means of purchasing 5000 slaves *per annum* is obvious. But were the entire cost that of transportation only, 150,000 dollars we should insist that the Legislature take it into serious consideration how far that expense exceeds its means. In any event, our adversaries will allow us to set down the item of transportation to the charge of the State: if this be all, it is to offer no insurmountable embarrassment. Perhaps it may be thought best to deport the free negroes first, and then the whole expense is that of transportation. Where, however, shall we find that greater fund which will presently be needed for the purchase of the surplus of the slaves, and before long for the purchase of a part of the capital number? There is not far off a fund to which we believe our eyes may be turned. We have come to the conclusion that such a fund is the proceeds of the public lands in the Treasury of the General Government; and we do now invite the friends of the removal and colonization of the negroes to fix hereafter their thoughts and

to press their pretensions on this fund. The annual income to government from the public lands is now estimated at three millions. Let one-third of this amount be demanded for this object, *to be under the entire management of the State authorities.*

In coincidence with the known opinion of Virginia, we are not willing to demand a simple appropriation of money from Congress. But we are inclined to think, that an appropriation from the receipts of the public lands would not be liable to the constitutional objection, which would forbid a grant of money raised by taxes. The public lands belong to the United States in absolute ownership; as to that part of the public domain obtained by cession from the States themselves, it will be found that the Acts of Cession uniformly declare that the territory is given "as a common fund for the use and benefit" of the United States. Such are the words of the Acts of Virginia, New York, and Georgia. The grants of the two former were made during the time of the old Confederation; of the latter, subsequently. In the Constitution of the United States it is provided that "Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States." This certainly seems to import a complete right to grant the public lands, under the sole condition that it shall be faithfully and *bona fide* for the common use and benefit. And we are free to confess, that we should regard the temporary appropriation of the proceeds of the public lands, to one embodied purpose that might be said to come up to the definition "for the common use and benefit" of all the States, as a more faithful execution of the condition, than the distribution of the same to the States for application to any purpose in their discretion. The lands have hitherto been pledged for the public debt, but are soon to be released. It will then remain a question, whether the removal of the negroes deserves to be termed a measure demanded for the common benefit of the United States? We have an unfeigned respect for constitutional scruples, but we are not ambitious ourselves of entertaining more scruples than Mr. Madison.— Let us hear then what that greatest living authority says upon the subject, in his letter to Mr. Gurley, of December last:—

"In contemplating the pecuniary resources needed for the removal of such a number to so great a distance, my thoughts and hopes have been long turned to the rich fund presented in the western lands of the nation, which will soon entirely cease to be under a pledge for another object. The great one in question is truly of a national character, and it is known that distinguished patriots not dwelling in slave-holding States have viewed the object in that light, and would be willing to let the national domain be a resource in effecting it. Should it be remarked that the States, though all may be interested in relieving our country from the coloured population, are not equally so; it is but fair to recollect, that the sections most to be benefited are those whose cessions created the fund to be disposed of. I am aware of the constitutional obstacle which has presented itself; but if the general will should be reconciled to an application of the territorial fund to the removal of the coloured population, a grant to Congress of the necessary authority could be carried, with little delay, through the forms of the Constitution."

Before any one condemns us for looseness of construction of the Constitution, we beg further that he will read Mr. Jefferson's letter to Mr. Sparks, (vol. iv. p. 388-391.): we adopt all the qualifications therein mentioned.

Judge Marshall most properly suggests that the objection, in a political view, to the application of this ample fund, is very much lessened, in his estimation, by the fact that our lands are becoming an object for which the States are to scramble, and which threatens to sow the seeds of discord among us, instead of being what they might be—a source of national wealth.

A great part of the proceeds of the public domain once appropriated to this object, there would soon be found no insurmountable difficulty in the removal of the necessary number in Virginia. But it is said that were Congress disposed to give a million annually for the specific object of the removal of the slaves, it would feel bound to bestow it proportionally on all the slave-holding

States, or if all be not inclined to receive it, then on those which would be. We answer, that, if Congress should consent to pledge a certain share of the revenue from the lands for the purchase and removal (under the laws of the States) of the slaves of the United States, we have no doubt it would be thought wise to begin with the effectual relief of the greatest sufferer first.—A minute's attention to the following statement of General Brodnax will show the immense claims of Virginia.

"The State of Virginia contains, by the last census, less than one-fifteenth part of the whole white population of the United States; it contains more than one seventh of the free negroes; and it possesses between a fourth and a fifth of all the *slaves* in the Union.

"Virginia has a greater number of slaves than any other State in the Union—and more than Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, and Tennessee, all put together; and more than four times as many as either of them. Louisiana and South Carolina are the only States in which the slaves are more numerous than the white population; and Virginia has more slaves, without estimating her great and unfortunate proportion of free persons of colour, than both these States put together. Nay, one half of the State, that which lies on the east of the Blue Ridge of the Mountains, itself contains nearly as many."

But if Congress should decline to grant from this fund for the specific purpose of the removal of the blacks, and prefer to distribute among the States the portion of money severally assignable to them, let such portion as would fall to Virginia be earnestly claimed of the Legislature for this object. The annual receipt of between two and three hundred thousand dollars, which Mr. Clay's bill (limited to five years' duration) would assign to her, would not be adequate for compensating masters on the foregoing plan, but it might suffice for doing an immense deal of good on the plan in Mr. Jefferson's letter to Mr. Sparks, the *purchase of the children* at a small but just price, the children to be disposed of either according to the particulars of that plan, or under any other plan which might be speedier, and less burdensome to the persons to be charged with rearing them.

We believe that before half a million of blacks were conveyed to Africa, there would not remain a master obstinately resolved to retain his slaves, except in the most southern and south-western States, where slave labour is next to essential (we hope not absolutely) for the cultivation of the good lands!

We exhort the people of Virginia then, first to seek aid from their own Legislature to the extent it can be afforded; second, to insist on the passage of permanent laws going as far in the subject as public opinion will justify; and third, to assert their claims to a share of the proceeds of the public lands.—Let it not, by her fastidiousness, be made true, that she ceded an empire to the General Government, under a virtual condition that she alone was to derive no benefit from it.

Suppose then means to be thus found to defray the expense of emancipating and transporting them to some other country, the next question is, where a suitable asylum may be found to which to convey them? We answer, that Africa affords the most eligible situation for such an asylum, and that we hope Virginia would avail herself of the noble beginning which has been made by the American Colonization Society at Liberia. We have thus reached our third division, in which we design to say,

III. A few preliminary words on the position of the Colonization Society with reference to the Virginia question, and then to show the possibility of finding a refuge for the blacks in Africa.

Justice to the Society demands that it should be distinctly stated, that it has no share whatever in the abolition question. Its whole sphere of operations is voluntary and peaceful; it is no propagandist of agitating opinions. It has its own private, independent course marked out, which it will pursue, though the abolition of slavery should never be mentioned again in any legislature. Let no adversary of abolition charge on it the odium (since with some it is odium) of that discussion any where. It has confined itself in all

sincerity to the removal of free persons of colour (who may desire the same) to Africa, and to the preparation of means for the reception there of such slaves as might be manumitted by their masters under the laws of the States. Except by the peaceful and modest persuasive of the practicability of its scheme, (now made manifest,) and the certainty of its easy adaptation to the largest possible demand, it has not had, and never will have any agency in creating an inclination to abolition. All such action, too, will plainly pass far beyond the limits of the Society's views. Indeed, in the midst of all the doubts and fears encompassing that subject, how naturally might both of the parties which contest it, turn their thoughts to that Society! How soothing after the agitation of the momentous opinions which separate them from each other, is the invitation to peaceful concert which it holds out to them! In the plan of this Society they can both find large room for the exercise of the patriotism they both boast. It may claim the ardent co-operation of persons of both opinions on the subject of abolition, without expecting those of either opinion to violate in the least their own consistency. Popular writers in South Carolina formerly declared that the Society would become the nucleus for all the mischievous incendiaries through the United States—*now*, it can with ease be demonstrated, that on a subject about which the public mind neither can, nor will be indifferent, the only absolutely certain security against intemperance and rashness, is to be found in the scheme of that Society. The incendiaries find it not at all suited to their taste. The Society was once denounced as hostile to the interests of the slave-holding States, and made up of meddling theorists ignorant of the evil they sought to remedy:—*now*, it begins to be noted that it originated out of the passage, at different periods, of resolutions by the Virginia Legislature, projecting the identical scheme which the Society was established to promote. Formerly it was declared that the Society tampered with the public safety: what is the fact? Why that the very first mention of an American colony of emancipated negroes in Africa, was made in the Virginia Assembly, at a date which we beg every one to notice—it was in 1801. A plan for the acquisition of lands in Africa, for this purpose, was the result of the anxious secret sessions of the Assembly immediately subsequent to the rebellion of Gabriel! In a word, it may be made manifest, that it is not only a safe, a wise, a practicable scheme, but that it was originally the deliberate policy of slaveholders, and is peculiarly fitted as a relief from exigencies of an alarming nature. Give it then but the right to impute to any one a single sentiment of patriotism in the range of the subject of slavery; give it but a concession of one right idea in that man's reasoning on the probable future career of Virginia, and the Society may plant the foot of its rhetoric and its logic on these, so as to move the whole mass of his sentiments and opinions into subjection to itself.

The history of the first suggestions about the expediency of a colony on the coast of Africa is briefly told. In the last century it was distinctly proposed by several individuals, and was even talked of, it is believed, in the Virginia Assembly. But its chief events are the resolutions of the sessions of that body in 1801-3, when the governor was desired to open a correspondence with the president, on the means of finding an asylum in the European colonies already established, or of purchasing a suitable territory; and the passage of similar resolutions in 1816, the correspondence under the former having proved fruitless. The direct object of these two attempts was the establishment of a colony under the proprietorship and dominion of Virginia, or of the United States. It was after this last attempt that it was suggested by certain philanthropists, among whom Dr. Finley and Mr. Caldwell were most conspicuous, that the benevolent project would take a more vigorous beginning, and succeed better under the control of a private society, and thereupon the present Society was instituted at Washington, as the more convenient agent in the prosecution of the conception of the Virginia Assembly.

The fixed object of the labours of the Society was at once declared to be the removal to Africa of the free blacks with their own consent, and of such blacks, then slaves, as might after that time be set free, under the laws of the States. Were there no other object in view but the providing a foreign place of refuge for the existing class of free negroes, we are sure that that of itself would be found an end quite worthy of the labours of a Society spread over the whole country; and this chiefly as a measure of police. So pernicious a class, (we admit many honourable exceptions,) the source of so much vice and the prey of so much misery, so beset with an inaptitude to habits of virtue, so tempted to petty misdemeanors and so subject to be dragged into crime; a class so seemingly born for the rolls of vagrancy and the calendar of felonies, exists no where perhaps in the world. No wise government can, for a moment, regard the existence of such a class without uneasiness. We admit that the whites are under a sacred duty to them: one of two things must be done. Either their condition must be radically changed, and bettered, by the grant of such privileges in this country, as may induce them to become useful citizens, or they must be prevailed on to accept elsewhere a home under a sky of more friendly influences. That the whites in the slave-holding States should ever consent to grant them here enough privileges to be a sufficient temptation to them to reform the character of their *caste*, is wholly improbable and unreasonable. It is true that in the domestic police of the West Indies, where they are highly privileged, it is thought they serve as a barrier class between the masters and slaves, to protect the masters; but were we to give a list of their privileges there, it would go nigh to create a revulsion in the mind of the reader from all the humanity he at present feels towards the *caste*.—The approach to equal rights with the whites, in some of the non-slave-holding States, has indisputably made them a more pestilent population in those States, than elsewhere. In a memorial prepared by the Pennsylvania Colonization Society and presented to the Legislature of that State three or four years ago, (referred to in an earlier number of this Journal,) it is stated that of the whole population of Pennsylvania, then estimated at 1,200,000, about 40,000 or one thirtieth are people of colour; and the following statement taken from the records of the State Penitentiary is then given: "in 1826, of 296 convicted and brought to the Philadelphia prison, 117 were coloured: being nearly in the ratio of 3 to 7. Had the number of coloured convicts been proportional to the coloured population of the State, there would have been but 6 instead of 117. The average of the last seven years proves a similar disproportion." Nothing short of complete citizenship can ever elevate them: but the danger of the example to our slaves is an insuperable barrier to this in the slave-holding States, and the strong disgust of nature every where absolutely forbids the thought in America. Elsewhere then, they must seek the advancement of their degraded condition. Their emigration from one State to another, already restricted, may one day be forbidden, and it is almost to be hoped it may. When once transferred to another land where their freedom is no longer maimed and their privilege no longer ineffectual, they prove as fair subjects of moral and social discipline as the citizens of any government.

There is, however, another branch of the Society's plan. Every one will observe how benignant and void of offence this first part of it is. The second, while it is of vaster compass, is equally harmless. It next fixes its view on such slaves as may be voluntarily manumitted by their masters under the temptation of an opportunity to have them removed out of the United States, and most munificently provided for, on another soil. We think the Society is most deeply indebted to Mr. Archer, for the support he lent it last winter, at its anniversary meeting. He may rest assured that he has not mistaken the neutral character of the Society in the midst of the troubled opinions of the times: that it attacks no man's conventional rights, and tramples on no pardonable prejudices. It waits with patience the slow ripening of public opin-

ion; it prepares with quiet diligence a reservoir for the voluntary outpourings of individual patriotism, and gathers up the random impulses of States and citizens into a concentrated impetus. Legislatures may speak with the power of law, and statesmen may by their courageous eloquence hurry on the day of relief, but the most benign agent in behalf of master and slave will be acknowledged to be the unobtrusive Colonization Society, to which they will all turn in the moment of their success. In the end, that Institution shall have the benedictions of all, for it will have shown that "they also serve, who only stand and wait." Such (we have thought necessary to say) is the position of the Society with reference to the abolition question. It now only remains to see whether Virginia can avail herself of the labours of the Society. The following details are, of course, familiar to every one who has given much attention to the reports of the Society; but in the hope that these pages may meet the eye of some who are yet unacquainted with the facts, we shall make a simple recital of some of them.

We will suppose every one persuaded that some point on the African coast is the best position for an asylum for the emancipated blacks. We will suppose too, that the appropriateness of our making to Africa herself a tribute of the reparation which we design to render to humanity, is not merely a fanciful consideration. Although we are ready to admit that, should it seem advisable hereafter, other places in Africa or America may also be selected for colonizing them, we presume the policy of planting the first and largest colony in Africa will be conceded. There it will be distant enough (as it should be) from all possibility of intrusion from the whites; there it need neither dread the jealousy of civilized governments, nor can it become itself, when grown to be a powerful nation, in any manner dangerous to the peace of the United States. To combine these qualities, we think no settlement of blacks can be planted any where at less expense, or in a happier position, than at Liberia.

The colony of Liberia extends about two hundred and eighty miles along the coast, and from twenty to thirty inland. It lies between 4° 30' and 7° north latitude. This proximity to the equator by no means subjects it to a torrid climate: on the contrary, the climate is mild and uniform, the thermometer never being lower than 68°, nor higher than 88°, save perhaps one day in the season, when it has been known to rise to 91°. To the health of the colony the managers have directed their chief thoughts, and they express confidently the opinion that people of colour from most of the southern States will experience no serious injury from the African climate, and that such persons from any section of the United States will soon be able to settle on the elevated lands of the interior, where there exist, it is believed, no special causes of disease. The process of acclimation is gentle, fatal to comparatively few.—The character of that climate, we are assured by those who know it best, is not well understood in other countries. Fatal as it may be to whites, its inhabitants are as robust, as healthy, as longlived to say the least, as those of any other country. Nothing like an epidemic has ever appeared in Liberia, nor is it learned from the natives that the calamity of a sweeping sickness ever yet visited this part of the continent. The managers have of late sent out experienced physicians, supplies of medicines, appropriated a fund for the erection of a hospital, and taken every measure which experience has suggested. The residents of Liberia declare that "a more fertile soil, and a more productive country, so far as it is cultivated, there is not on the face of the earth. Its hills and plains are covered with a verdure that never fades: the productions of nature keep on in their growth through all the seasons of the year. Even the natives of the country, almost without farming utensils, without skill and with very little labour, make more grain and vegetables than they can consume, and often more than they can sell." All the best products of the tropics, with many others which are favourites in temperate countries, flourish either spontaneously or under moderate labour. From the testimony

of Englishmen we are assured that "the character of these industrious colonists is exceedingly correct and moral; their minds strongly impressed with religious feelings; their manners serious and decorous, and their domestic habits remarkably neat and comfortable." A sum of money has recently been given by a gentleman of New York to found a high school there. A distinguished British naval officer has recently published his conviction, that the success which has attended the American Colony in Africa is a complete proof that such experiments are not of a fanciful, or impracticable nature. Already are there about 2400 inhabitants of Liberia, of whom, (we have often been assured by voyagers thither,) not one repines at his condition, or would consent to return to live in America. Preparations are on foot for a vastly increased body of settlers. It may be satisfactory to compare the planting of Liberia with that of Jamestown. In the year 1624, after more than 150,000 pounds sterling had been expended, and more than 9,000 persons had been sent from England, its population did not exceed 1800 persons. From tables given in Mr. Jefferson's Notes, it appears that, after several fluctuations, sometimes rising as high as 400 and again sinking as low as 60, the whole number in 1618 (the eleventh year of the settlement) was only 600. So far then as the trial of the experiment of a negro colony was concerned, this is success—the most brilliant success. Those who were fearful of it from the analogy of the failure of Sierra Leone (a most remarkable instance certainly in the history of British enterprise, which, above all things, has succeeded in planting foreign colonies) may now dismiss all fear. The American negro, unchanged by the residence of generations in America, has proved that in the native latitude of his ancestors he is for the first time at home, and, in the words of the same British officer, "the complete success of this colony is a proof that negroes are, by proper care and attention, as susceptible of the habits of industry and the improvements of social life, as any other race of human beings." And this is our answer to all the theorizing on the principle of idleness being essentially dominant in the negro; for the present settlers can hardly be said to be picked men.

No one has been so irrational as to suppose that the business of planting colonies is an easy thing. We are not blind to the lessons that the many disastrous adventures in it have left in history. The fatal errors which ruined the Duke de Choiseul's great expedition to Kourou, when 1000 or 1200 men, very much unprovided with the most common necessities, and at the most rainy and unhealthy season, were sent out at once to people the immense deserts of French Guiana, are not very likely to be incurred to day. The most cautious and wary trial of the seasons, climate, soil, &c., of Liberia, and of the fitness of negroes for the discipline of laws, has first been made; repeated experiments have shown what sort of discipline must be used, what means each emigrant must bring with him, and what habits he must be expected to adopt when arrived, to prevent his bringing the burden of pauperism on the colony. The present settlement virtually supports itself: the introduction of new settlers involves all the expense to the Society. This may fairly be expected to be always the case. All the uncertainties relative to a country so different from our own, and so distant, have been explored by forerunners: we know what are the real dangers to be guarded against, and are not to be alarmed by unfounded imaginations. Besides, all the circumstances connected with the planting of colonies are not disadvantageous: Adam Smith with his usual wisdom remarks, that the colony of a civilized nation which takes possession of a waste country, for many causes is apt to advance more rapidly to wealth and greatness than any other human society. Nay, we do know that failure is not the certain issue even under the most sinister auspices. It was a fine idea of Mr. E. Everett's, when describing the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth from the May Flower, to suppose that a reader were to shut up the book after seeing this fated company debark, and conjecture the

result: how soon and how naturally the political economist would have imagined their destruction! Yet all calculations were baffled, and the sons of those Pilgrims yet flourish in that bleak and stony region, with a prosperity healthier than the Saturnian earth itself ever gave. But, indeed, the political economist who should do Liberia the justice to survey it well, would pronounce that this colony cannot fail—every thing is in its favour, if there be but prudence.

Still, the adversaries of abolition, incredulous, deny that the successful experiment of a small colony of American negroes affords sufficient grounds for the belief that it can be expanded into a populous State; that by the admission of the Society itself its colony could not now receive the annual addition of 6000 without utter destruction, and that the area of the colonial territory could contain but a small part of the slave population of the United States.—On the subject of these objections, we have taken means to procure the most authentic information of the views of the leading friends of the Colony. The following particulars are so judicious and succinct that we give them in their original form: they are from the *best source*.

"I have not a doubt that the Colony of Liberia can receive emigrants in any number which the Society, or the States, or the National Government may be able to transport. We have thought, it is true, that the slow growth of the Colony hitherto has been advantageous to it, but its affairs are now so settled and prosperous as to admit of a much larger annual accession to its numbers. Several thousands might now be annually colonized, provided some *preparation* were made for their reception by the erection of buildings for them, and some provision for their temporary support after their arrival. I would say that from ten to fifteen dollars would be enough to allow to each emigrant for such preparations and support. Perhaps no country is more productive and fertile than Liberia; probably one hundred thousand people might derive their subsistence from the territory already purchased, and additional territory to any desirable extent may be easily obtained.

"Suppose then we had \$100,000 at command annually, it might all be judiciously expended in a single year in removing emigrants and in *preparing* for the emigrants of future years. I should think the *wisest* course would be to send—say one thousand or fifteen hundred the first year, and double that number the next, and at the end of five years I should judge ten thousand might be annually sent with advantage in every respect to the interests of the Colony. It would certainly be desirable to make some *selection* among those who might first offer, as much might depend on their character and habits. It may not be easy to discriminate sufficiently in this matter, and we must depend principally upon the moral means which may be set in operation in Liberia to improve and elevate the population.—The new circumstances, in which emigrants find themselves there, work remarkable and most favourable changes in their character. They give them enterprise, invention, self-reliance, and high purposes and hopes!"

People in the United States are hardly aware what degree of attention and admiration the founding of this colony has excited in Europe. We have ourselves the very best reason to know that extreme interest is expressed in its prospects by learned Professors and eminent Ministers of State in Germany. The Bulletins of the Geographical Society of Paris have often heralded the rising greatness of our little African republic, and paid some of the advocates of the Society the flattering compliment of translating large extracts from their speeches. It is not long since the Chancellor of the British Exchequer, Lord Althorp, declared in Parliament that he regarded the founding of Liberia as one of the most important events of the century. It is impossible to mention without emotion the two next English names, whose approbation carries with it a blessing of great unction. The aged and venerable Thomas Clarkson is said to have listened to the details of the Society's operations with an enthusiastic delight, such as he has not manifested for twenty years: he wrote to Mr. Cresson: "For myself I am free to say, that of all things that have been going on in our favour since 1787, when the abolition of the slave trade was first seriously proposed, that which is going on in the United States is the most important. It surpasses every thing which has yet occurred." And Mr. Wilberforce, a spirit coequal with Howard and the Premier name on the rolls of humanity when she speaks with authority, (we mean when philanthropy having taken its seat in parliaments and privy coun-

cils puts on the authoritative character of state policy,) Mr. Wilberforce declares: "You have gladdened my heart by convincing me that sanguine as had been my hopes of the happy effects to be produced by your institution, all my anticipations are scanty and cold compared with the reality. This may truly be deemed a pledge of the divine favour, and believe me no Briton, I had almost said no American, can take a livelier interest than myself in your true greatness and glory." Very handsome contributions to the Society's funds have also been made in England, chiefly by the Society of Friends, a body of people enviably distinguished among religionists by the exclusive title of *sectaries of domestic freedom*.

This colony thus cheered on by the enlightened sentiment of Europe, is obviously destined to prove the best means of putting an end to the African slave trade. The attempt to crush this piracy by guardian fleets on the coast has had but indifferent success. The whole number of Africans recaptured by the British cruisers from 1819 to 1828, was only 13,287, being on an average 1400 per annum, while the number kidnapped is supposed to have amounted to 100,000 yearly. The British officers have borne the most honourable testimony to the great benefit rendered to the service by the Colony of Liberia. For a great distance north and south of it, the trade is effectually stopped, and this not merely by show of hostile interference, but by the surer measure of luring the natives to the more profitable business of peaceful commerce. Several powerful tribes have wholly renounced the trade of slaves, and have put themselves under the protection of the colony. The sole means of shutting up for ever the gate of this satanic mischief, is the planting of a number of colonies of free American blacks along the coast; the ardent approbation and co-operation of England, France, and the Netherlands, may readily be had to give them security, and perhaps the Spanish Bourbons and the divided house of Braganza may one day be tempted to a show of a little good faith in behalf of Africa, on this plan. England is fully sensible of the reparation she owes to humanity for her deep participation in the Spanish Assiento, and for her having done her utmost to render slavery immortal in these United States. Her unrelaxed intercession with all the European powers, and with the South American, ever since the Congress of Vienna, to procure the extinction of the slave trade, has gone far to redeem her, we admit, and will cover a multitude of sins of the Castlereagh policy. All the other powers are likewise most deeply implicated in the complex guilt of that trade.

But besides its agency in suppressing the slave trade, we are not ashamed to confess that we look on the hope of spreading civilization to a great extent around Liberia, perhaps the regeneration of the whole western coast, by means of this colony, as by no means chimerical. Who shall say that a colony of half a million of civilized black men in the centre of the west coast, (and we dare believe that not less will be the population of Liberia and its sister settlements before the close of the present century,) exhibiting to the nations about it the spectacle of a well ordered State, owing its prosperity to the arts of peace, to laws, and to religion, may not spread a peaceful influence, for hundreds of leagues, never equalled in power by any impulse felt in any quarter of Africa, except in the propagation of Mahomedanism by the sword? History and tradition give us to believe that the civilization of the world had its source in the heart of Africa; why may not the reverted current be poured into a land itself once prolific of so benign a stream? Are not we, who are at this moment doubting of the possibility of civilizing a dark quarter of the world, ourselves an alien race, colonists on a land the farthest distant from the ancient seats of Christendom, which yet in the course of three centuries has become a continent redundant with civilization? It was truly said at the Anniversary of the Society in 1832, that a thousand instruments for the diffusion of improvement may now be employ-

ed, which were unknown even at the time of the first founding of colonies on this continent. But all other hopes are feeble compared with a just reliance on the example of a large community of people of the *same colour*, the same descent, the same nature with the people of the coast. Indeed, the Continent of Africa is, at the present day, before all others in the romantic interest it inspires. No speculation engages more cultivated minds than the Geography of the Interior, and no object is thought worthier of the sacrifice of precious lives, than its exploration for the satisfaction of merely scientific curiosity. Who has not glowed with the enthusiasm of Herodotus, of Burckhart, of Denham, or with the humbler zeal of the Landers? Who has not brooded over the imagination of her vast deserts, her beautiful oases, her aromatic gales? Who has not grown romantic with thoughts of her gorgeous heavens, the tropical glory of her vegetable kingdom? Above all, who is a stranger to the uncertain image of her *fabulous* old waters? To sow the principal and mother elements of human life in this land, to found society, to introduce polity, religion, morals, and laws, and to plant the arts—why shall not this be the portion of our Colony? We believe, as firmly as that we now live, that at least the Coast of Guinea is, in no great lapse of time, to undergo a purification by the instrumentality of Liberia. The philosophic imagination loves to feast itself with these hopes, and to believe that, in a century perhaps, there shall be in the orphan homes of Western Africa, an odour richer than that mentioned in the divine lines of Milton, in one of those familiar geographical passages which it is always a charm to repeat:—

“When to them who sail
Beyond the cape of Hope, and now are past
Mozambic, off at sea north-east winds blow
Sabeian odours from the spicy shore
Of Araby the blest; with such delay
Well pleased they slack their course, and many a league
Cheered with the grateful smell old Ocean smiles.”

Should the day ever come, when, from the mouth of the Gambia to the equator, not a slave-market exists, but peace, good faith, commerce, and an increasing mental light have sway, then shall indeed the mariner, as he plies through these now infamous latitudes, slack his course, well pleased to join with the natives in the villages and the plains, in the solemn litany they offer to Heaven to deliver them for ever from the scourges they have escaped!

But a land dear to our hearts is too to be redeemed: it is our own native America, and first of all Virginia. If an exigency ever existed, and inducements to a step of deliverance were ever too forcible for reasonable men to withstand, that exigency and such inducements now stand clear in her view. But after all, it has been asserted, that, be the present condition of Virginia bad as it may, her very existence depends on retaining her slaves:—that, take but these away and she becomes desolate! Are they indeed essential to her existence, even though it be true that she never can prosper with them, and must deteriorate from day to day while she keeps them? Has she but one possible *mode of existence*, and is she condemned to live out that through all its descending stages? Ruinous fatalism! Is it not, on the contrary, the exclamation of every observer, that no country in the world was ever more blessed than Virginia originally was: that the chief of her blessings being in their nature indestructible, (such as consist in the climate, Atlantic and central position, the number, magnitude, and arrangement of rivers and their estuaries, natural adaptation to manufactures, &c. &c.) are not yet marred, and that others, (such as fine soils, &c.,) though greatly injured, may yet be considered reclaimable by the same system that makes the cold and rocky soils of New England as productive as the Delta of Egypt? Eminent agriculturists have given the opinion that it is cheaper to reclaim reduced lands than to clear new ones. We shall never believe that Virginia would not have a thousand temptations for different sorts of emigrants, for capitalists, for free

labourers, and for her own sons who meditate emigration, were but measures resorted to to take the whole labour of the State out of the hands of slaves. Can any one make us believe that, with a free white population, the unparalleled facilities of water power on James river would not ere this have been made the means of fabricating manufactures to an amount greater than the whole product of tobacco of the State? But it is still maintained that Virginia can never draw the emigrants from other countries, because her inducements can not be as great as those of the new States. A great deal might be said to show, that, in a balance between Virginia without slaves, and the untenanted quarters of the west without the blessings of human neighbourhood, without proximity to the sea, without markets, without the vicinity of the church, the school-house, the mill, the smith's shop, &c.—not quite all the advantages are on the side of the west. It may be puerile to suppose, as each slave is withdrawn, that by any principle of population a freeman will take his place: doubtless the tide of free labour would not instantly begin to flow in. But as soon as the operation of removal had taken an irrecoverable tendency towards its intended results, we dare believe that an adequate supply of free labour would be at hand. Perhaps the whole amount of labour now done in the State could be performed by one third of the number of white labourers. The question, whether free labourers would come, however, to supply the place of that of slaves, is solved with greater or less ease, according as it presumes that the abstraction of the slave is to be accompanied with compensation to the master, procured from a source without the State, or that the master gives away his slave. Under the first presumption the question solves itself. Under the second, the whole question depends on one's opinion whether Virginia possesses any superior capacities for the application of any extensive classes of industry. But of this we have already sufficiently treated under our first head.

We leave this momentous question now with the people of the counties of Virginia: it is for them to decide what effort they will make to diminish the evils of slavery among themselves. That slavery is not an evil to their prosperity they cannot, will not say. Will they say a remedy is impossible? It is any thing but impossible—it tempts, lures them, and will force itself on them. Will they say that the evil will cure itself? It will not cure itself—it ravages with increasing violence, and there is no hope of its decrease, but from its soon reducing the energies of Virginia to such a state of imbecility as to be incapable of furnishing *materiel* for such an amount of evil. Let them not assent to the view of the eloquent Mr. Brown, (*utinam noster esset*) who seems to wish them to wait (some centuries!) until the Mississippi Valley, now but sprinkled with population, is full, and the ebb of population begins towards poor, effete, decrepid Virginia. Will they say they are afraid to touch the mighty evil—they leave it to their children? They will have learnt what must then be the heritage of their children. Or will they fold their arms in torpid indifference to the utmost depth of the calamities they provoke? Then we shall understand them; they are prepared, not merely for enduring the present evil, but for that "worse," when the gloom of to-day shall thicken into a deep darkness, and upon that darkness shall rush down an awful cloud of domestic war, like another night shut in upon midnight! To the young men of Virginia, who have lately pledged their future manhood and age to the prosecution of this work of deliverance, we say, let them remember in the presence of what a host of witnesses their championship is to be exhibited. In a community where popularity is essential to public usefulness, let them yet not fear, lest the popular favour desert them. The name of the Great Democrat is once more in the van:—a power that never failed in Virginia. Many indeed are the subjects of unhappy conflict in the United States, on which we have but too much reason to wish that Mr. Jefferson were still alive to get his umpirage. Let us at least, hail the

unexpected appearance that offers guidance on this domestic theme, the greatest perhaps of all. Let them be cheered by such auspices; again, "he heads the flock of war." But we should be disloyal to the grandeur of their cause, if we did not forearm them with fortitude to meet odium, to suffer desertion, and to bear with mortifying reverses of every shape. The cause is great enough to deserve these testimonies of its importance. They have before them no easy career, but their destiny to run it is the more enviable. Let the words of Petrarch to Stephen Colonna sink into their heart of hearts:—"few companions shalt thou have by the better way: so much the more do I pray thee, gentle spirit, not to leave off thy magnanimous undertaking." Or would they man themselves to the proper pitch, with the wisdom of a better moralist than Petrarch, let them know: *alii de vita, alii de gloria, et benevolentia civium in discrimen vocantur.*—*Sunt ergo domesticæ fortitudines non inferiores militaribus.* (Cic. de Off. I. 24. 22.)

When, some years ago, upon a public occasion, a young Virginian* complained of the tone in which an American Senator boasted that he had read himself out of all romantic notions on this subject, he ventured to declare that might he but humbly sit at the feet of Charles Fox, and glow with kindred feeling to his, (for he was at no time forgetful of the thought of giving freedom to the African, and spent his last breath in achieving the suppression of the slave trade, though the bill received the royal signature after his death,) he should not envy the American who was so very free of that fine enthusiasm. Since that day it has been that Virginian's lot to stand at the grave of Fox, and had he dared attempt to chasten his feelings into a worthiness for the auspices he had thus chosen in his boyhood, he might have found a scene so literal as to startle him! There may the foes and the friends of that great statesman see how the passions of transient events give way before the immortal essence of one deed for general humanity! By his foes let be forgotten the Coalition and the East India Bill; by his party friends, forgotten for a moment the struggle to diminish the influence of the crown, and to uphold liberty under all the disgrace of the French excesses in her name. Behold what the sculptor chooses, out of all Mr. Fox's claims to renown, to transmit to posterity! He has carved the dying statesman recumbent on his tomb, and at his feet the most conspicuous figure is a liberated African on his knees, raising his shattered chain with clasped hands, and joining with his first hymn of freedom, a prayer to avert the death of the vindicator, assertor, liberator† of Africa. To our mind, that is the most eloquent marble in Westminster Abbey!

LETTER OF MR. GURLEY,

ON THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

Office of the Colonization Society, Washington, April 9, 1838.

Dear Sir—The Rev. G. T. Bedell having kindly favored me with a sight of your interesting letter, addressed to him on the subject of the American Colonization Society, I deem it a duty to that institution, of which I have for several years been Secretary, and a testimonial of but just respect for yourself, to communicate, briefly, my thoughts in regard to the claims of this Society, to the approbation and support of all the friends of God and man.

And here, may I be allowed to say, that I concur in the opinion expressed by the most illustrious man that England, (if not the world) has produced, (Lord Bacon) that the law of Jesus Christ, "Do unto others as you would that others should do unto you," "is the perfection of the law of nature and of nations," binding equally upon man as an individual, and as a member of political society; nor do I hesitate to admit, that the American Colonization Society, if it

* African Repository, September, 1827.

† The two former are titles given in the Civil Law to the advocates for liberty, when the right of any one to freedom was in suit. Hein. II. p. 381, ed. Dupin.

violate in principle or practice this law, is unworthy, utterly unworthy of private or public patronage.

But though the great law of duty between man and man, is *one*, immutable and perpetual, yet the action and conduct required by it, are *relatively various* in different individuals; and in regard to any one individual, dependent for *various modifications*, upon the circumstances in which he may be placed. The law of duty as a *principle* is forever the same, between parent and child, minister and people, master and servant, ruler and subject; yet no one will deny, that from their co-relative positions result widely *varying* and *varied forms and modes* of obedience. That which would be correct conduct in the parent towards the child, the minister towards the people, the master towards the servant, and the ruler towards the subject, would be incorrect in the child towards the parent, the people toward the minister, the servant towards the master, and the subject towards the ruler. Yet, *the law of love*, published by the Savior, and enforced and illustrated by his example, defines the relations and constitutes the immutable and eternal principle and ground of obligation between them. And as human *rights* should be defined, regulated, and measured in the influence and authority of the principle of duty to which we refer, their nature and extent may be, and doubtless are, no less liable to the *variations* and *modifications* of circumstances, than are the conduct and action by which this principle is most perfectly developed and expressed. It seems unreasonable to deny that the rights of human beings may be widely different; those for instance of parents and children, the magistrate and the citizen, the shipmaster and the sailor, the teacher and the scholar, while between them the obligation of Christian duty may be *fully* and *faithfully discharged*. In this connection I beg leave to introduce one or two sentences from an article in the Edinburgh Review for July, 1832, on "the political condition of the Italian states," which seems to me to contain just and important sentiments, bearing upon the question which I propose briefly to consider, that of the *duty of American Christians towards their colored population, and the means and measures best adapted to promote their improvement and happiness*.

"We are called on," says the writer of that article, "to make good by argument, and where necessary, by arms, the claims of man, as a member of society, to a distinct and vivid political existence. As man in his social state, is always moving backward or forward, the abstract claim can, in the case of no two societies, be quite alike, and important modifications of it in practice must constantly arise. For the right of self-government, whether on the part of an individual or of a people, is founded on the fact, of its being a source of happiness to the parties. In this point of view, it can be no fixed quantity; still less when more general consequences are taken into consideration. To the extent that questions of competition may unfortunately occur, the exercise of the right, and indeed the right itself, must be subordinate to the paramount test of the general happiness of mankind."

I trust that I shall now be able to show, that in the *present state of things*, the humane and religious of this country will, by giving their united and liberal support to the American Colonization Society, *adopt the best method possible, for the relief and improvement of our entire colored population*.

In considering this question, it should be remembered, that in the United States, and mostly in the states of the south, are about 300,000 free people of color, elevated but little, [and in many cases not at all] above the condition of slaves; and 2,000,000 of slaves, with few exceptions, without education, incapable of providing for themselves, *property*, by the laws of the slave-holding states, and recognized as such by the Constitution of the Union; and by their habits of life, as well as by the darkness of their minds, unqualified either justly to appreciate, or rightly to enjoy the privileges of genuine freedom. Neither for the introduction of this people, nor for their present state, [except so far as its improvements have been unnecessarily prevented during the brief existence of the present generation] *can our citizens be held responsible*. The circumstances in which they found themselves, were not of their choosing. They must, then, take things as they are, and endeavor to make them as they should be without needless delay, and by all practicable means. The benefit of any one class is not, however, *alone* to be considered. The interest of the whites, as well as of the blacks, of masters as well as slaves, should be regarded; though I am ready to admit, that mere pecuniary advantage is not to be weighed in the balances against human liberty.

In what circumstances, then, did the founders of the American Colonization Society find themselves, when they devised; in what circumstances do its supporters find themselves, while they now promote the plan of this institution? They are living under a constitutional government of twenty-four United States, *united* for national purposes and the common welfare, but in other respects *separate and distinct*, each having the entire regulation of its own peculiar institutions and interests, and not responsible to other states, (legally I mean) or to the national government, either for the character of such institutions and interests, or for the laws it may enact, or the measures it may adopt, to preserve and defend them.

When you reflect upon the spirit of our national and state governments, republican throughout; upon the liberty of speech and of the press, guaranteed to every citizen of the United States; upon the easy and rapid communication between the citizens of the several States; upon the number and physical power of the slaves, the property invested in them, the differences of opinion in regard to slavery, arising from different degrees of light, from diversity of interest, and habits and prejudices, you will perceive at once the complicated and dangerous elements which enter into the question before us, and how a vast variety of difficult and delicate as well as weighty considerations, must receive attention and regard, in forming a judgment concerning Christian duty. Surely, *if on any subject*, caution and discretion are

required, if on *any subject*, imprudent zeal and rash measures are to be deprecated, it *must be* in a case involving the permanent interests of millions of human beings; it *must be* in regard to changes to be wrought in the institutions of society old and established, connected and interwoven with its whole framework and constitution, running into and affecting the strongest passions and feelings, the most vital principles of its existence.

On this subject I am happy to fortify my opinion by that of the great Edwards, who, in his "thoughts on the revival of religion in New England," under the head of *carelessness of the future consequence of things*, remarks:

"Nothing can be more evident from the New Testament, than (alluding to the introduction of things new and strange) that such things ought to be done with great caution and moderation, to avoid the offence that may thereby be given, and the prejudices that might be raised to cloy and hinder the progress of religion. Yea, that it ought to be thus in things that are in themselves good and excellent, and of great weight; provided they are not things of the nature of absolute duty, which, though they may appear to be innovations, yet cannot be neglected without disobedience to the command of God. And the Apostles avoided teaching the Christians in those early days, at least for a great while, *some high and excellent divine truths*, because they could not bear them yet, (1 Cor. iii. c. 1, 2—Heb. v. 2. to the end.)—Thus strictly did the Apostles observe the rule that their blessed Master gave them, of not putting new wine into old bottles, lest they should burst the bottles and lose the wine. And how did Christ himself, while on earth, forbear so plainly to teach his disciples the *doctrines of Christianity* concerning his satisfaction, and the particular benefit of his death, resurrection and ascension, because in that infant state the disciples were then in, their minds were not prepared for such instruction. *I have many things yet to say unto you, but you cannot bear them now.* Howbeit, when He, the Spirit of Truth is come, he will guide you into all truth. And with many parables spake he the word unto them, as they were able to bear it. *These things* might be enough to convince any one, who does not think himself wiser than Christ and his Apostles, that *great prudence and caution* should be used in introducing things into the church of God, that are very uncommon, though in themselves they may be very excellent, lest by our rashness and imprudent haste we hinder religion much more than help it. Persons that are influenced by any indiscreet zeal, are always in too much haste; they are impatient of delays, and are therefore for jumping to the uppermost step first, before they have taken the preceding steps, whereby they expose themselves to fall and break their bones—oftentimes in their haste, they overshoot their mark, and frustrate their own end. They put that which they would obtain, farther out of reach than it was before, and establish and confirm that which they would remove. Things must have time to ripen. The prudent husbandman waits till he has received the former and the latter rain, and till the harvest is ripe, before he reaps."

If the principles involved in these remarks of Edwards' be correct, of which I cannot doubt, to no subject are they more applicable, or applicable with greater force, than to the question in regard to the method to be adopted and executed for the improvement of the colored population of the United States. The question is not in regard to the *principle or law of duty* binding upon all our citizens in their relation to this large class of our fellow-beings, but in regard to the plans to be adopted, and the means to be used by the humane and religious community to secure its full and most beneficial manifestations.

There are several *matters of fact* which it may be proper here to state, as they bear strongly upon the proposition maintained by me, that the humane and religious in our land, by *giving a liberal and united support to the American Colonization Society*, contribute in the most effectual manner, possible, at present, to the improvement and happiness of our entire colored population.

1. The first fact to which I allude is this—*some* circumstances beyond the control not only of the Christian community, but of the American people, and for which they of course are not responsible, and others for which they are responsible, but which no enlightened man can expect, (at least for ages to come) will be materially changed, operate to prevent the free people of color, while in this country, from rising to that elevation, happiness and usefulness which they might enjoy in Africa. *Not here, can they feel the same sense of freedom, the same enterprise and hope, and those strong motives of action, which might cause their elevation in a distant community, and on a wider field for honorable and useful conduct.*

2. Nothing can be safely and peaceably done for the *direct* and immediate abolition of slavery, but *with the consent of the masters.*

3. In the present state of things, no general effort, (and by this I mean no effort in which good men from every state of the union can unite) *can be made* for the benefit of any portion of our colored population, except such as in its direct action, shall be confined exclusively to the *FREE*.

4. Such a general effort, for the benefit of the *FREE* if connected with their colonization in Africa, will exert a *far more powerful influence* in favor of the voluntary manumission of slaves than if directed to their improvement in the United States; because of the prevailing opinion at the South, that the instruction and elevation of the free will produce discontent in the slaves; that such instruction and elevation would prove of but comparatively small value to those who enjoyed them; and that the *emancipation of the slaves*, should they remain in this country, would be followed by evils *greater than slavery itself*. This opinion may be *erroneous*, but it cannot be *suddenly* changed; and if erroneous, will be soonest corrected by the reflections which the prosecution of the scheme of African colonization will inevitably excite.

The question is not whether slavery as it exists, in law and practice, in our southern states, be, to a great extent, a violation of the principles of Christian duty between man and man, and ought, therefore, so far as it is such violation, to be immediately modified and abolished;

but what are the *means to be used* by the humane and religious, to change the *will* of those who alone have the power, and incline them safely and wisely to remedy the evil. If general emancipation is ever to be *peacefully* effected, it must be as I have already said, with the consent of the masters; and here I fearlessly avow the opinion, that to sustain, in the public view, and the judgment of the law, the relation of master to slave, is not *necessarily*, and in thousands of instances, is not *actually*, a violation of Christian duty. To dissolve this relation now would, I conceive, in numerous instances, be, on the part of the masters, a positive violation of that law of love, which, as disciples of Christ, they are bound to obey. It would be doing to others, as in an exchange of circumstances, they would not wish others to do to them. The correctness of this opinion will be evident, if you consider the position of a Christian master inheriting a large estate in Virginia or South Carolina, upon which are numerous slaves, ignorant, unprepared, (from servile habits of dependence upon the will of another for direction and support) to manage for themselves, connected by marriage with slaves, on neighboring plantations, over which he has no control, and who can give liberty to his slaves, *only* on condition of their removal from the limits of the state. The question for such a master to decide, is not, (so far as his conduct is concerned) whether the laws of his state be right or wrong, but one of *individual duty* towards the unfortunate human beings of which he is recognized as master, and towards the community in which he resides. That he is morally right in sustaining the relation of master on any other *principle* than that of the *law of love*, or any longer than he can do it with obedience to that law, I neither believe nor admit.

I will now state more explicitly, some reasons to show that in giving a *liberal* and united support to the American Colonization Society, the humane and religious of our land, *will in the present state of things best promote the interests of our whole colored population.*

I say in the *present state of things*, because I am by no means certain, that other measures may not at some future time be required, and wisely and judiciously adopted.

I. The first reason I offer is, that this Society proposes the *only plan* of benevolent action, for the benefit of this population, in which our *whole* benevolent community can be expected to unite. As union of sentiment and action among a people, gives vast powers to their efforts, this consideration, were other plans proposed equally good, strongly recommends as *superior* that of the Society.

II. The plan of the Society, is the *best* that can be devised, for those most directly interested in it—the *free people of color*. No reflecting man can deny, that causes not under the control of humanity, legislation or religion, retard the improvement, depress the mind, and limit the happiness and usefulness of this class in the United States, and that these causes have no existence in Africa.

This is not a matter merely of *theory*, but a matter of *fact*. We have the testimony of emigrants themselves, confirmed by that of respectable citizens of the United States, and of enlightened foreigners to prove, that the free man of color in Liberia, feels himself *relieved from embarrassments which are thrown around him here*, that he experiences the influence of new motives; finds himself in a school of discipline exactly suited to develop his faculties, elicit invention, excite enterprise, and form him for high and honorable action. He is placed in the widest field for usefulness, and exerts a most *beneficial*, and (as the Colony shall advance) may be expected to exert a most extensive influence upon the African tribes.

III. The Society is most happily *adapted to exert a powerful influence in favor of the voluntary emancipation of slaves.*

I do not hesitate to acknowledge, that my hope of the *peaceful* abolition of slavery in this country, rests, mainly upon the *moral and religious sentiments* of my countymen. *This*, I believe to be inconsistent with the permanency of the system. If in *any other* land slavery can be perpetual, it cannot be perpetual *here*. As well might the iceberg remain undissolved amid the sunny tropics, as this system long remain amid the kind and gentle influences that are here working its destruction. The spirit and principles of our government, the precepts of our holy religion, and the general feelings of our people *at the South*, as well as *at the North*, are against it as a permanent system. But it must be abolished, *by* and not *against* the will of the South. All or nearly all Americans, cherish the desire and expectation that it will one day be abolished.

Two things have operated in the United States *against emancipation*. 1st, apprehensions on the part of the South, of *rash and dangerous interference from the North*. And 2dly, *fears* that abolition could not be effected without producing *evils greater than slavery itself*. By the Colonization Society, *both the obstacles have in a great measure been removed*. Southern men adopted the plan of the Society, at its origin, not only as benevolent in itself, but as one, which if successful, would in their opinion, be extensively adopted by individuals and states with a *view to emancipation*; and Northern men approved of it, not only because they saw its benevolence towards the free people of color, and its promise of good to Africa, but because of *all plans*, *this alone* received the sanction of their Southern brethren, as well adapted to promote the *voluntary abolition of slavery*. The fact, that the Society has assumed common ground, on which the *benevolent from the North and South can unite*, adds immensely to its *moral influence on the system of slavery*. It creates mutual confidence. It represses the overheated zeal of the North, and excites the too inactive humanity of the South. It allays the spirit of the North, by proving that the South is willing to adopt measures, with a view to the ultimate relief and elevation of its whole colored population, and it gives activity to the humanity of the *South*, by showing that the North is not disposed to interfere with its real or imaginary rights; that its own humanity may be safely indulged; that none will *unduly*

hasten the measures it may suggest, and by making it obvious, that to repress the dictates of that humanity, or to restrain its power, is to violate the plainest principles of duty. The correct sentiments of the South and the North, are thus brought to *flow harmoniously in the same channel*. The reflections and good feelings of intelligent and virtuous men in all parts of the country on this subject, *are held in fellowship and communion*. Truth and charity touch the hearts of our citizens, while no spirit of disaffection or revolt stirs the soul of the slave.

It is, perhaps, worthy of remark, that the Society exerts no influence upon slavery, except a *moral* influence, and therefore no one can, with the least show of reason, object to its proceedings. In many of the slave-holding states, emancipation within their limits is prohibited by law, and thus a right which many masters would highly value, is denied to them; but should the advocates of perpetual slavery, condemn the Society for enabling such masters to exercise this right, without any violation of law, and with advantage to the slave, he would prove himself no less hostile to the *freedom of the master* than of the *slave*, no less the enemy of the *general principle* of liberty, than of the liberty of *particular* individuals. The influence of the Society on slavery, being solely a moral influence, disarms opposition, leaving nothing for foes to contend with, but themselves and goodness and truth.

It is a prevailing opinion among the humane and virtuous citizens of the South, that whenever slaves can be liberated with benefit to themselves, without danger to the public, they *ought* to be liberated. The sentiment of humanity and charity to which we must look for their emancipation, requires, doubtless, to be generally strengthened and excited to greater activity. The Society shows the *practicability* of emancipation on both the conditions just mentioned, and thus, gives the opportunity and offers powerful inducements for the discharge of an acknowledged obligation. It leaves no valid excuse for perpetuating slavery on the ground of necessity. It does more. It constantly invites public attention to the subject of slavery, excites every where reflection upon it, and by indirect influence, (the more *efficient* because *indirect*) awakens reason and conscience to perform their office in making evident our duties, and enforcing the fulfilment of them towards our whole colored population.

If it be true, that slavery can be peacefully abolished only with the consent of the South; *if it be true*, that by the constitution of the land, the North has not the right, if it had the power, to coerce abolition; *if it be true*, that the moral obligation to abolish slavery, whenever circumstances allow of its abolition, without producing evils greater than slavery itself, be extensively acknowledged at the South; *if it be true*, that a practicable scheme for the safe and gradual abolition of the system, be now proposed by the Colonization Society; what more is required to secure such abolition, except the *WILL* to accomplish it on the part of our southern communities? The *only desirable influence* to be exerted by any voluntary association, on this subject then, must be, to produce deeper, more universal and more active feelings of kindness and affection towards the slaves, a *moral sentiment*, of power enough to determine the *WILL* of the South in favor of emancipation. Now it is universally true, that the generous and humane feelings of men, are moved far less by argument and direct appeals, far less by showing that they *ought* to be moved, and *why* they ought to be moved, than by *indirect influences*, by touching examples of goodness, by the beautiful and beneficial effects of such feelings in the lives of those who cherish them, and as manifested in the blessed consequences resulting from their exercise, to those who are the objects of them. Such an indirect influence, gentle, persuasive, but *mighty*, does the Colonization Society send forth on the public mind in *favor of emancipation*. Since its origin, it has *done more* to produce *voluntary emancipation* than all other causes and influences; and the growing success of its enterprise, adds daily and immensely to its *moral power*.

I am well aware, that this Society is denounced in terms of unmeasured reproach by Mr. Garrison and others, as designed and tending to strengthen, rather than weaken the system of slavery. They demand immediate, unconditional, universal emancipation. I regard the principles of these men as in many respects, fundamentally *false*, and their measures as endangering the stability of our Union, the general welfare of the country, and the best interests of our colored population. I will here note some of their fundamental errors of opinion.

1. The doctrine that a temporary relation, (involving authority on the one side, and dependence, and a general obedience and service on the other) between master and slave, *can in no case be innocent*.

2. That such a relation ought to be instantly dissolved *without regard to the interests of the parties concerned*.

3. That in present circumstances, slavery ought to be abolished by means, not acting *solely through*, but to a great degree *against* and in *defiance* of the will of the South.

4. That our colored population can be as prosperous and happy and useful in this country, as when formed into a community, separate and distinct from the whites.

5. That in the expression of our individual opinions, and the exertion of our individual influence, on the subject of slavery, regard is not to be had to *circumstances and consequences*, that we are no less at liberty to inform the slaves of their wrongs, degradation and misery, than bound to proclaim Truth to those who are prepared to receive it, and to enforce moral obligations upon the masters.

6. That the best way, if not the only way, to produce the abolition of slavery in this country, is to thunder forth denunciations against it as a *flagrant crime*, *universally*, against God and man, not to be tolerated under any modifications, for a moment, but to be destroyed at a blow.

Were doctrines like these true, (and I believe them to be false,) the publication of them by citizens of the Northern States, while opinion at the South remains as at present, can do little but arouse the deepest and most violent feelings of our nature, in hostility towards those who inculcate them; and produce a fixed purpose to repel at all hazards, any attempted invasion of southern rights on the subject of slavery. It will, if persisted in, I fear, produce a conflict between the North and the South, more appalling than any ever witnessed in our country.—The most terrible elements of human passion will be wrought into fury; the wings of an awful darkness will overshadow us, while all hearts tremble, and all faces turn pale with dismay.

I have not alluded to the hopes cherished by our Institution, that the object which it is endeavoring to accomplish, will soon be deemed worthy of the liberal patronage of the Legislatures of the States, and of the Federal Government. To this object, Maryland and Virginia have already made generous appropriations. The scheme has also received the favorable notice of Congress, and it is expected will soon receive its aid.

I have said nothing of the success which, under the good providence of God, has attended our efforts in establishing the Colony of Liberia. With the origin, present state and promise of that Colony, you are doubtless acquainted. It presents, on the African coast, a well ordered christian community of men of color, contented and prosperous, with schools and churches, courts of justice, and a periodical press; growing in enterprise, intelligence and wealth, and exerting a powerful and benign influence over the native tribes. It is a beautiful monument, erected on a dark and distant shore, to the honor of American benevolence.—It stands a citadel of civilization and freedom, within the precincts of barbarism; a temple of worship for the ever living God, on the territories of superstition, where humanity has long been covered with the shame and bound in the chains of an inexorable bondage. It offers a blessed asylum to the free man of color, *and is the hope of the slave.*

I rejoice to know, that it has awoke the sympathies, and enlisted the charities of the people of England. We highly appreciate the earnestness and resolution of Mr. Cresson, who perseveres in his efforts for this sacred cause, without the desire or expectation of pecuniary reward, and I cannot adequately express my respect and affection for the high-souled in England, who have so magnanimously and liberally responded to his appeals, and thus proved themselves sharers in the sublime (may I not say) divine spirit of charity, which overlooking the boundaries of country, and all the diversities of rank, condition, and aspect among men, makes its possessors feel their relationship to the whole race, and kindles within their bosoms an undying zeal for the universal prosperity and happiness of mankind.

With the highest esteem and respect, your friend and servant.

R. R. GURLEY.

HENRY IBBOTSON, Esq. Sheffield, England.

INTELLIGENCE FROM LIBERIA.

The Liberia Herald of February 11, has been received at this office.—Among several interesting articles of intelligence, it contains a marine list, from which it appears that since the publication of the paper next preceding it, there had been *eighteen* arrivals of vessels at the port of Monrovia, and *seventeen* departures from it. These numbers are considerably in advance even of those noticed in the last Repository, and indicate an increased activity in the Colony, that is in many respects striking, and in all encouraging. As a sample of the commercial progress of the Colony, we subjoin the following advertisement:

"The fast sailing coppered and copper-fastened Schooner Rebecca, Roberts master, will sail alternately from this port, for Windward and Leeward, and will take freight on moderate terms, for which, or passage, apply to
DAILEY & RUSSWURM.

"MONROVIA, February 11, 1833."

The Herald contains an extract from Mr. Harvey's address on the 1st of December 1832, the anniversary of that victory of the colonists over the natives, which is so remarkable an event in the annals of Liberia. We subjoin a few passages from it.

After adverting to the motives which induced emigration to Liberia, and the circumstances under which the colonists arrived there, the speaker says,

"Soon they heard the sound of the War Horn and the Savage yell, preludes of a war with a people, by whom if conquered, they could not expect to be treated as prisoners, taken by a civilized nation. Therefore, they had either to die an instantaneous death in trying to conquer their enemies, and lay a lasting foundation for themselves and children, or, undergo all those appalling horrors, consequent in the event of their falling a sacrifice to their savage and relentless foes. And when we consider the paucity of their number, contrasted with their nu-

merous enemies, together with their incapacity, as regards their military skill, and yet behold them, driving them with victorious triumph; we are constrained to say, that the God of thunders fought their battles and gave them the victory over their savage foes! But, in order that we may be more sensible of the signal interpositions of Providence, both in the establishment and the progression of our colony, let us ask ourselves, what was this place fifteen years ago? A place of darkness and misery; a depot where thieves and robbers had deposited men, women and children,—deprived of all those endearing delights, which render life pleasurable here,—the fleets of Hell were seen gliding over our now happy waters, while every wind that blowed over the then unhappy spot, published in the ear of Heaven, the cries and lamentations of thousand of "Weeping Rachels," mourning the loss of the endearing pledges of their affection! Here long slumbering science had been sleeping for ages in the cradle of ignorance,—here all those embellishing and exalting qualities, that aggrandize and improve human nature, lay buried in the grave of intellectual night,—here no altars existed, except such as were erected to the unknown God, whom the savage tribes ignorantly worshipped,—here christianity had not shed a cheerful ray for ages. But fellow colonists, let us now behold what happy change of things, has kind Providence wrought! Now long slumbering science, has begun to awake,—now the sun of knowledge has once more dawned, and begun to shed bright intellectual day, throughout this dark and benighted land,—now are seen christian temples and altars, perfumed by the breath of christian prayers, erected to the true and living God.

"Now are seen crowded into our waters, vessels of different nations, engaged in an honorable commerce, which, while it enriches, also introduces us to a political and national acquaintance with civilized nations."

A glowing picture of the probable destinies of the Colony, is followed by this pious and feeling admonition:

"But, fellow colonists, while we are the happy participants of these great and glorious privileges, let us not be unmindful of the source, whence they flowed, but let us consider ourselves as Heaven's trustees, of civil and religious knowledge, placed here for the great and noble purpose of becoming instruments in the hand of Heaven, in evangelizing this dark continent; let us also acknowledge, with warm and heartfelt gratitude, our thanks to the illustrious few, who were instruments in Heaven's hand, in laying a foundation for the blessings which we this day enjoy; and in order that we may in a higher degree, sweeten our civil and religious union, let us be industriously engaged in acquiring intellectual and civil accomplishments; these will confirm more solidly our union and sociability at home, and command esteem and respect abroad."

INTELLIGENCE.

REPORTS OF AGENTS.

JOHN G. BIRNEY, Esq. writes, under date of New Orleans, April 8th, 1833, the Mississippi Colonization Society have passed a resolution, instructing their Treasurer to pay over to the Agent of the Parent Society, all the funds now in the Treasury and such other funds as may be collected, and which may not be needed for the expenses of the Auxiliary Society, on condition that the Parent Society agree to transport such free persons of color as the Auxiliary Society may wish to send to Liberia, at such times as they may be required by the Board of Managers, until the amount thus contributed is reimbursed. The Board of Managers in Natchez, are remarkable for their intelligence and liberality.—According to previous appointment, Mr. Birney delivered two addresses at Natchez, both of which were well attended. In conformity with the foregoing resolution, \$2800 were paid over to Mr. Birney. He also received from the President of the Auxiliary Society, \$200, to be acknowledged thus: "by two ladies formerly residing in Mississippi, now in Philadelphia."

On the 29th March, Mr. Birney delivered an address at Port Gibson, which, in consequence of the state of the weather, was not numerously attended. Mr. Birney was informed that two bodies of emigrants, one from Tennessee, and the other from Kentucky, had already passed on to New Orleans, the boats

having touched at Natchez; and therefore did not proceed to Woodville according to appointment, but returned to Natchez. He there found 107 emigrants from Kentucky, and 16 from Tennessee, as comfortably provided as circumstances would admit, and with three or four exceptions, in very good health. One more from Kentucky, afterwards came, and 25 from Tennessee; the latter being accompanied by Mr. King, who brought with him about \$450; the Kentucky emigrants were accompanied by Mr. Thornton Mills, Corresponding Secretary of the Kentucky Colonization Society, who brought with him about \$1800. Mr. Birney had concluded the terms of a contract for conveying these emigrants to Liberia, in the Brig Ajax, which was expected to sail by the next Saturday after the date of Mr. Birney's letter.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE BOARD.

*Office of the Colonization Society, }
Washington, April 17, 1833. }*

The following resolutions have been adopted by the Board of Managers of the American Colonization Society:

Resolved, That it be announced as the purpose of this Board, to send two expeditions with emigrants to Liberia annually, from New Orleans. The one to sail on the first of May, and the other on the first of November; and that for the ability to do this, the Board rely upon means to be supplied by

their friends and the auxiliary societies in the western and southwestern states.

Resolved, That public notice be given, that it is expected an expedition will sail from Virginia with emigrants for the colony, in July next, and that such free persons of color from that State as may desire a passage, be requested to make early application to John McPhail, Esq. of Norfolk, to the State Colonization Society at Richmond, or to the Secretary of the Parent Society at Washington.

Resolved, That the contributions of the citizens of Edinburg, (Scotland) are accepted by this Society with thankfulness, and will be remembered in the way pointed out by Mr. Cresson, in giving the name of EDINA to the town that may next be settled in Liberia.

AUXILIARY SOCIETIES.

¶ We take this occasion, particularly to request the Secretary of each Auxiliary Society within the United States, to furnish us as speedily as possible with a list of its officers and members, such information having been heretofore much needed, and being now especially desirable.

Kentucky Colonization Society.

We acknowledge with pleasure the receipt of a copy of the Fourth Annual Report of the *Kentucky Colonization Society*, including the address of the Rev. JOHN C. YOUNG, on the occasion, when the Report was read.

The Fourth Annual meeting of this valuable Auxiliary Society, was held in the Presbyterian church in Frankfort, on Thursday, December 13th, 1832. GEN. JAMES ALLEN, one of the Vice-Presidents, presided; the proceedings began with a prayer from the Rev. DR. BLACKBURN; and the Society then proceeded to the election of officers for the ensuing year. The following individuals were chosen:—

President, Gen. James Allen, of Green co.; *Vice-Presidents*, John J. Crittenden, Esq. of Frankfort; Rev. J. S. Bacon and Elder John T. Johnson, of Scott co.; James H. McLure, Esq. of Campbell county; Rev. Bishop B. B. Smith and Thomas T. Skillman, Esq. of Fayette county; James M. Preston, Esq. of Boone county; Rev. J. Tomlinson, of Bracken county; Hon. J. T. Morehead and Hon. Joseph R. Underwood, of Warren county; Rev. John C. Young and Capt. Samuel Daviess, of Mercer county; John Green, Esq. of Lincoln county; Charles M. Thruston, Esq. of Jefferson county; Major Daniel B. Price, of Jessamine county; Rev. Francis Cossit, of Caldwell county; Rev. Gideon Blackburn, D. D. of Woodford county; Col. William P. Fleming, of Fleming county; Gen. William M. Sudduth, of Bath county; James Love, Esq. of Knox county;—

Corresponding Secretary, Thornton A. Mills; *Recording Secretary*, Henry Wingate; *Treasurer*, Col. Edmund H. Taylor; *Managers*, Rev. John T. Edgar, Rev. H. H. Kavanaugh, John Brown, Esq. Col. James Davidson, Capt. W. S. Waller, John H. Hanna, Esq. Charles S. Morehead, Esq. Jacob Swigert, Esq. Col. P. Dudley and Uriel B. Chambers, Esqrs.

The Annual Report, after adverting to the general success which had attended the agency of the Rev. George C. Light, for Kentucky, mentions the appointment of Robert S. Finley, Esq. of Cincinnati, as an Agent for a few months; the sailing of the first expedition of emigrants from Kentucky, and the intention of the Board to send out a second expedition during the present spring.

In regard to the prospects of the scheme of Colonization, the Report holds the following encouraging and judicious language:

"The board would congratulate the friends of colonization, on the prospects which are before the Society. It is advancing in public estimation, and several of the Southern States are turning their attention to it. If our friends are only diligent and persevering in their exertions, no doubt can be entertained as to the final success of our enterprise. But we must caution them not to relax their efforts, under the impression that all is accomplished. We have scarcely made a beginning, in comparison with what has yet to be done."

• The Rev. Mr. Light's report, shows receipts amounting to \$1137.67, and deductions amounting to \$1040. The Treasurer's report, shows a balance on hand of \$1017.41.

It is with regret that we are constrained to admit only a few brief extracts from the Rev. Mr. Young's address. It is a sensible and eloquent composition, well deserving a thorough perusal.

"It is not strange, then, considering the revolutions of human opinion, that we should treat as fellow heirs of immortality, those, whom former ages degraded to an equality with the beasts of the field; that we should esteem it our duty to relieve those, whom they conceived it their right to oppress; and that we should regard as a calamity to our country, the presence of those whom they thought it a benefit to introduce. Neither is it strange, considering the enlargement of human power, that we should view as practicable a project, which ruder and poorer ages would have pronounced visionary; that we should possess the courage to grapple with an evil, at the magnitude of which they would have stood appalled; and that we should with confidence undertake to avert a catastrophe which they would have deemed inevitable.

"The origination of the scheme of African Colonization, is one of those events which

come here, determined to do good to Africans, not desiring their gold or silver. I think such a spirit exists amongst those who came in the Roanoke, to some extent, and of those from Charleston, I hear still better things. Many seem resolved to deviate from the course of their predecessors—may not the love of sudden wealth seduce them to “trade.” It requires no great keenness of observation, to see the cause why the Colony is not far more prosperous. But two or three hitherto, have done anything scarcely towards agriculture.—The wealthy find it easier to trade, the poor suppose it degrading.

Gov. Mechlin received me with much cordiality, and has offered (as indeed all do) to forward my journey by any means in his power. I expect to-morrow to take a trip to Caldwell, perhaps to Millsburg, to see if any way offers to enter the interior by the St. Paul’s

If not, I may walk to King Boatwain’s town, one hundred and fifty miles north-east. I am more ready to do this from a belief that the fever and ague is unknown there. My belief is predicated on the fact, that his people, when trading down at the Colony, are almost as liable to it as emigrants, proving them unaccustomed to such a climate. I wish exceedingly that some one had been willing to accompany the mission—as two, according to the mode of travelling here, would have proceeded as *cheap* as one, and I wish much for a companion. Dear brethren, let us be strong and “go forward.” Cease not, day and night, to pray for your missionary, and the pagans around him.

The vessel sails to-day. I hope for another opportunity soon.

Yours most affectionately.

J. P. PINNEY.

CONTRIBUTIONS

To the American Col. Society, from the 15th March, to the 1st April, 1833.

Proceeds of note for \$500, discounted at Branch Bank,	494 67
Georgetown Auxiliary Colonization Society, per F. T. Seawell, Tr., 3d payment on plan of Gerrit Smith, Esq.	100
Colonization Society of the Associated Reformed congregation of Big Spring, per J. Blean, of Newville, Pa.,	79
Colonization Society of Virginia, per Benjamin Brand, Treasurer, (of which one hundred dollars were paid by Wm. Crane, and one hundred by “a friend in Virginia,” their 5th payment on the plan of Gerrit Smith, Esq.),	450
M. Nourse, Esq. of Washington, for protest, on three bills, refunded by him,	5 25
Church and congregation, in Lyme, Ohio, Rev. Mr. Conger, per Hon. Mr. Cooke,	10
Mrs. Louisa Mercer of Fredericksburg, Va. per Mrs. E. Minor,	10
Church and congregation of Milan, Ohio, Rev. Mr. Judson, per Hon. Mr. Cooke,	3
D. Wood, Treasurer, 2d Presbyterian church, Albany,	6 04
Springfield, Ohio, Female Col. Soc., per A. I. Wardour, Sec. per Gen. Vance,	40
Springfield, Ohio, Colonization Society, per do	55 18
Col. Society, of State of Connecticut, per S. Terry, Tr.,	100
Collections by J. G. Birney, Agent,	275 37
Proceeds of note, discounted in Office of Bank U. States,	989 33
Collection by Rev. C. P. Moorman of Salisbury Circuit, N. C., at Olive Branch congregation, N. C., through Thomas McNeely, Marchville, per Mr. Beecher,	12
James H. Marshall of Fauquier co. Va. per Rev. George Lemmon,	50
Collection by Rev. E. Paine, in Congregational ch. Clearmont, N. H.	8
Joseph Avery of Conway, his annual subscription,	10
Additional donations by Mrs. Ware of Berryville, Frederick county, to be applied to the transportation of emigrants, hereafter to be named, per Rev. William M. Jackson of Berryville, Va.,	5
Collection by Rev. John Smith, from Bethel congregation, of St. Mary’s Circuit, per Rev. Wm. Ryland,	2 80
A Lady of West River, Maryland,	100
Proceeds of note for \$2500, discounted in Bank,	2473 75
Collection by Rev. George W. Janvier, of Pittsgrove, Salem co. N. Jersey,	11
Robert Parker, Tr. of the New Richmond Col. Society of Ohio, as follows:—	
• Collection by Rev. Daniel Parker, at Armstrong Meeting-house, Hamilton co.,	4 50
“ by Rev. Samuel Parker, in Union Township,	6 16
Contributions by ladies of New Richmond, to constitute the Rev. Joseph Denham, a life member of the Richmond Colonization Society,	5
Draft from Cincinnati branch, received and deposited in Bank, 16th March,	443
Total,	\$4809 89

The following contributions to the American and Massachusetts Colonization Societies, have been received since November 2d, 1831. by ISAAC MANSFIELD, Tr. of Massachusetts Col. Society.

Received of Rev. A. Bullard, from a lady,	\$3
“ Joseph Chickering, toward transportation,	8

Received of J. Jacobs, collected in Carlisle, Ms.		1	91
" " for African Repository,		2	
" Rev. Mr. Cumming's Society, Stratham,		2	57
" " Azel Ames " Marshfield,		10	
" Charles Coffin, of Winchinden,		10	
" Osage Nation, Bendinct Missionary Station,		14	37
" Rev. Edward A. Parks' Society, Braintree,		14	
" Dr. Dana's Soc., Newburyport,		40	10
" J. S. Adams, from the Middlesex, North, and Vicinity, Charitable Soc.		2	59
" the Congregational Society, Barre, Ms.,		5	
" a lady, by Mr. Ballard,		1	
" E. Langley, 1st Parish, Hawley, Ms.		6	
" Rev. Eben Burgess, his annual donation,		100	
" J. D. Fisher, " "		2	
" P. Cutler, " "		2	
" S. T. Armstrong, " "		2	
" Rev. E. Smith's Society, Hanover, Ms., for the Society,		3	30
" Repository,		3	70
" J. R. Cushing's Soc. Roxboro, Ms.,		5	25
" T. G. Coffin, his annual subscription,		2	
" a gentleman in Brookfield, by E. Collier,		1	
" Hopkinton Charitable Association, Deacon E. Fitch, Tr.		15	84
" of young ladies Soc., Dedham, Ms., by Rev. Mr. Burgess, for educa-		100	
" tion of African children in Liberia,		4	
" E. Baily and T. Kendall, \$2 each,		3	
" A. Bullard,		3	
" Rev. Mr. Stearns' Society, North Dennis, \$3—one-half for Massachu-		3	
" setts, and one half for Education Society,			
" a widow of a Missionary to the Choctaw Nation, being the amount of			
" a Legacy left to her daughter by a stranger, and paid to her out of			
" the sale of a slave,		50	
" Sabbath school, in 1st Parish in Bradford,		5	12
" Baptist church, Brockport, N. Y.		20	36
" nine gentlemen in Boston, \$2 each,		18	
" Rev. A. Clark's Soc., Sherburne,		9	20
" a gentleman in Brookfield,		1	
" a lady in West " "		1	
" Rev. E. Dextor's Society, Plymton, Ms.,		2	64
" Rev. Mr. Brown's Soc., Kingston, R. I.,		4	50
" Hon. G. Blake, his annual subscription,		2	
" Mr. Amos, N. Bridgewater,		10	
" Rev. Mr. Bent's Soc., N. Weymouth,		16	56
" L. F. Dimmick, from Newburyport,		31	38
" Rev. Mr. Danforth, collected in Bowdin-st. church,			
July 4th	\$93	85	
deduct paid expenses,	8		
		85	85
Collected in Rev. A. Cobb, in congregational Soc., Sandwich,		10	
Federal-st. Baptist Society, on 4th July		39	63
" Rev. Mr. Noy's Soc., West Needham		8	44
" David F. Field's Soc., Stockbridge,		37	
" Rev. Mr. Merrill's Society, Dracut,		10	82
" Saul Clark's Soc., Chester, on 4th July,	5	00	
deduct postage	13		
		4	87
" Union, in Rev. Mr. Maltby's meeting house, Taunton, 4th July,		10	31
" Rev. H. Brown's Soc. Shirley,		7	
" O. Fowler's Soc., Fall River, Ms.,		21	30
" Levi Smith's Soc., East Sudbury,		22	75
" 2d Parish in Ashby,		15	50
" Rev. Mr. Warne's, Baptist ch. in Brookline,		13	81
" Rev. Mr. Barstow's monthly concert, Keene, N. H.		8	
Received of a friend in West Brookfield, Ms.,		1	
" Rev. Charles Fitch, Weston,		13	06
" B. Seymour, collected in congregational Soc., Otis, Ms.,		3	
" Rev. J. Fisher's Soc., New Braintree,		18	69
Collected in Baptist ch., Harvard, Ms.,		6	76
" Rev. Mr. McEwer's Society, Topsfield,		8	69
" Baptist Soc., Canton,		12	
" Rev. Mr. Washam's Society, Braintree,		7	30
Received by hand of Dr. Lamb, from C. G. Prentiss, Tr. Worcester co. Aux. Col.			
Society, the following, viz:—			
Collected in Rev. Mr. Abbott's Soc., Worcester,	\$76	07	
" " Barrett's Soc., Webster,	5	83	
" " Packard's " Spencer,	20		

Collected in Rev. Mr. Clark's Society, Rutland,	9 76	
" Milbury, at the celebration, July 4th,	17 60	
" Sabbath school of the 1st Presbyterian Society, Millbury,	7 50	
Donation from Hon. Daniel Waldo, Worcester,	100	
" from the fund of the Worcester co. Aux. Society,	13 74	250
Collected in Rev. Mr. Church's Society, in Calais, Me.,		12
" Lyman Colman's Soc., in Belchertown, Ms.,		26
Received of a friend, by hands of J. B.		20
Collected in Rev. Mr. Steel's Society, Sandwichtown,		4 50
" " Seagrave's Society, North Scituate,		4 41
" " Mann's " Westminster,		14 21
" " J. B. Felt, Hamilton, Essex co.,		6 21
" " T. Shephard, Ashfield, 4th July,		6 50
" " T. Robbins, Mattapoiset, Rochester, Ms.,		13
" " Fisher's Society, Blue Hill, Me.,		15 66
" " D. Wait's Soc., Cumington,	\$5 00	
" " Harris' Soc., Hyannis, Ms., deduct postage,	13	4 87
" Congregational Soc., North Brookfield,		12 08
" Rev. Elijah Dexter's Soc., Plymton,		25
" " Daniel Crosby's Soc., (East and South) Conway,		8 77
" " Dr. Ripley's Soc., Concord, Ms.,		21
" " Dr. P. Colby's Soc., North Middleboro		24
" " H. Goodwin's " New Marlboro, Ms.,		12
" " " " " "		9
The following sums received of Charles G. Prentiss, Tr. of Worcester co. Auxiliary Colonization Society, viz:—		
Collected in Rev. Mr. Winch's Soc., Paxton,	\$6	
" " Park's " Southbridge,	10	
" " Bardwell's " Holden,	9 34	
" " in Sabbath school in	10 09	
" " by Rev. James Francis' Soc., Dudley,	21 75	
" " in Sabbath school, " "	10 35	
Of these two last sums, \$30 is to constitute the Rev. J. H. Francis, a life member of the American Col. Soc.		
" " in Rev. A. Fisher's Soc., Southbridge,	5	
" " J. Walker's Soc., Sutton,	4 60	
" " E. Demond's " Lincoln,	4 36	81 49
" " Samuel Stearns' Society, Bedford, Massachusetts,		16 28
" " T. F. Waterman's Society, Providence, R. Island,		21
" " Mr. Bliphant's " Beverly, Massachusetts,		21
" " F. P. Howland's " Hanson,		2 27
" " H. J. Ripley, his donation, (Newton, Ms.)		5
" Congregational Soc., South Reading,		15 12
" 1st Baptist Soc., North Middleboro,		4 25
" Society of Rev. S. Nott, Jr., Wareham, Ms.,		7 84
Contributed by a few individuals, West Parish, Medway,		4 56
Collected in 1st Congrega'l. and Baptist Socs. Methuen, Ms. by Rev. S. G. Pearce, Pastor of Congregational Society, and Rev. C. O. Kimball, pastor of Baptist Society,		32 25
Collected in Rev. E. Sanford's Soc., Raynham,		8
" " B. Woodbury's Society, Falmouth, Ms.,		10 58
" " Sabbath schools in Haverhill,	28 05	
" " deduct postage,	13	27 92
" Rev. Mr. Clark's Soc., Sherburne, Ms.,		12
" Sabbath school, in 2d Congregational Soc., Chelmsford, Ms.,		5 06
" Rev. Mr. Holmes' Soc, New Bedford, one-half for the Col. Society, and one-half for the Education Society,		11 91
" Rev. Mr. Cleaveland's Soc., Salem,		29 45
" " Henry Lord's Soc., Williamsburg, Ms.,		14 58
Received through the Hampshire Christian Depository:		
Collected in Plainfield, Ms.,	\$9	
" " West Parish, Granby,	20	
" " 1st " "	15 50	
" " East Hampton,	10 59	
" " West Hampton,	8 31	
" " Worthington,	5	
Donation of J. L. Pomeroy of Worthington,	10	78 40
Received of J. Bachelior, Esq., Lynn, Ms.,		8
Collected in Rev. Mr. Moore's Society, Natick,		8 98
Received of W. by hands of J. Tappan, Esq.,		2
Collected in Rev. Mr. Smith's Society, Warwick,		3
" " Augustus B. Reed's " Ware,		6

Received by hands of Seth Kelly, Esq., South Yarmouth, the following sums, collected by Simeon Crowell, by subscription for the Colonization Society:

Simeon Crowell,	\$2	
Seth Kelley,	5	
A friend,	5	
A friend,	5	
Job Chase,	2	50
Barnabas Sears,	1	
Rowland Lewis,	1	
G. Nickerson,	1	50
Zeno Kelley,	3	
P. Gifford,	1	
Daniel Wing,	1	
David K. Aikin,	1	29
Collected in Rev. E. Leonard's Society, Marshfield, Ms.,		3 12
“ “ Mr. Howe's “ Halifax, “		16 39
Received of Charles G. Prentiss, Tr. Worcester co. Aux. Soc.		
Collected in Rev. J. Briggs' Society, Athol,	7	76
“ J. Allen “ Northboro,	15	
“ Mr. Gay's “ Hubbardston,	6	70
“ J. Green's “ Leicester,	4	25
“ O. Herrick's “ Millbury,	12	
“ M. Stone's “ Brookfield,	6	11
Annual contribution of Mrs. H. Goodell, Millbury,	20	
Received from a friend by Rev. Dr. Bancroft,	5	
Collected in Rev. Mr. Tappan's Soc., Hardwick,	12	62
“ “ Barbour's “ Byfield,		89 44
Received of Mrs. Rebecca and Mary Kitteridge, of Tewksbury,		7 08
Collected in Rev. L. Bailey's Soc., Medway,		10
“ “ Mr. Freeman's Society, Plymouth, to constitute him a life member,		21 45
Received of Sabbath school, in Grace ch., Boston,		30
Collected in Baptist ch., in Middlefield,		6 04
Received through the Hampshire ch. depository, of a friend in Rev. Mr. Moody's Society, Granby,		5 27
Collected in Congregational and Baptist Socs., in Morristown, Vt.		5
“ 4th Baptist ch., and Society, in Middleboro, Ms.,		4 70
Received of the Sabbath school children, in Ashburnham,		3 25
“ “ Rev. Mr. White's Soc., Littleton, Ms.,		1 56
“ “ J. S. Adams, Tr., Middlesex, North, and vicinity, Charitable Society, collected in Groton, Ms.,		11
“ “ Bolton, Ms.,	24	8 95
“ Messrs. Noyes and Lambert, Executors of the last Will and Testament, of Mr. Aaron Woodman, of Boston, deceased, being 25 per cent. upon and in addition to the original Legacy to the American Colonization Society,		32 95
Received of Mrs. Anna P. Sanger, Tr. of the Sherburne Col. Soc. for the Massachusetts Col. Society,		125
Received of a friend by hands of J. Butler,		6
“ “ Rev. S. Bailey's Soc., Medway,		20
“ “ Mr. Maltby's “ Taunton,		14 23
“ “ E. S. Clark's “ Winchenden,		6 09
“ “ B. Smith's “ Rye, Me.,		7
“ “ Baptist ch., Howard, Ms.,		2 10
“ “ West Parish, Granby, Ms.,		6 76
“ “ H. Miller, Treasurer, of Worcester co. Charitable Association, collected in Sutton,		6 30
“ “ by hands of J. Tappan, Esq., contributed by W.,		19 61
“ “ Rev. Ebenezer Burgess, annual subscription for 1833,		2
		100
Total	\$2422	40

The following sums were received for the African Repository, viz:

Received of J. Parker, his subscription for 1832,	\$2
“ “ Washington Hotchkins, Lenox, Ms., for 1831,	2
“ “ Simonds and Chamberlain, for one year,	2
“ “ H. Sessions, for Repository,	4
“ “ Rev. Mr. Stearns, East Haverhill,	8
“ “ Mr. O. Carpenter, of Easton, his subscription to Repository,	2
“ “ Cyrus Davis, Concord, Ms., his subscription,	2
“ “ Rev. Dr. A. Sherman, Suffield, Con., his subscription to Rep.,	2
Total	\$2448 40

THE
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COLONIAL JOURNAL.

VOL. IX.]

MAY, 1833.

[No. 3.

MR. TAPPAN'S LETTER—ARDENT SPIRITS IN THE COLONY.

We copy from the *Liberator* of April 6, the subjoined letter:—

LETTER FROM ARTHUR TAPPAN, Esq.

[For the *Liberator*.]

Theological Seminary, Andover, March 29, 1833.

MR. GARRISON—In the correspondence of the Anti-Slavery Society, in this Seminary, the following communication has been received from a distinguished philanthropist, which, it is presumed, will be read with interest by the christian community:—

New York, March 26, 1833.

Mr. Lewis F. Laine, Secretary of the Anti-Slavery Society, in the Theological Seminary, at Andover.

DEAR SIR—Your communication of the 8th instant, has remained till now unanswered, in consequence of a press of other cares. You ask my opinion of the Colonization Society, and suggest the inquiry, 'Whether with its present principles and character, it is worthy of the patronage of the christian public.' My engagements do not admit of my giving an elaborate answer to this inquiry, or explaining at length my views of the Colonization project.

When this Society was organized, I was one of its warmest friends, and anticipated great good from its influence, both in christianizing Africa and abolishing slavery in our country.—At one time, I had a plan for establishing a line of Packets, between this City and the Colony, and for opening a trade with the interior of Africa. I also offered to pay \$1,000 to the Society, if the 100 individuals, proposed in the plan of Gerrit Smith, could be found within one year. I mention these things to show how heartily I entered into the scheme.

The first thing that shook my confidence in the Society, was the fact, that ardent spirits were allowed to be sold at the Colony, and, as the Agents wrote me from Liberia, in giving the assortment suitable to make up an invoice, were considered 'indispensable.' I used the little influence I had, with the Society, to obtain a prohibition to the admission of ardent spirits into the Colony, with what success may be seen in the * fact, that no less than FOURTEEN HUNDRED BARRELS of the liquid poison, have been sold there within a year. With my feelings somewhat cooled by the knowledge that ardent spirits, tobacco, powder and balls, were leading articles of trade at the colony, I read with some care the arguments of that distinguished and fearless philanthropist, W. L. Garrison, in the *Liberator*, and was soon led to ask myself whether this 'splendid scheme of benevolence' was not a device of Satan, to rivet still closer the fetters of the slaves, and to deepen the prejudice against the free colored people. I now believe it is, and that it had its origin in the *single motive*, to get rid of the free colored people, that the slaves may be held in greater safety. Good men have been drawn into it, under the delusive idea, that it would break the chains of slavery and evangelize Africa; but the day is not far distant, I believe, when the Society will be regarded in its true charac-

* This statement, I am assured, is made on unquestionable authority, and it is not contradicted by the Colonization Society.

ter, and deserted by every one who wishes to see a speedy end put to slavery, in this land of boasted freedom.

You are at liberty, to make what use you please, of this expression of my sentiments. I rejoice to witness the effort that is every where making, to 'let the captive go free,' and that the number is daily increasing, of those who are resolved not to cease their efforts in every lawful way, to secure to our colored fellow citizens, equal rights with others. That your Society may be eminently instrumental in dissipating prejudice, and pouring light upon the intellect of the millions of our countrymen who are held in bondage, is the earnest prayer of your fellow laborer,

ARTHUR TAPPAN.

REMARKS.

While the past zeal and ability of Mr. T. in the cause of Colonization are gratefully admitted, it is matter of regret to its friends that he should have undergone so radical a change of opinion; and it must surprise every one that in a gentleman of his intelligence, this change should have been effected by causes so inadequate as those which he assigns for it. Because as Mr. T. alleges, ardent spirits, tobacco, &c. enter into the commerce of the Colony, the Society, he argues, is "a device of Satan, &c.," and had its origin in the "*single motive*" of perpetuating slavery. Surely never was an inference more violently drawn from premises, or less analogy perceivable between effects and their imagined causes. Let the deleterious consequences of ardent spirits, &c. be conceded in their full extent; let it be conceded that they find their way to Liberia even in greater quantities than Mr. T. supposes; and yet the rules of just reasoning no less than those of charitable construction, forbid so startling an imputation as that cast by him on the "*motives*" of his former associates.

Had Mr. T. reflected longer before he denounced so bitterly, he might perhaps have seen, that even were the obnoxious articles introduced into the Colony through the policy of the Society, that policy might be erroneous without necessarily springing from a criminal design in the whole scheme; and might have resulted from circumstances which the future permanent interests of the Colony required to be duly estimated, before the Board could properly resort to the final and strong measure of prohibition.

But it is utterly denied that the Society ever have introduced ardent spirits into the Colony, or approved of the articles being introduced there, for the use of the colonists, except in quantities sufficient for medical purposes. The port of Monrovia is resorted to by vessels from all quarters, freighted with such articles as the shippers deem best suited for commercial enterprise, and among those which have been found useful in trade with the natives, are ardent spirits. It is competent, undoubtedly, for the Board to strangle the *direct* trade in this pernicious article by very heavy duties, or by absolute prohibition. One or the other of these measures would undoubtedly have been adopted, had the Board been satisfied that it would remedy the evil. But well founded apprehensions existed, on the one hand, that the most severe restrictions would prove inadequate to countervail the smugglers; and, on the other, that the natives finding that they could no longer obtain ardent spirits from vessels trading with the Colony, would resort for it to the slavers. The cessation of trade between the natives and the Colony in any article of accustomed traffic, would naturally extend to other articles, however salutary and profitable; and would thus seriously impair, if not totally subvert, the commercial prosperity of the Colony. The consequences of an increased intercourse, from any cause, between the natives and the slavers, would be still more alarming. It is thought sufficient to glance at one only—the exchange of *human beings* for *ardent spirits*. The Board might well pause before they ventured on a measure that might possibly stimulate anew that most detestable of all traffics—the slave trade. They might perhaps, have supposed that some might not feel as strongly as themselves, the force of this apprehension; but they could never have foreseen, that for entertaining it, they would sub-

ject themselves and their constituents to the charge of being influenced by the "single motive" of perpetuating slavery.

Under the influence of the considerations just stated, the Board have deemed it best to rely on moral influences for preventing the introduction of ardent spirits into Liberia; and not to try the experiment of prohibition, till the commercial prosperity of the Colony should be fixed on a stable basis. In illustration of the solicitude of the Board on the subject, we subjoin two resolutions passed in 1830. The Address, directed by the second, was in conformity with it, prepared by the Secretary, and circulated among the Colonists. The resolutions are as follows, viz:

Adopted 28th June, 1830.

Resolved, That the friends of the Society throughout the country, be informed that this Board will discourage the introduction and use of distilled spirits in the Colony, and among the native tribes; and that the subject is now under consideration of the Board."

Adopted 8th Nov. 1830.

Resolved, That the Secretary be requested to prepare an address to the Colonists, to be sent out by the vessel, now about to be despatched; in which, among other things to be recommended to their observance for their welfare, he shall encourage them to form Temperance Societies, and adopt such other measures as may tend to diminish both the use and the sale of ardent spirits in the Colony; and also, that in their commerce with the natives, they discontinue dealing in such articles; also, that the Secretary communicate to the Colonial Agent, the wishes of the Board upon this subject."

In regard to the "statement" about the 1400 barrels, which Mr. T. is "assured is made on unquestionable authority," it may be wished that he had furnished us with the means of ascertaining how far his confidence in this authority is deserved. The statement seems to have been made to Mr. T. by some person who got it from some other person; but who assured Mr. T. that the authority of this other person was unquestionable. Whether any error has crept into this statement during its circuitous route, or whether it is indeed "unquestionable," we shall be better able to decide, when the facts are presented in some specific and tangible form. It would indeed be easy for us to deny roundly the "authority" of the informer of Mr. T's. informer; but as this would be only opposing assertion to assertion, we prefer waiting till the facts are ascertained. We are more than ever opposed to precipitancy of judgment on any subject, when we see into what injustice it can betray so respectable a man as Mr. T.

We could wish that Mr. T. had been more precise in stating *whose* were "the Agents" in Liberia, who informed him, that "in giving the assortment suitable to make up an invoice"—ardent spirits "were considered indispensable." Mr. T. certainly did not mean to be understood, as having received this information from "the Agents" of the *Colonization Society*: and yet such an inference is permitted, if not suggested, by the context of the sentence.

The considerations which have been stated, as deterring the Board from prohibiting ardent spirits, have, nevertheless, been yielded to with reluctance. If Mr. T's. "influence" (which instead of being "little," as he modestly calls it, was deservedly considerable) was insufficient to induce the Board to disregard them, it has at least had the effect of deeply engaging their thoughts on the plan which he recommends. We shall presently subjoin two very recent resolutions, from the last of which, it will appear that the total prohibition of ardent spirits, will be a prominent subject of deliberation with the Board at their next meeting.

It has not seemed necessary in these remarks, to notice particularly the articles of "tobacco and powder and ball," because, though in one part of Mr. T's. letter they are included with ardent spirits, in the same censure, the stress of it is generally laid on ardent spirits. He probably considers tobacco as not being so closely connected with the "SINGLE MOTIVE;" and as to "powder and ball," he would hardly advise their total exclusion from the Colony, when he reflects that it is indebted, under Providence, for its present existence, to these very articles.

The resolutions last adverted to, are as follows:

Adopted *April 30th*, 1833.

"Resolved, That the Board hear with extreme regret, of the continued introduction and use of ardent spirits in the Colony; that they are resolved to exercise all their influence to discourage and diminish the evil; and that no ardent spirits, except such as may be needful for medical purposes, shall be introduced by the Board or its Agents."

Adopted *May 7th*, 1833.

"Resolved, That it be recommended to the Board of Managers, to take into consideration, at their next meeting, the expediency of prohibiting altogether, the introduction of ardent spirits into the Colony, as an article of trade with the natives, or of commerce with the Colonists."

Mr. T. may feel assured that the Board of Managers are as sensible as he can be, to the pernicious consequences of ardent spirits, and especially to the evils with which they threaten the Colony; and that if, after full consideration of the means for averting these evils, the Board should be satisfied that prohibition is on the whole, the most eligible measure, they will undoubtedly adopt it. A dispassionate review, on his part, of the circumstances which have hitherto recommended a less strenuous course, may be expected to satisfy Mr. T. that he has done injustice to the *motives* at least of the Society. One advantage to the cause of Colonization is perceived in the publication of his letter—and that is a distinct assignment of his motive for deserting the Society, and lending his influence to its adversaries. His "SINGLE MOTIVE" for the defection, appears to be a prejudice that the Society deliberately promotes the demoralization of the Colonists, by means of ardent spirits; a prejudice which we have too high an opinion of his understanding, to suppose can long withhold it from coming to juster conclusions. And as the preceding brief exposition of the views of the Board in regard to ardent spirits at the Colony, shows that his "single motive" for abandoning our cause, was founded in error, we hope soon to hail him again as a fellow labourer, in what he very justly, though it may be, ironically, styles "a splendid scheme of benevolence." As his separation from his former associates in this work, has left no unpleasant impression on their minds, except that of regret at having lost, for a season at least, his valuable aid: so his reconversion would be to them, the source of unmingled pleasure, and they would receive him with a sensibility to the importance of his services which his temporary alienation from them has served but to increase.

Any thing coming from Mr. T's. pen, must of course fix public attention, especially when accompanied with an intimation from himself, as in the case of his letter in the *Liberator*, that he intended such a result. If therefore, he should be of opinion that his charge against the Society was precipitate and unmerited; his candor will suggest to him the propriety of giving equal publicity to his retraction.

JUDGE TEST'S ADDRESS.

During the last summer, we received a copy of an Address, on the subject of Colonization, which had been recently delivered at Lawrenceburgh, Indiana, by the Hon. JOHN TEST, formerly a Representative in Congress from that State. Want of room has hitherto prevented the insertion of that speech in the Repository. In the present number, we publish some portions of it, for which we are certain that their own merit and the reputation of the speaker, will procure general perusal.

The institution which is the subject of our present address, presents a phenomenon in civil government heretofore unknown in the history of the world. Greece, Rome, or in more modern times, the East India Company, present no parallel to the present. In the two former, we behold nations in embryo, who by pursuing their way on a plain of perpetual elevation, arrived at the highest point of human glory, and became the conquerors and tyrants of the world; but they were their own arbiters, they gave direction

to their own destinies. In the latter, we see, it is true, a few individuals, connected by ties of common interest, retained and driven forward by motives of avarice, ocean siroccos, blasting and withering the free commerce of the world, scattering death and desolation among weak and unoffending communities, but then they were clothed with the panoply of the British Lion. But in this institution we are presented with the sublime spectacle of a nation bursting into being, not by its own energies, not by the force of its own physical and moral powers, but by an impetus and direction given to it by a few individuals, unknown to the world except by the brilliancy of their own personal characters, clothed with no authority but that homage which mankind pay to virtue, connected by no other tie than universal benevolence toward their fellow man, and organized upon principles of equal justice to themselves and to all the world. These individuals, thus influenced—thus united and connected—thus governed, and thus disposed, are not only giving homes and assyluma to the exiled sons of Africa, but they are dispensing light, life, liberty and happiness to poor forlorn and benighted Africa herself. These individuals, by the force of that moral power which gives a sanction to the laws of nations alone, thousands of miles beyond the sphere of their own immediate action, have founded a republic, calculated from the benignity of its principles, and the universality of its moral influence, to embrace the whole of that vast continent. Already has the gospel cherub winged its way to the benighted regions of Africa, and shed its beams upon her dark solitudes. Already have churches and temples of the living God begun to lift their spires toward heaven; towns and cities have begun to spring up, and the busy hum of industry is heard in their streets. Her dark and gloomy waters, where lately prowled naught but the pirate bark, are now whitened with the sail of adventurous commerce. Poor humbled and forsaken Africa, how lately might Fancy have painted thee far in the back ground of all the group which surrounded thee; thy looks fierce and wild, half naked, with thy hands steeped in thy own children's blood—growling thy impious orgies, revelling in the midst of thy slaughtered hecatombs, and glorying in thy shame. Now the scene is changed,—though distant the view, we can still discern thy softened look; thy hands no longer stream with kindred blood; thou seemest to doubt thy senseless gods, and wonder if they be true. To whom art thou indebted for this happy change? Not to Catholic Spain or Catholic Portugal; not to Reformed Holland or Protestant England; nor indeed to regenerated America,—but to a few individuals, citizens of this Republic, inspired with that benevolence and philanthropy which have their source in heaven itself. 'Tis they who are lighting thy path to happier views, and pouring into thy bosom the consolations of a better hope. Fancy loves to dwell on brightening scenes, but it is not our object to indulge the imagination in its wanderings, however pleasing to us. It is important that we come down to sober realities, and take a view, though in miniature, of the origin, the nature, operation and effect of this institution.

Some have attributed the origin of this institution to Mr. Jefferson, some to the Legislature of Virginia, and some to an individual a native of the same State with myself; Mr. Finley of New Jersey. Certain it is that at a very early date, perhaps about the time of the framing of the Constitution of the United States, Mr. Jefferson expressed himself very freely upon the subject of slavery; and no doubt suggested the propriety of the States interfering as far as their limited powers extended, to rid themselves of the evil. It is true Virginia, while a colony, passed twenty-three different acts for the suppression of the slave-trade, which were chiefly all rejected by the British Government. But I cannot find where, either they, or Mr. Jefferson ever suggested the idea of such an institution, as the present Colonization Society. It is very certain that neither Mr. Jefferson nor Mr. Randolph could ever have proposed to Congress to interfere directly in colonizing and removing of the free black popu-

lation to Africa, for it is a matter of fact, that at the time the United States purchased Louisiana of the French Government, Mr. Jefferson thought the Constitution did not give them power to organize a Government in that territory, and proposed such an alteration of the Constitution as would authorize it. Mr. Randolph never has, nor does he now believe the United States have any power to interfere directly in such a project; though it is said he was the first member of Congress who petitioned or requested the aid of the Government for this Society. The credit of originating and commencing this sublime institution, (and indeed it is no little) I believe to belong to Mr. Finley of New Jersey. His mind had been long exercised with deep and awful forebodings of the terrible consequences which were to flow from the continuance of such an evil as slavery in the bosom of his country;—and about the year 1816 he proposed to some of his friends the establishment of the present institution, among whom it seems, the illustrious Henry Clay was one. Mr. Clay, in one of his late public speeches, draws the astonishing contrast, between that moment, and the time, “when himself and about a dozen others, in a small room, about twelve feet square, in the city of Washington, were consulting together and laying its foundation. Few then foresaw that from so small a beginning such vast results were to be realized or such boundless prospects to open; that a mere desultory conversation should result, not only in the foundation and establishment of a vast empire or republic, but hold out the prospect of regenerating, civilizing, christianizing and elevating to happiness, from the lowest condition of human wretchedness, a whole continent.” In consequence of the measures adopted by those few individuals, a mission was sent to the western coast of Africa, by the way of England, to seek a proper place for the establishment of the intended Colony of free blacks. Such was the origin of the institution, which is the subject of this address. The number of illustrious characters, among slave-holders, and non-slave-holders, who lent their aid to its establishment, and the principles upon which it professed to act, gave to it a consequence which soon attracted public attention.

In speaking of the nature of this institution, I must be permitted to notice the various topics which seem essentially connected with it, in order to develop its principles, its powers and efficiency in consummating those sublime objects it appears to have in view. I shall not find it necessary to draw aside the veil of antiquity, in order to exhibit idolatry paying her homage to stocks and stones, sacrificing her votaries upon her bloodstained altars,—or to point out the era when superstition and bigotry, substituting their own physical power for the soft and persuasive language of universal benevolence, hunted down their victims and enslaved them in the name of God. Suffice it to say, that the evil existed among us long before we became an independent people, and still does exist. This Society, however, disavows any interference with *slaves*, or with the black population in their character as such, or in so far as they may be considered the property of individuals.

The immediate object of this institution is better expressed in their own language, than by any circumlocution I could use. It is “to be exclusively directed to promote and execute a plan for colonizing (with their consent) the free people of colour residing in our country, in Africa, or such other place as Congress shall deem most expedient. And the Society shall act, to effect this object, in co-operation with the General Government, and such of the States as may adopt regulations upon the subject.” Hence it appears from the very nature and Constitution of the Society, that it is not at all empowered to interfere with that class of the black population, denominated slaves, so long as they remain in that condition. Besides, it is destitute of political or corporate authority. It has no sanction to its decrees but its own responsibility to the public, and the unsullied reputation of the philanthropic individuals who compose it. It has no pecuniary support but such as it derives from private generosity and benevolence; nor does it hold out a hope of

future emolument, from any possible course it might be enabled to pursue. The only business of the institution is, to aid in colonizing (with their consent) such of that unhappy race, as may have acquired their liberty, and such as their owners or masters may think proper to manumit on condition of their removal to the Colony which may be provided for them. Such is the character of the Society, and such its objects.

The next question is, is it calculated in its nature, to fulfil the high expectations entertained by itself or its friends? And notwithstanding all the opposition it has met with from prejudice, yet the members composing it feel no doubt upon that point. They never hoped or expected to effect the colonization of the whole of the free black population, by their own unaided exertions. Such an expectation never ought to have been entertained. But it is demonstrable, that it will be a powerful auxiliary, in co-operation with the General Government and the individual States, as expressed in its Constitution, in connexion with other causes, in fully accomplishing that great object; and that the General Government and the several States, and particularly those which tolerate slavery, are deeply interested in fostering and cherishing the institution, is equally demonstrable. I will endeavour briefly, to call to your recollection, some of the facts and circumstances which go to prove that position.

I am not disposed to cast a censure upon those States which recognize the right to hold a property in their fellow beings, nor those individuals who under their sanction exercise the power; for I am aware that it is an evil entailed upon them by their ancestors, and that they ought not to be held responsible for continuing it, when by its sudden abandonment they hazard a much greater; those maintain it from necessity, and very few, I believe, are hardy enough at this day to defend it upon principle.

As I before remarked, it is not expected to remove so great an evil as two millions of slaves suddenly: if it can be accomplished in a century, it will be as much as the most sanguine of our friends ought to expect. It will be recollected that the causes of the evil were suffered to operate without control for more than thirty years after the declaration of Independence. It is something remarkable, that notwithstanding Virginia had passed so many acts during her colonial existence for the suppression of the slave-trade, and her great preponderance in the councils of the country at the period of the establishment of the Constitution, yet an article found its way into that instrument, prohibiting the General Government from interfering with, or preventing the several States from importing slaves until the year 1808. During that interval, the slaves increased with great rapidity. Congress, however, took the earliest opportunity to exercise the power inferred by that article in the Constitution, in order to check the growing evil, and in 1807 passed an act, to take effect in 1808, prohibiting the importation of that unfortunate class of population. This act, itself, proved but an insufficient bar to the inhuman traffic, for it put them at the disposal of the State into which the slaves were brought; and the State of Georgia set the example of selling them as slaves at auction, to the highest bidder, and depositing the money in her own state treasury: and it is to be hoped, as the money still remains in her treasury, she will appropriate it toward sending some of her own free blacks to Liberia, or put it under the control of this Society for that purpose.

It will be necessary here, to examine a little into the state of slavery, as it exists in the world at large, and in the United States, as likewise the causes which contribute to its continuance, and the means of its immediate prevention, and its future annihilation. There are very few nations that have not admitted or allowed slavery in some form or other. So far as history reaches back we hear of slaves. The ancients justified it upon the ground, that if in war they spared their captive's life, they were entitled to his services. Mahomet justified it on the ground, that they were doing a service to

God and to them, by converting them from infidelity to the true faith. The Pope of Rome was perhaps governed by the same motives when he gave authority to the adventurers to the new world to take possession of such foreign lands as they might discover and enslave the Heathens. This order was the first I believe which ever emanated from a christian sovereign, authorizing or even countenancing the unhallowed traffic. And in virtue of that authority, a Portuguese Captain infamously distinguished himself as the first christian trader in human flesh and blood.

The inhuman commerce commenced with us about the time of the discovery of the continent on which we live, and has continued, either legitimately or illegitimately, to a certain extent ever since. Our own Constitution notwithstanding the great purity of its character in other respects, as a great national character, (as heretofore suggested,) authorized the importation of slaves until 1808. But since that time, and particularly after the revolution in St. Domingo, the world seems to have been roused to a sense of the calamitous consequences of slavery. It has since agitated the whole christian world, and occupied the attention of every christian government. In 1820, our own Government declared it piracy. In that same year, I think it was, a resolution passed the House of Representatives of the U. States almost unanimously, requiring the President to enter into negotiations with the nations at peace and in amity with the United States, in order to the total suppression of the slave-trade, by declaring it piracy. Mr. Monroe, who was then President, entered into these negotiations, and actually concluded a convention with Great Britain, and the project seemed to meet the favourable consideration of other nations. About the same time, the proposition was agitated in the Congress of sovereigns at Verona; but the convention entered into with the British, by Mr. Monroe, when it was afterwards brought before the Senate for their approval, was rejected in consequence of some obnoxious provisions contained in it, in relation to the right of search. However, Great Britain, and I believe chiefly all the christian powers of Europe and America, except perhaps Portugal and Brazil, have since declared the odious traffic—piracy. Mexico, under the presidency of Guerrero, by a single dash of the pen, liberated all the slaves within her dominions, and left their owners to seek remuneration for them when the Government should thereafter be in funds to indemnify them. Colombia, if I mistake not, and the other Republics of South America have likewise denounced the traffic as piracy. But notwithstanding all that has been done, the trade is still carried on extensively, and will be, until every nation shall declare it piracy, and agree upon some just and satisfactory mode of discovering offenders; for there is turpitude and avarice enough in the world to continue the abominable commerce so long as there shall be found a single flag on the ocean to protect it.

Such have been the rise, the progress, of this tremendous evil, and such the means by which it has been introduced into our own country. That it is a national evil and a most hideous one, I believe very few have ventured to deny. As a proof, however, of the fact, if any be wanted, we need only point to those states in which it prevails, and show their desolated fields and dilapidated dwellings; poverty and distress spread around on every hand—industry, plenty, and prosperity falling before it, like human life before the withering blast of contagion. While their sister states, which are exempt from the curse, are increasing in wealth, strength, security and happiness, they cannot but see themselves waning and sinking in that political horizon, where they once shone as stars of the first magnitude. I am sure no one acquainted with me, will believe for a moment, that I take any pleasure in drawing these unhappy distinctions between the free and slave states; for no one knows better than I do, the nobleness, generosity and hospitality that universally mark the character of their population, and few have witnessed more of their courtesy and kindness, than myself. But my duty to the pub-

lic, to the Society I here represent—nay, the duty I owe to our southern friends themselves, requires that I should speak the truth. Forty years ago, the foot of a white inhabitant had scarcely trod the vast territory north-west of the Ohio River; now it contains a population of near two millions, and the greater portion of them, emigrated from slave states. Twenty years ago, the States of Ohio and Indiana contained together, about two hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants; they now contain nearly thirteen hundred thousand. The deleterious effects of slavery, may be seen by a comparison of the increase of the population of the different states, in given times—for example, the State of Pennsylvania in 1790, had of free whites, four hundred and twenty-three thousand; (I take thousands only) in 1830, she had one million three hundred and thirty thousand, making an increase of nine hundred thousand in forty years. Virginia (with a larger amount of wild lands to settle,) had, in 1790, four hundred and forty-two thousand free whites, and in 1830, five hundred and sixty thousand, making an increase in the same time of one hundred and eighteen thousand only; and these results are very plainly deducible from the operation of causes the most natural. In the slave states, where the principal part of the business is done by slaves, labour is not reputable; in the free states, every man, rich and poor, does his own portion of the labour; labour is therefore in those states, not disreputable; and hence the poorer, and more industrious class of citizens abandon the slave states, and remove to those where labour is reputable.

While, however, we are on this branch of the subject, permit me to suggest one or two other consequences resulting from slavery, which are truly appalling. It is ascertained beyond doubt, that the slaves increase much more rapidly in the slave states, than do the whites. In the State of South Carolina and perhaps some other of the southern states, between the years 1810 and 1820, while the whites have increased at the rate of 9 per cent. in ten years, the negroes have increased at the rate of 28 per cent. in the same time. It will be found too, that notwithstanding the importation of slavery into the United States has been prohibited for twenty-three years, while there has been an excess of emigration during the same time by the whites, yet the negro population has kept pace with the white, and indeed has increased upon it. It seems to me it could hardly have entered into the minds of our southern friends, that if the black population continues to increase for the space of sixty years, as it has done for the last forty, about eight states in this union will contain nearly twelve millions of slaves. The picture is truly appalling, but it is nevertheless true. I have, perhaps, dwelt too long upon this topic, but I have been led to do so, in consequence of the declaration of Gov. Hamilton, of South Carolina, and some others high in office, that slavery is not a national evil, but a national benefit. Such declarations proceeding from so respectable a source, seemed to demand a prompt and clear refutation, and how far I have succeeded after all, in accomplishing that end, I must leave with you. Great names give great weight to declarations; and if it be really true, that slavery in the United States is not a national evil, why, the Colonization Society are spending their time, their labour and their money, to a purpose idle and insignificant. In order clearly to understand how and to what extent the operations of this Society are calculated to remedy this enormous evil, it will be necessary to look a little into the principles of slavery, the manner and extent of the slave-trade as it now exists in the world, together with its effects upon mankind.

Slavery has existed in some form or other, in every community, I believe of which history has left a record, or even tradition a trace. I should not thought to hazard much, perhaps too much, if I were to say, it was a badge of civilization; I will not say so, but I will say, it was one of the first dark spots discovered in the twilight of its horizon, and certain it is, it is the place where a total destitution of all social order prevails, for it cannot

without the power of some social regulation. The Jews themselves, were slaves in Egypt, and they enslaved others in their turn, when they obtained the ascendancy, and even their own countrymen, to a certain extent.—The Egyptians, the Grecians, the Romans, Carthaginians, and I believe every nation since, whether Pagan, Mahomedan, or Christian, has sullied its national character with the commission of the crime. And it is remarkable, that one of the best tenures by which real estate is now held in England, grew out of a system of slavery; thereby exhibiting the moral phenomenon, of good proceeding out of evil, as the slaves themselves became the tenants and owners of the lands they had been doomed to cultivate. There, however, appears to be some difference in the principles of slavery in ancient times, as then understood, and as now recognized. The master had the most absolute control over his vassal; he held over him, even the power of life and death; and there was no other security for the slave, than that which he derived from the influence of public opinion over the conduct of his master, and yet we scarcely hear of as many barbarities committed by their masters in those days, as in more modern times. Several causes may be assigned for this; one is, a slave was seldom of sufficient consequence to be noticed by the historians of that day, whereby we remain ignorant of the facts; and another cause may be, that as they were placed upon the same footing in that respect, with the children of their masters, they were treated with something like the same humanity: for by the laws of Greece and Rome, with all their refinement in morals, the father held in his hands, the absolute control of the life or death of his child. Again, the line between the master and slave, was not so indelibly drawn then as now; they were generally of the same color, form and intellect. Now the slave is distinguished by marks, which even nature herself cannot obliterate; these marks, by the institutions of the present day, designate their condition, and such is the odium with which that condition is stamped, that no time or circumstance can extinguish it, while they shall remain among their masters. The black skin, the curled hair and the flat nose, will be held in contempt and disgust by the white man, and felt as the cause of his degradation by the negro, so long as they shall each remember that they were the distinguishing marks between the free man and the slave: and hence, the absolute necessity of their separation from us; for under such circumstances, there never can be a frank, free and happy communion.

The manner of conducting the slave-trade, and the extent to which it is carried, will now occupy a few moments of our attention. Africa, poor benighted Africa, is the theatre upon which for ages, cupidity and avarice have exhibited the most disgusting scenes of rapine and barbarity; for it is not only that millions have been taken and dragged from their country and their homes, into hopeless slavery, but millions have been sacrificed in the violence necessary to their caption. The knowledge we have acquired of the interior of Africa, is very limited. Ledyard, Mungo Park, Captain Clapperton, Major Denham, Major Laing, and Mr. Bowdich, have been the principal travellers in that devoted country lately. Park, Clapperton, Laing, have fallen sacrifices to their adventurous enterprises, and whether the others be dead or not, I am not advised. It is, however, to those laborious men pretty much, that we are indebted for our knowledge of the interior of Africa. A brief geographical sketch of this continent will be necessary, in order to enlighten our views in relation to this branch of our subject. Some have been hardy enough to arraign the wisdom and benevolence of the Creator so far as to give it as their opinion, that he originally intended the blacks to be slaves to the whites, in order to palliate their guilt for enslaving them. This conclusion, besides being at war with every idea we entertain concerning the attributes of Deity, finds its refutation in the fact, that the causes which have led to their caption and enslavement, obviously exist in nature, and are plainly de-

ducible from the history, situation and geography of the country which those unfortunate people inhabit.

Africa is situated chiefly in the torrid zone, with a seacoast of perhaps twelve thousand miles, and penetrated only by two or three considerable rivers: the Nile on the North-east, and the Gambia and the Senegal on the South-west, and the Niger in the centre; and they are navigable for sea vessels, only a short distance above their mouths. The whole of her eastern, and nearly the whole of her western border, is a bleak, boisterous, impervious shore, near to which no vessel dare venture. Hence, commerce, the harbinger and handmaid of civilization, never spreads her wings, and hence the moral gloom and darkness, that overspreads her vast interior. Besides this, between her northern border and the centre lie arid deserts, impassable to every thing but the wandering Arab and his enduring camel; and whose commercial visits, even were his interests not averse to it, we have a right to presume, would be little calculated to enlighten a people but a shade more barbarous than himself.—But the principal object of the Arab's visits is to obtain slaves, of whom they drive away thousands annually and sell them along the shores of the Mediterranean. Indeed it may be said of Africa, that although a large portion of her soil is fertile, her climate salubrious, and her natural resources immense, yet she exhibits on the map of the moral world, almost a perfect blank, and on the physical, a howling wilderness and a frightful desert. All around her gloomy seacoast, where nature seems to sit in solitary grandeur with the mountain wave dashing at her feet, here and there may be seen, in these dark solitudes, some miserable vestiges of human existence—the lonely hut of the man-stealer. Behind some nook of land, as though she dreaded Neptune's sight, lies the guilty pirate bark, waiting her sinful freight of human flesh and blood. To these wretched haunts, the poor trembling victim is brought in manacles, and delivered to his unfeeling future master. There are numbers of these depots around the coast, on both sides of this continent; they call them factories; they were established ostensibly for trading *with* the natives, but in truth, for trading *for* them. Christians, I should like to believe, once viewed this trade with horror; but about four hundred years ago, the Pope took upon himself to give an order to the Portuguese, to "conquer strange lands, not under the jurisdiction of any Christian Prince, and to convert the heathen, found there, to the true Christian faith, by enslaving them, or otherwise," and under this order, that government made various settlements, (if settlements they might be called) some on the east and some on the west side of Africa. Other nations, not recognizing the right of the Portuguese as divine and exclusive, ventured likewise, not only to make some lodgements of their own, but attacked the Portuguese themselves, and drove them from thence, and took the settlements in their own hands. The Dutch, the French, the British, and I believe the Turks on the Red sea, have their factories, scattered all along the coast, and even Sierra Leone and Liberia were formerly both slave factories; but for the honor of the United States, she never had such a factory in Africa, nor had she any territory, until she purchased of the natives at a fair price, the territory which this Society now occupies, and which is converted to a very different purpose from that, to which it was formerly appropriated. Africa, thus situated in relation to her exterior, surrounded with a solitary seacoast, excluded from legitimate commerce, infested with pirates, who had their haunts, in places, best calculated to promote their views, seemed almost to invite the horrid traffic which was carried on, while her interior is little less favourably adapted to the prosecution of the same inhuman commerce.—In the northern part of the continent, between the centre and Mediterranean, there is a tract of barren desert, over which the natives cannot travel, and which enables the Arab, by the use of his camel, totally to monopolize the traffic in slaves. It is said, that twenty or thirty miles from the ocean, on the west, the forests become almost entirely impenetrable, by reason of the

brambles and underwood, insomuch that the communication is in a measure cut off with the sea-shore, and which I presume, would render pursuit after the slave-taker hopeless, if not altogether useless, at least after he had once entered the thicket.

After having seen the situation of the country, a few words in reference to the manner of *conducting the slave-trade*, may not be time misspent. At all these factories along the coast, there are residing either traders or natives, who attend to the business. The slave vessels approach as nigh to the shore as their safety will admit; the goods are landed in canoes by the natives, who, it is said, manage them with a dexterity inconceivable almost to a white man, for they will conduct them in safety across the swells, which run almost mountain high on these bleak shores. There goods, which consist principally of trinkets and gewgaws, are offered for sale, and nothing will be taken for them but slaves. Ivory, cocoa-nuts, tamarinds, with all the tropical fruits are plenty, and even gold is so abundant, that the Governor of Bambarra paid as a tribute to the father of Abduhl Rahaman, a peck annually of that precious metal; yet none of these will be taken for gewgaws; nothing but human souls will do. It may be easily imagined that articles of this gaudy description, presented to the view of these untutored savages, would fascinate them to a degree bordering upon insanity; and would be well calculated to qualify their minds to run any hazard, or commit any outrage to gratify a passion so universally predominant among them. When these goods arrive, if there are not slaves sufficient on hand, the natives in some instances pursue them singly, and run them down. Every duplicity and every stratagem their savage ingenuity can invent, are made use of to circumvent and ensnare their victim. Major Denham gives a description of one of these *ghrazies* (that is, a slave hunt,) as they are there called, which is calculated to fill the mind with horror. He says nothing is more common, than for a large town to attack a smaller one, or several in succession; burn their houses, destroy their fields and flocks, massacre the old and infirm, and drive off as many able-bodied prisoners as they can get hold of. They are taught by the Turks, and even Christians, that it is perfectly correct to do thus: on the one side, Mahomet has taught his followers that it is orthodox, to enforce his precepts of religion by the power of the sword, and the Christians have the order of the Pope for subduing and enslaving the heathen; both find a specious pretext for the abominable traffic, while the poor deluded negro finds a sufficient motive for the perpetration of all its barbarities, in the gratification of his pride and vanity. Maj. Denham says, that in some of these *ghrazies*, they take three or four thousand prisoners. These depredations are committed without pretence of cause for war; but as the tribes, generally, are governed by petty Kings, it is not difficult, in case their avarice or their pride should prompt them, to allege some pretext for war. In many instances, indeed, the rulers sell their own people for slaves. They have been so long accustomed to this horrid kind of traffic, that they seem to commit it, even upon their own subjects without remorse. Dr. Randal gives an instance of a black Princess, or Mistress, whom he calls Mamma, who, though under a solemn treaty with him, not to suffer the slave-trade to be carried on from her Island, yet, in violation of that treaty, had reduced her subjects, by selling them to slave-dealers, from several hundreds, to about eight or ten families—and that he only discovered it, by their entering a complaint to him against her. This state of society, and this state of feeling, has been introduced among these unhappy, uncivilized creatures, by the seductive machinations of a people calling themselves Christians, prompted only by their avarice and cupidity; and although not universally, yet it prevails pretty generally along the coast of both oceans, and from the central part of the continent to its southern extremity: and those factories or depots established along the coasts, instead of being directed, as they might have been, to the civilization of the poor African,

have been converted to the horrid purposes of putting in motion, to his destruction, all his most savage passions. From this view of the situation of that devoted country, and the causes which have been brought to operate upon it, it would seem unnecessary to look beyond nature for the inferiority of the African, or to attribute it to the denunciations of that God, who sees with an equal eye, and directs with a just and unerring Providence, the destinies of his whole creation.

The foregoing may be said to be the active causes which have hindered the civilization, and led to the enslavement and degradation of the African.— Other causes, however, exist beyond all these: during the time of the prosperity of Egypt, of Greece, of Carthage, and of Rome, navigation was ill understood, and seldom extended beyond the inland seas. Hence, beyond the Red sea and the Mediterranean, the continent of Africa was little known; besides, its interior held out but few objects to attract the avarice or ambition of the military despot. As soon as the knowledge of nautical science, had enabled the Portuguese and other European powers to venture upon more distant voyages, and to explore the more distant regions of Africa, it, at the same time, became their interest, from the enervating heat of the climate, the immensity and stubbornness of the forests, to omit making permanent settlements, and apply themselves to the obtaining of gold with which the country abounds, and the purchase of slaves, to which the laws of their country had lately given countenance. To carry on this traffic most profitably, it was necessary to keep the poor African in the most profound ignorance and barbarism; and thus, through the turpitude of his fellow man, has he been rendered the instrument of his own destruction, and the curse of more enlightened nations.

In relation to the extent of the slave-trade as now carried on, it is not easy to give any very correct idea. It is thought, that there have been expended for slaves, since the Portuguese first gave a license to purchase them, a sum between thirty-five and fifty hundred millions of dollars. True it is, several nations, since the subject was agitated at the Congress of nations at Verona, in Italy, and since the correspondence of Mr. Monroe with various powers in Europe, have begun to adopt a more humane and liberal policy towards these unhappy people; yet the traffic is still carried on to a great extent. It is believed, that nearly 100,000 slaves are still annually dragged from Africa. Notwithstanding all the vigilance of the missionaries and public officers at the Cape of Good Hope, Sierra Leone, and other establishments, there yet are slave-traders actually residing secretly at these places; and when vessels have been detected in the illicit trade and forfeited and sold, the owners have bought them. There are slave factories at almost every inlet along the coast, where vessels steal in, obtain their cargoes and put to sea again unnoticed; and when a factory of this kind is discovered, or likely to be, it is broken up, and secretly removed to some other place. The Kroomen, who are continually plying along the shore, discover the approach of a public vessel at a great distance, and give notice to the slavers, who make their escape before they can be seized. In Chili, there are about five colored people to one white, and in Brazil there are ten; and these countries (Brazil in particular, which lies nearly in the same latitude of Sierra Leone, with about twenty-five hundred miles of the Atlantic ocean rolling between,) are perpetually augmenting their number of slaves; besides the vast numbers that are carried away to the West Indies, and the still greater numbers driven by the Turks through the land to the shores of the Mediterranean, and carried up the Pacific and through the Red sea. Thus is the abominable slave traffic carried on; and thus it will be, until Christian nations shall all agree to denounce it as piracy, establish some mode of breaking up those vile slave-factories on the coast, and agree to keep a constant train of public armed vessels in those seas to guard them.

I have endeavoured to show the nature, and the manner of conducting the slave-trade; and the deleterious consequence of the blacks remaining among us. The next topic which presents itself is, is it expedient and proper to colonize the free blacks on the shores of Africa? (the slaves we have nothing to do with) and if so, is the Colonization Society adequate to that vast undertaking?

If it be necessary to remove them from among us, it seems to me it must be done by colonizing them. They cannot, they must not, remain here; and I know no place for them, so suitable as Africa. Nature seems to have formed their minds, their constitutions and their habits, to suit the vivid rays of a vertical sun, rather than the biting blasts of the polar circles. As we have dragged them from the land of their fathers, it would seem no more than just, if we remove them at all, that we should return them thence again. It is ascertained to practical demonstration, that the colored man cannot endure the rigours of a northern climate. Moses, while a slave among the Egyptians, learned from them the sciences and the arts, and when restored to his country, he applied them to the benefit of his people, as the African may do, when he shall revisit his native land. Some have suggested the plan of colonizing them beyond the Rocky mountains, some of sending them to Hayti, and an unsuccessful attempt was made to send them to the latter place. It must occur to every one who reflects, that it will be much easier to establish a colony in Africa, than almost any other place on the globe. The distance, to be sure, is considerable, but the passage is quick, easy and safe. I believe there never has yet an accident happened to a transporting vessel, either going or returning. The passage is made in about thirty days from Philadelphia, and in about thirty-seven days from Liverpool, and there is a great uniformity as to time. Africa is sufficiently capacious to contain any amount of population that might be sent there, for instead of accumulating like other countries, for centuries she has been diminishing—she has, perhaps, been robbed and deprived of the means of increasing her population together, since the 15th century, to the amount of twenty or thirty millions. She contains a territory of something like eighteen millions of square miles, with a population that may be estimated at one hundred and fifty millions, (a very extravagant one, no doubt,) which will amount to not quite 9 persons to the square mile. The United States, taking in their whole territory, except that part derived from the treaty with Russia, extending westward to the Pacific ocean, sustain now, an average population of about thirteen persons to the square mile, which is very sparse, when it is believed by those who pretend to understand the nature of production and consumption, that New York itself is quite capable of sustaining the number of ten millions, or three hundred and fifty. Europe sustains upon an average, including her frozen regions and her vast forests, perhaps, about fifty persons to the square mile. Hence, were the whole amount of our blacks distributed upon the African continent, it would be scarcely felt.

The climate of Africa is not only suited to the constitutions and habits of the blacks, but settlements are much more readily made than in more rigorous ones. One eternal summer prevails throughout her whole extensive region; one perpetual bloom spreads over the face of the whole continent; and it may be said, that she yields her rich harvests through the unvaried year. Winter, with his hoary visage, never frowns upon the husbandman's labours.—Nor could you ever operate so far upon the credulity of a native African, as to induce him to credit the fact, that water would assume an obdurate form. The rich luxuriant fruits of her clime burst forth spontaneously from her bosom, and grow and ripen in endless succession. The Elephant, the Camel, the Horse, the Ox, and all the inferior animals, rove at large nor feel a stint of nature's bounties, or need the fostering care of man. The forests almost wave in vain, for the want of fuel is never felt. True, there are seasons of

incessant rain, but they are short, and give a new spring to vegetation.—There are some deserts, but there are few very high mountains; and upon the whole, perhaps there is a greater relative proportion of tillable land in that country, than in other parts of the world. Every kind of roots and pulse, and particularly vines, grow and flourish here in great abundance; and even Indian Corn succeeds pretty well. The domestic animals generally increase and thrive with very little care; and the husbandman's labour is well repaid in every object to which his attention may be directed. The soil is generally very fertile; the tropical fruits spring up spontaneously, and the abundance of wild game renders the essentials of savage life so easily attainable, that the motives to labour are almost annihilated. I am not sure that I would hazard much in saying, that this absence of motive to labour, and the consequent lack of competition, combined with that natural reluctance man feels to exertion when not spurred on by necessity, is one of the principal causes of the ignorance and barbarism that prevail in that devoted country.

Hence it is evident that a colony would be much more easily established in that country, than in one where the colonists would annually have to encounter the rigors of a northern winter. Indeed, experience has tested the theory here laid down; for the infant Colony of Liberia, with a single exception, continued to flourish from the moment of its commencement; and that exception originated, not in causes existing in nature, but in those which were altogether artificial. The difficulties to be encountered with the natives there, are not like those the first settlers had to encounter here. Here, the Aborigines were fierce, daring and inexorable;—there, so far as we have known them, they are timid, docile and irresolute: to this there are no doubt exceptions. Indeed, so different are they in character from the bold indomitable savage of America, who stakes his life upon the whirl of a tomahawk, that in fact, Mr. Ashmun, the Society's Agent, with twenty-eight men and boys, put thousands of them to flight.

Objections have been made by some, that it is too remote to found a colony with facility. The only objection on account of distance or remoteness, must arise from the difficulty and expense of emigration. These difficulties are diminishing every hour the Colony is progressing, and in a very short time will totally disappear. It cannot be desirable to have them near us; and although the distance is considerable, it is found that the expense of transporting an emigrant, will not be more than twenty-three dollars, from the place of embarkation.

Objections have been started in relation to the salubrity of the climate. Much pains have been taken by the Society, in order to obtain a knowledge of the relative health of the new Colony; and it is found to be very favourable to the coloured people. It is true, the climate is unpropitious to a white man; but this, so far from being an objection, ought to be considered as a circumstance in its favour. We have all seen and felt the difficulties of the Whites and the Indians settling in the same neighbourhood; that the former are continually encroaching upon the latter,—driving them back, breaking up their establishments, creating perpetual bickerings and heartburnings that have frequently terminated in war and bloodshed; and which now seem to threaten the total annihilation of the unhappy race of Aborigines. If there be any weight in this argument in relation to the Indians, it derives a double force when applied to the blacks. There are feelings existing between the white man and the coloured, that must be obliterated from the mind; circumstances that must be forgotten, which can only be effected by time, distance, and a more dignified position to be assumed by the blacks, and which daily associations are little qualified to favor. The condition to which they have been subjected, has sunk them in the scale of human existence, and there is no intermediate point at which they can meet; but the black man must rise to the height of the white, as the white will never sink to the level of the black.

Again, I believe if there is any one principle on which a majority of the civilized world at this day agree, it is, that the slave-trade is a commerce disgraceful to mankind, forbidden by God and nature, and that it ought to be suppressed and discountenanced by every nation under heaven. And it seems to me the only hope of success in putting it down, is derived from attacking it at its source; that is, by establishing colonies on the continent of Africa. I have endeavoured to describe briefly, the situation of that country and the manner of conducting the slave-trade; by which will be seen the facilities of obtaining slaves, and the motives held out to the natives to kidnap each other; and upon the whole view of the case, I think it will appear plain to every reflecting mind, that there can be no means adopted, that hold out the same prospect of success as the one proposed.

(TO BE CONTINUED.)

REV. J. N. DANFORTH'S LETTER.

The REV. JOSHUA N. DANFORTH's letter, which we subjoin, has called forth a bitter commentary from the *Liberator*, edited by Mr. WILLIAM L. GARRISON. This print finding it too difficult to answer the arguments and facts adduced by MR. DANFORTH in support of the scheme of the Colonization Society, and in illustration of its claims on public confidence, resorts to the easy expedient of personal vituperation. Some idea of the temper in which the critique is written, may be formed from the following specimens:

"The high esteem which we entertain for the clerical profession, must be our apology for omitting, in our use of this man's name, the sacred title of 'Reverend.' If he has not, like the hypocritical priest described by Pollok, 'stolen the livery of the court of heaven to serve the devil in;' he has, at least, been guilty of propagating the most glaring misrepresentations concerning this paper and the cause which it advocates. Whether these misrepresentations are *wisful*, or the fruit of that ignorance and stupidity, which are his distinguishing traits, we pretend not to say. His letter, which we publish to-day, addressed to Colonel Stone, is a compound of folly, presumption, arrogance and misrepresentation."

"It is no merit in Mr. D's estimation to disturb the peace of the wicked, and to incur their displeasure;—and we venture to say that he never will be imprisoned by his slave driving employers, for disturbing them in their sins."

"Were it not for our regard for the welfare of Africa, and our desire that the Colony may be filled with better men, we should think it would be an excellent plan to *ship* Mr. Danforth to Liberia, where he can enjoy the blessings of that earthly paradise, as a reward for his faithfulness to the interest of the slave drivers in slandering the Abolitionists."

BOSTON, March 28, 1833.

TO WILLIAM L. STONE, Esq.

Chairman of the Executive Committee of the New York City Colonization Society.

The perusal of some recent remarks from your pen on the very delicate and momentous subject of slavery in the United States, has prompted me to address you. This is emphatically an age of discussion and agitation, if not of 'reason.' We hear of the giant march of liberal principles. We are taught to anticipate the universal triumph of benevolence, humanity and freedom.

Different plans for meliorating the condition, and relieving the miseries of the wretched, have been devised, defended and pursued with different success. In the progress of events in our own country, it has been impossible that either a thoughtful or philanthropic mind should be insensible to the existence of that portentous national evil—*slavery*.

Accordingly, States have legislated; Courts have adjudicated; the Press has discussed the subject; the Pulpit has occasionally spoken; Public Meetings have agitated the question; Societies have been formed, constituted on different principles. The two great leading principles, however, which have been embodied in nearly all regularly organized associations, are *Colonization with gradual Emancipation*, and *Abolition or immediate Emancipation*.

You are aware that abolition societies have existed in this country for the last forty years. A whole generation has passed away, and what monuments have those societies left even to tell that *they were*? In the meantime, the evil still threatened, and forced itself on the public mind with augmented terrors. *Something*, it was confessed, must be done. The North saw it.—The South *felt* it. An annual increase of the slaves at the rate of 50,000 or 60,000, was not to be disregarded. Like all great evils, which have fatally interwoven themselves with the interests of whole communities and nations, this one demanded and suggested its remedy. Let me illustrate my meaning, and if I do not derive from the analogy of God's Providence a powerful argument for the colonization system, then the lessons of history have been transmitted to us in vain.

The ecclesiastical, which was, in fact, the civil bondage and darkness of the middle ages, was so grievous, that the human mind, by a desperate, though long protracted effort, at length gained the regions of liberty and light. That era, distinguished as it was by concomitant discoveries, was the commencement of a series of changes which have overspread the civilized world. The deformity of error compelled men to search for truth, and they found her, robed in all her beauty. Then came to the aid of the inquiring intellect, the art of printing, recently discovered; and to the aid of adventurous spirits, the art of navigation, the result of another discovery—all sent by a kind Providence as most obvious and appropriate remedies for evils of vast extent, and all pregnant with blessings, gradually evolving themselves for coming generations. They called the nations of this Western continent into existence.

Let me now pass, concisely, to the consideration of another kindred fact. We owe the present wide-spread, beneficent—I had almost said morally Omnipotent—system of Sabbath School instruction, which is belting the world with a zone of light and love, under God, to a man who was constrained by an urgent, accidental, (as we say) scene of moral wretchedness, to seek a REMEDY. The simple remedy was a Sunday School, for a few profane and brawling children. What results! Once more—it is not long since the most sanguine minds despaired of any remedial means for the wasting evil—Intemperance. Behold! it has led the world to its own remedy, equally simple and effectual. Now observe another feature in the reformation from these evils. That reformation has in no instance been accomplished by an instantaneous stroke. It is not the way of Providence. It cannot, therefore, be the way by which human means are to operate. No sudden irruption of human benevolence can achieve these moral triumphs. Not redemption itself burst upon the world in this manner. The deliverance was *gradual*. I should rather say it is gradual, for the work is still going on, and the world is now *looking forward* to grander results.

In perfect harmony, as I conceive, with providential arrangements and achievements like these, is the scheme of AFRICAN COLONIZATION, which owes its conception and prosecution to the existence of a mighty evil in the bosom of our own country. The reasons for action in some form were numerous and urgent. The safety of the whites—the ignorance and degradation of the free blacks—the comfort of the slaves—State policy—considerations of patriotism—the peace of the country—the prospects of the African race generally—the horrors of the slave-trade—the uncanceled obligations of the Christian community—all urged the formation of *some* plan, which should at least open a view through the vista of hope, if it did not conduct us into it. At this juncture, the *American Colonization Society* was formed, very properly, at the central city of the Republic. If it had been formed in the heart of the slaveholding States, it might have been regarded with just suspicion, as a device to perpetuate slavery. If it had originated in the free States, it would have been certainly considered and reprobated with indig-

nation, as a scheme for forcing a general emancipation upon the South. In either event jealousies would have been created and cherished, equally painful to the whites, and injurious to the blacks. There was one spot where it was possible to make a great national effort, so neutral that suspicion would be disarmed;—so public that all the acts of the Society must necessarily be scrutinized by the eyes of the nation looking to that focal point;—so peculiar that patriotism would kindle to its highest enthusiasm—in the city of WASHINGTON, and in the temple of liberty that crowns its loftiest summit. (1)

To preclude all possibility of honest complaint against the motives which actuated those concerned in the general management of the Society, there was scarcely a profession or denomination in the land that did not participate in its early movements. There were Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Catholics, Baptists, Congregationalists, Methodists; slaveholders and non-slaveholders; civil men, political men, and religious men; northern men and southern men; men of great and humble abilities. They declared their object in their constitution. They did not meet to produce another abortion in the form of an *abolition* Society. They met to form a *Colonization* Society. That was object enough. That was a good object enough, and as great as good.—Like all human institutions, that have blessed or cursed mankind, it was doubtless advocated with different views and expectations.

John Randolph, in 1816, thought it would secure slave property. He therefore befriended it. He is now its enemy. Henry Clay thought it would, in its ultimate results, civilize Africa and emancipate our own country. Mr. Clay adheres to it: So did Caldwell, Finley, Mills, and Ashmun, who are united with the honored dead. Mr. Archer seems to look at it only as an instrument of keeping the slaves in the path of obedience, industry and fruitfulness. Mr. Everett regards it as a vast engine for the demolition of tyranny and barbarism in Africa, while in common with the great majority of its friends both at the North and South, he considers it as gradually undermining the entrenchments of slavery in the country.

You also have your views. You see reasons sufficient to induce you to continue the firm friend of the Society, though you may not regard the plan as a perfect one—its imperfection necessarily arising out of the peculiar relations of the North and South—and therefore as perfect as the nature of the case admits.

The plan, however, has succeeded. In ten years from the commencement of operations, Providence having directed to the most suitable of all places in Africa, a colony is firmly established. It has overcome incipient difficulties, as of sickness, destitution, want of system, &c. It contains *three thousand* inhabitants, one thousand of whom are emancipated slaves. A government of liberty and law is formed. The freedom of the press, trial by jury, the right of suffrage, and all that appertains to a government founded on equal rights and popular representation, are abundantly enjoyed. The native tribes in the vicinity are tendering their allegiance to the Colony, and receiving in return its protection. Schools have been established for all the children in the Colony. Churches are erected. Agriculture and Commerce are thriving. (2) Additional territory, without limit, may be purchased from the willing tribes and rightful owners. A vast region, like that of the Valley of the Mississippi, fertile and beautiful, unfolds its treasures to the intelligent settlers. Thousands are now seeking a passage to that land. From the success of this experiment, a high moral advantage is derived to the colored people in this country.

In the midst of all these successful endeavors, there appears a young man within the last two years, of the name of Garrison, whose pen is so venomous, that the laws enacted for the peace of the community and the protection of private character, have in one instance actually confined him in jail, as they would a Lunatic. This man, who according to his own account, (3) has on-

ly since 1830 turned against the Colonization cause, in favor of which he delivered his sentiments in public twelve years after the Society was formed; this man, who is considered such a disturber of the tranquillity of Southern Society, that \$10,000 reward have been offered me for his person, and the most touching appeals as well as official demands made to us in this region, that he should be publicly discountenanced, and even given up to justice; who is in fact this moment in danger of being surrendered to the civil authorities of some one of the Southern States; this man, in connection with a few like-minded spirits, has been engaged in forming what they call 'The New England Anti-Slavery Society;' (4) one object of which is, 'to effect the abolition of slavery in the United States.' If you have ever seen the incendiary publication, the *Liberator*, you may form some idea of the nature of the harangues of the agents of this Society, which are very severe against the South, and the Colonization Society.

They consider that Society as standing in the way of emancipation—as a scheme of slaveholders to subserve their selfish ends—as a guilty plot to drive out the free negroes that the slaves may be held more securely—(though one-third of the Liberian Colonists, that is, about a thousand, are emancipated slaves!)—as doing nothing right, but every thing wickedly, because it does not at once insist upon immediate emancipation. These agents have traversed the country, (not the southern portion, mark you—they are too *discreet* for that,) thrusting themselves, though unlicensed, into pulpits, when they could; sometimes deceiving the clergy as to their real object, and into town halls and other places, when ministers have refused to encourage them, as, according to their complaints, they often do. They have been in the habit of boldly claiming converts to their cause among leading men, who, in my presence, have indignantly pronounced these claims false. I have the names and the testimony of such. One of these agents informed me that it was their object to produce such a revolution in public sentiment, as that the national legislation should be brought to bear directly on the slaveholders, and compel them to 'break every yoke.' But, first of all, they have undertaken the sublime work of demolishing our Society. Of the spirit and temper in which they are proceeding to this task, you may form some idea from the following prelude blast, which Garrison, their leader and master, has blown from his fiery trumpet:—'The superstructure of the Colonization Society rests upon the following pillars—1. Persecution. 2. Falsehood. 3. Cowardice. 4. Infidelity. If I do not prove the Colonization Society to be a creature *without heart, without brains, eyeless, unnatural, hypocritical, relentless, unjust*, then nothing is capable of demonstration'!!! This is a little specimen of the foam and fury that overflow the pages of his book. (5) Among the pertinent and powerful chastisements which it has received from those presses, which have condescended to notice it, is one from the *Methodist Quarterly Review*, and another from the *Christian Spectator*.

You know that the Christian religion is indebted for some of its noblest vindications to the ferocious attacks of its enemies. These assaults upon our Society have called forth, in Boston and elsewhere, some of the most able and triumphant arguments in its defence, which distinguished public speakers, both clerical and laical, have ever delivered. Many minds that had slumbered in indifference, have been aroused to investigation, and the result is most auspicious; for it has developed a mass of moral power, ranging itself on the side of truth, prudence, the Constitution, and the country, which will present an effectual barrier to the irruption of a reckless fanaticism upon the peace and tranquillity of the South. There are, doubtless, some amiable, upright and benevolent, though mistaken men, who have enlisted under the 'anti-slavery' standard, but if, in propelling the current of their influence over the homes and the fields of the South, they should succeed in exciting an agitation there—we all know what kind of success it would be, if Southern men speak true.

It would first be written in the blood of the living, and then inscribed on the tombs of the dead. It would be a poor consolation to reflect that such a catastrophe was the result of a mistake. We wish not to suppress fair and candid discussion. But there is a *time, a mode, a season* for handling great and critical questions, which a wise and benevolent man will not disregard. It is a homely proverb, but one deeply founded in truth and good sense, that '*haste makes waste.*' '*What is done in a hurry is seldom well done.*' The Colonization Society has opened the door of discussion, but not so violently as to break the hinges. It could hope little from fulminating the fiercest anathemas against the holders of slaves, but much from mild and persuasive argument, co-operating with the inevitable tendency of the great principles on which our government is founded to a more enlarged freedom and a higher prosperity.—The fable of the wind and the sun is in point. The wildest blasts of Boreas only made the traveller draw his cloak around him with a firmer grasp. Under the gentle, but effectual influences of Sol, he soon threw it aside.

If after a thorough investigation into the origin and objects of the 'N. E. Anti-Slavery Society,' the clergy are satisfied that such emissaries as go forth to put down slavery and vituperate the Colonization Society, should be entertained, they will meet no hindrances from me or the Society which I represent, but such as truth and argument may create. It is high time, however, for the leading minds of New England and New York, to speak out. If the doctrines of these men are correct—if the course of public and private denunciation against the South and the Society, which they are pursuing, is the true one, then let us know it. We all wish for abolition. But if their loud and clamorous demand for immediate emancipation be not wise—if, on the contrary, the prudent and gradual operations of the Colonization Society, be the most safe in principle, and sure in practice, uniting all, and offending none but the restless and the headlong, then it will receive additional support from the people of the North; and then, should the real friends of the colored people decisively declare their minds. I have taken special pains to ascertain public sentiment at the South regarding our Society.

All the friends and advocates of emancipation there, regard it as the only hope of the South, and they say, if we will let them alone, they will try to work their way out of the slave system. '*Nothing is more dreaded,*' says a Virginian, in a letter to me, '*by the great mass of persons opposed on principle to slavery in this region, than such inflammatory publications, (alluding to Garrison's,) as they throw increased obstacles in the way of emancipation, and if they could have all the influence that seems to be aimed at, they would bring on a struggle that must result in the extermination of the blacks.*'—Again. '*Did any one ever doubt that in proportion as the Society succeeds in providing for the free colored man an asylum where he may enjoy all the blessings of freedom, knowledge and religion, and in making this easy of access to all, it would remove the difficulties which have hitherto deterred hundreds of humane masters from emancipation, and increase many-fold the motives to the slave to seek, and the master to give emancipation? It is a fact, that just in proportion as the Colonization Society has become popular in any part of this country, just in that proportion the subject of EMANCIPATION has been discussed and become popular, and hundreds of masters in all this country are looking now with anxious eyes to the growth of the Colony, and the prosperity of the Society, as opening a door for them to bestow freedom on their slaves.*'

And yet these sapient abolitionists have recently discovered in our Society a dark and cunning plot to 'rivet the bonds of slavery.' And upon this string they are harping night and day, probably upon the principle that any story, however incredible or false, will, if told often enough, gain believers. The people of the South must, however, know that they do not speak the voice of New England. If they did, we must soon look for a separation of the

States. I have conversed freely with the Governor of this Commonwealth, and other leading men, on this subject, and they express a decided disapprobation of Garrison's course. For a while he tried the effect of his *Liberator* upon the Governor by sending it to him. His Excellency, however, did not think it worth the postage and ordered it stopped. Garrison is now preparing to go to England, doubtless to repeat *visa voce* the defamation of the South and the Colonization Society, which has been already sent over in print, and re-echoed in this country as authentic British opinions.

I have already adverted to the Colonization system, as wisely designed by Providence gradually, like all great remedies, to meet with a calm and subduing energy, the great evil which affects our country. How is it thus adapted? 1. By engaging the South itself in the work of renovation. Look at those States which warmly advocate the system—for example, Virginia, Maryland and Kentucky. The first two have acted officially in the premises.—The latter is coming on, and her voice will soon be heard. 2. By inviting and urging thought, discussion, plans, contributions for the benefit of the colored people. All this is done openly, but constitutionally, with kindness to slave owners, but with a steady adherence to the great principles of universal liberty. Vested rights are not boldly invaded, while the standard of moral duty is raised high to the view of those most deeply concerned. 3. The creation of a new republic in Africa out of the ruins of the colored race in this country, free, elevated and independent, enacting their own laws, and administering justice among themselves, will constitute a more substantial argument and motive for their universal emancipation, than volumes of wild declamation against slavery, and of fierce denunciation of slaveholders, unaccompanied by a single practical movement for the benefit of whites or blacks. 4. The removal of the free colored population from the presence of the slaves, to an enlightened and industrious community, removes from the latter the sources of temptation to idleness, insubordination and insurrection; saves them the distress of a more rigorous bondage, consequent on rebellion; and furnishes the former with employment and the means of elevation.

5. The Colonization Society appeals to the will of the masters, instead of appealing to the passions of the slave, and seeks to turn it to the policy of universal emancipation. 6. It invites the co-operation of the friends of freedom throughout the Union, and throughout Europe. It has agents in the Northern States and in England. This looks little like stifling the voice of Liberty. 7. It has adopted vigorous measures against the foreign slave-trade, the success of which must lead to the extinction of the domestic slave-trade. 8. It has already enlisted many influential individuals in the Southern and Western States, who are on principle opposed to slavery, but who, in common with others, are as yet restrained by State legislation from emancipating their slaves, except on condition of removal. 9. It takes away from those who are disposed to emancipate their slaves the necessity of retaining them, when the slaves are willing to emigrate to Africa. 10. By its undeviating regard to the Constitution of the Union and the laws of the States, it secures a confidence which has been strengthened with every revolving year, and will ultimately be of immense benefit to its policy, while a more abrupt and violent mode of operation would quickly extinguish every hope of relieving the slave population. 11. By aiming at a united action of all the States—giving the South and West the lead, it avoids sectional jealousies, and preserves fraternal feelings throughout the Union. The exclusive separate action of a portion of the States would be difficult and dangerous. Hence those Northern enthusiasts, who are now essaying to take the work into their own hands, find, according to their own confession, a tremendous force of public opinion against them. This they expect to overcome, and ride upon the storm of Northern indignation, as it sweeps over the prostrate slaveholders of the South. 12. By engaging the prayers of all Christians for our deliver-

ance from slavery, for the triumph of liberty, and of that Christianity, which 'proclaims liberty to the captive and the opening of the prison to them that are bound,' it has put a moral lever under the foundations of this execrable system, which at no distant time must effect its overthrow.

Such are my views. Until I find some plan wiser, more fitted to the end at which we aim, and more effectual in its operation, I must support the Colonization Society. It has done something. If it be called comparatively little, it is positively much. It is much, very much, to have practically shown *how* the African race may be created anew. To pull down is easy. The Ephesian incendiary with a single torch laid the beautiful temple in ruins.—A knave may wrap a whole city in a conflagration. But can he rebuild it, or repair the loss? Fortunately for our Society, the materials of which it is composed, are such that the hottest fire proves to be like the 'gold seven times purified.'

I am, very truly, your obedient servant,

J. N. DANFORTH,

General Agent of the American Colonization Society.

(1) The annual meetings of the Society are generally held in the Capitol. How absurd the idea, to hold public meetings in such a place with all the free States at full liberty to take part in them, for the purpose of 'making slavery more secure.' Yet such is the pretence of Northern Abolitionists.

(2) Exports for the year ending April, 1832, \$120,000. Imports \$80,000,—59 vessels visited Monrovia last year. The whole sum paid for this prosperity is but \$155,000! A cheap, but glorious monument erected by American liberality.

(3) *Thoughts on African Colonization*, p. 4.

(4) Of this Society, W. L. Garrison was, till recently, Secretary, and the heat of his pen is quite palpable in its 'First Annual Report.' Why he was removed to make way for a gentleman of a cooler head, it is not difficult to conjecture.

(5) *Thoughts on African Colonization*; a book, in which the most disgusting egotism is scarcely hidden in the folds of the grossest misrepresentation; and the wretched penury of argument attempted to be concealed by a cataract of abuse. It is in fact a labored concoction of the mass of volcanic matter, which for two or three years has been belched forth from that Vesuvius of the press—the *Liberator*.

THE PEOPLE OF COLOUR IN THE UNITED STATES.

The *New York Commercial Advertiser*, of April 27, in noticing the proposed Convention of Free People of Colour, to be held in Philadelphia, holds the following sensible language in regard to one of the visionary schemes which some opponents of Colonization in Liberia have recommended:—

"It is understood that the delegates are generally, if not altogether opposed to the Colonization Society—adverse to going to Liberia—and that they have it in contemplation to plant a colony in the Texas.

These prejudices entertained by them against removing to Liberia have been created and fostered, as is well known, by the deluded advocates of *immediate* emancipation. Misguided fanatics often occasion more mischief than avowed infidels, for their honesty of purpose may sometimes give them influence, when the personal character of the latter might prove an antidote to the perversity of their doctrines. We cannot but regard these persons as the greatest foes to the best interests of the African race. Their number, however, is few, and though the noise they make is great, their influence is small. Yet, if it can be *clearly* shown that a settlement in the Texas would answer the purpose of the blacks, we would not lay a straw in their path. We are quite certain, however, that they will find obstacles in their way, much more difficult to overcome than a settlement in Liberia. In the first place, a conveyance to the Texas would be more expensive, on an average, than a passage to Monrovia. This may be easily ascertained by comparing the expense of a conveyance to the latter, with the expenses which are incurred in removing the Indians to their new locations in the West. In the second place, the price of the land in Texas is vastly dearer than in Africa. Thirdly, they must conform to the Catholic religion, (if they would have any religion at all,) whatever may be their particular creed, or they will live in constant inquietude, as well from the jealousies of the Government, as of their neighbors around them. In the fourth place, very few of our colored people are acquainted with the Spanish language, and this they must acquire if they would hold any intercourse with the present population of that region. It is well known that their ignorance of the French language was one of the principal causes of the dis-

content of the emigrants who went to Hayti, a few years ago, on the invitation of President Boyer. In the fifth place, admitting all these difficulties susceptible of removal, there is another which we presume will be found to be insurmountable. This presumption is founded upon the belief that their purpose will be to emigrate overland; for should they proceed by water, the navigation would be almost as long, and altogether more dangerous than the voyage to Liberia. If they undertake it over land, how will they get to Texas? They must pass through Louisiana, which is a slave State, and will never suffer any facilities to be given for the establishment of a black colony on her borders. Laws would be passed to seize them on their way, and thus frustrate their object. Indeed there is such a community of feeling among all the slaveholding States, that we are much inclined to think that in the apprehension of the Texas colony becoming a refuge for runaways, they would contrive ways and means to prevent their emigration even by sea. At all events the other embarrassments we have alluded to are such that we trust the Convention will ponder the matter well, in all its bearings, before they venture upon a measure fraught with so many obvious and appalling discouragements."

On this plan of Colonization at Texas, the following remarks from the *Richmond Whig* deserve deep attention from both the free people of colour in our country, and the advocates among the citizens of the Union, of precipitate abolition:—

"It can never be shown that Texas will answer the purpose of the free people of colour of this country. The country does not exist, which from its social and political condition, is more unsuitable for the location of the blacks. Already entered by great numbers of adventurers from the United States, and the refuge of all who avoid justice from Mexico, the blacks would stand as little chance for peace, quiet, and the protection of laws, among a population thus fierce, turbulent, and often lawless, as the lamb for quarter in the fangs of the wolf. Can they contend with the treacherous Spaniard and Creole, or those hardy and law despising adventurers who are sure to be found on the skirts of civilization? They cannot, and a brief space would see their settlement invaded, their possessions rifled, and themselves expelled from their chosen city of refuge. An inferior race can never exist in safety, surrounded by a superior and one despising them. The free negroes must seek within the torrid zone, that chosen land which they may seek but will never find North of it. Nature must make the country uninhabitable to the white man, or his more enterprising character will reach it at last, and kill and take possession."

In animadverting on the movements of the opponents in the Northern States of the American Colonization Society, the *Whig* says:

"These people are doing infinite mischief at every turn, and it will not be their fault if every enlightened plan of melioration is not defeated. When the prejudices of the South against Colonization are vanishing before the lights of reason and experience; when the prosperity of Liberia exceeds every thing in the history of Colonization, and the feasibility of discharging the free blacks upon the shores of Africa and planting them in a congenial clime, is demonstrated, these mischievous madmen, nowise interested but through a fanatic zeal, come in to overthrow the noblest work ever undertaken!"

Wherever among foreigners the condition of people of colour, bond or free, in the United States, is properly understood, the opinion prevails that any scheme of improvement excluding emigration, is impracticable. We were forcibly struck with an illustration of this remark in a criticism in a recent number of the *Foreign Quarterly Review*, (published at London), on Mr. ACHILLE MURAT's sketch of the United States.

"The test of experience," say the Reviewers, "has made it very clear that the whites and blacks cannot live on one territory in a state of equality, any more than the whites and red men. They never mix, except to assume the position of master and servant, or of master and slave. They cannot associate together, for they are incapable of conversing upon the same subject."—In speculating on the evils to be apprehended from the present state of things, the Reviewers observe,—"The question is, how shall this be prevented? In the case of the American continent by exportation to Africa:" the very scheme of the Colonization Society, with the restriction that this exportation is to be voluntary on the part of the emigrant. That the operation of this system should be gradual, is a rule prescribed to it by the circumstances of the country; but that it will ultimately be successful, should the Society persevere in its original principles, and be able to neutralize the hostility of fanaticism, cannot be doubted, if its past history give any augury of its future progress.—Mr. Murat, who resided some years in the United States, and who seems to have been an intelligent observer of their condition, makes this remark:—

"Formerly, slavery was general in the United States, but in proportion as free labor has become cheaper, the Legislatures have abolished it. The same thing is now taking place under our eyes in Virginia and Maryland; where the population having increased, the price of labor and negroes has diminished. The proprietors get rid of them as fast as they can; their negroes are purchased for the new States, in which labour is dear." In process of time, what is now the experience of Virginia and Maryland, will be for the same reasons, the experience of the new States, with the difference against the latter, of not being able to 'get rid' of their slaves by the same process. Waiving, then, the higher motives of religion and philanthropy, one might expect that considerations of interest merely would fix the South in attachment to the Colonization Society, as the only practical plan of ultimate relief from what all admit to be an oppressive burden, without incurring grievous concomitant evil. And, on the other hand, let the ultra abolitionists, a small but vigorous section of the Northern friends of the people of colour, consider well what will be the condition of these persons when the preference of white over black and mulatto labour shall have been generally admitted in all the States of the confederacy. This is a point of the future, to which we must, on some convenient occasion, invite in advance the attention of the public, and especially of those who arrogate to themselves exclusively, the title of Anti-Slavery men.

In connexion with the topic just suggested, we subjoin a passage taken from the Journal already cited: premising that the alleged reluctance of the slaveholders to part with their property is stated too strongly; and that it is stated unfairly, because no allowance is made for the belief at the South that emancipation and continued residence in the United States, are incompatible with the happiness of either the liberating master or the liberated slave. The passage referred to, follows a remark of Mr. MURAT, that every State in the Union will gradually and voluntarily, under the stimulus of circumstances, "be at last fairly rid of this domestic plague"—slavery.

"This is precisely the mode in which the abolition of Slavery must take place in the Union, for to suppose that the slaveholders will give up what they have been taught to consider their property, and many of them possessing no other property, is a hopeless case, because they have the power of maintaining it; and if the negroes were enlightened enough to give regular battle for their freedom, the whites, from their superior intelligence, would slaughter them by thousands. The writer of this article, was once rambling over the estate of Mount Vernon, in Virginia, formerly the property of General Washington; and, having lost his way, entered into conversation with an old negress,—in the course of which, she burst into a long tirade against the Virginian land-holders, who were selling off their slaves to the Southern markets; and in some cases giving them their freedom. She, herself, had formerly been a slave on the estate of Mount Vernon, but had been free six years,—and concluded by wishing that she were a slave still, for in that state she had nothing to think of; whereas, being free, *she could hardly make a living.*"

What a difference between her condition, and that of the colonists at Liberia!

INTELLIGENCE.

AUXILIARY SOCIETIES.

The Cincinnati Colonization Society held their annual meeting on Monday, the 14th of January last, in the First Presbyterian Church, at Cincinnati.

"The President of the Society being absent, Judge Burnet took the chair, and H. Starr, Esq. acted as Secretary. After the organization of the meeting, the Rev. J. Gallaher ad-

dressed the Throne of Grace; after which, George Graham, jr. read the annual report.

"When the reading of the report was concluded, Rev. Lyman Beecher, D. D. offered the following resolution, accompanied by appropriate remarks.

"Resolved, That the efforts of the Colonization Society demand the confidence and co-operation of philanthropists, patriots, and christians, as a wise and successful effort, approved of Heaven, to facilitate the education and emancipation of slaves, and the abolition of

slavery, at home; and by the introduction of christianity, and civilization, and civil liberty, and the extinction of the slave-trade, in some measure to repay injured Africa for her protracted and unutterable sufferings and wrongs.

"Rev. James Gallaher then offered the following resolution, with remarks upon the importance of the subject.

"*Resolved*, That it is the duty of the people of this country, to use every exertion to establish the means of education among the colored people, after their removal to Africa.

"The following resolution was offered by Dr. K. J. Sparks, with a brief history of Mr. Finley's exertions.

"*Resolved*, That the thanks of this Society be tendered to Robert S. Finley, Esq. for the well directed zeal he manifested to establish and sustain the Cincinnati Colonization Society, and the able and eloquent manner in which he has advocated the principles of the American Colonization Society, while Agent of the Parent Institution.

"On motion, the members proceeded to elect officers for the ensuing year, when the following persons were chosen.

"Rev. B. P. Aydelott, D. D. *President*; Hon. Jacob Burnet, *first Vice-President*; Rev. J. L. Wilson, D. D. *second Vice-President*; M. Williams, *Treasurer*; George Graham, jr. *Secretary*; James Foster, John P. Foote, P. S. Symmes, R. S. Finley, Moses Lyon, Dr. J. C. Finley, Rev. S. W. Lynd, B. Storer, Rev. A. Mahan, E. Fisher, Rev. J. Galleher, Dr. J. K. Sparks, George W. Neff, H. B. Funk, E. Jolley, H. Starr, M. D. Evans, *Managers*.

"The following gentlemen were appointed a Committee to procure subscriptions and receive donations to the Society:

"Dr. J. K. Sparks and E. Williams, *First Ward*; Henry B. Funk and Dr. J. C. Finley, *Second Ward*; Bellamy Storer and Peyton S. Symmes, *Third Ward*; George Graham, jr. and S. Burrows, *Fourth Ward*; Moses Lyon and James Foster, *Fifth Ward*."

A Committee, consisting of Messrs. George Graham, jr. and James K. Sparks, appointed to report on the condition of the Auxiliary Society, made a report, referring to its origin and progress, the success of the Parent Society, and the condition of the Colony. A regular collection of sums due, and remittances to the Parent Board, continued from the origin of the Cincinnati Colonization Society in November, 1826, till 1829, when in consequence of absence of some of the principal officers, and from other causes, no annual meeting was held, and no collection of debts was made. "In 1830," say the Committee:

"Several attempts were made to revive the Society, and to replenish the Treasury; but owing to the removal from the city of many of its members, the withdrawal from the subscription list of others, and the objection made by some to pay annually, these attempts failed. Since that time, the managers, with a

few who considered themselves members, supported the existence of the institution, by contributions, and by receiving collections taken up in the worshipping assemblies of our city; thus presenting to the friends of the system, a medium for the transmission of funds and donations to the parent Board. In 1831, the managers appointed a Committee to receive donations for the purpose of assisting R. S. Finley, Esq. the agent of the parent Board, in despatching a vessel from New Orleans, with western emigrants for the Liberia Colony.—To promote this object, the Committee paid over to the agent, between four and five hundred dollars, in cash and merchandize, which they received from individuals in this city and collections previously made in the neighboring towns. Dr. Shane, one of the members, with a zeal and benevolence worthy of the highest commendation, volunteered his services, and accompanied the expedition to Liberia, where he remained until he saw the colonists comfortably provided with a permanent residence. Thus you perceive, that this Society has been an important auxiliary to the parent Board; and although the records for the last three years, do not furnish a system of regular order in its proceedings, yet the aggregate amount paid, is equal to the preceding three years.—Add to this, the collections made in our churches, which did not pass through this Society, in their transmission to the parent Board; the very generous subscription of ten thousand dollars, made by Mr. McClure, a gentleman living in the vicinity of our city."

The Committee conclude by recommending the continuation of the Cincinnati Auxiliary Colonization Society, and increased efforts in promoting the objects for which it was organized.

Our readers will see from the subjoined proceedings, that the Board of Managers of the Maryland State Colonization Society have adopted a preamble and some resolutions, contemplating the establishment of a new settlement at Cape Palmas.

The determination of the Auxiliary Board to promote the cessation of slavery in Maryland, deserves a large tribute of gratitude from every patriot and philanthropist in our country; and it may be hoped that the same generous and enlightened views which led to the determination, will predominate in the selection of means for carrying it into effect.

Of the particular considerations which recommended to the Auxiliary Board, the establishment of a separate Colony at Cape Palmas, we are unable to judge, except by inferences possibly deducible from the preamble; having received no intimation of their purpose prior to the movements in New York.

In this imperfect state of knowledge on the subject, we may presume that in the future reflections of the Auxiliary Board, due weight will be given to the various questions which must enter into the discussion of any definitive scheme. One of these is, what will be the probable effect, on the general plan of colonization, of a *partial* enterprise? A second question is, supposing that effect to be not injurious—what are the relative merits, on the one hand, of the broad and naked project put forth by the preamble, for colonizing Cape Palmas, under the exclusive auspices of a State Society, with emigrants going directly from our climate; and on the other hand, of peopling the proposed separate settlement with emigrants from Liberia, already seasoned to the African climate, and acquainted with the habits and dispositions of the natives? In connexion with this question, it is also to be noted, that any such separate settlement will be obnoxious, without any certainty of a favourable result, to the difficulties which so long resisted the parent Society, but which, through the collective energies given to it by most of the states, it has been enabled finally to overcome. A third question, and not the least important of the three, is one arising out of the first two; viz: conceding in argument the absolute superiority in theory, of the suggested settlement at Cape Palmas to all other plans, general or special, of colonization; does or does not the attempt to press it *at this time*, tend so to perplex public opinion and distract public patronage, as to place at great risk both the general system and the special project?

As the points just indicated, and kindred topics, equally material, will of course receive due attention from our Maryland friends, who have heretofore done so much, so zealously and so discreetly for the cause of Colonization, we will no longer detain our readers from the proceedings which have occasioned the foregoing observations. They are as follows:

(From the *N. Y. Observer*, May 11.)

NEW YORK CITY COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

The anniversary of this institution was held at half-past 7 o'clock, on Wednesday evening, at the Brick Church. The chair was taken

by Professor Duer, and the meeting opened with prayer by the Rev. Dr. Cuyler.

Mr. Danforth expressed a very devoted attachment to the Society, affirming that he loved it the more from the fact, that its policy had been questioned. In advocating its claims upon the public patronage, he dwelt at considerable length upon its adaption, 1st. to meet the wishes of the free colored people who were desirous of emigrating; 2d. to meet the wishes of masters who were anxious to emancipate; 3dly. to promote the civilization of Africa; 4thly. to suppress the slave trade; and 5thly. to pave the way for the preaching of the Gospel to benighted Africa. He concluded by adducing the testimony of intelligent men at the South, to disprove the allegation that the measures of this Society tended to rivet the chains of slavery.

Mr. Thatcher, Editor of the *Colonizationist* and *Journal of Freedom*, from the information lately received, confirmed the statements of the preceding Speaker in regard to the condition of the Colony at Liberia. He then entered at some length into a view of the colonial policy of different nations both ancient and modern, and showed that our own existence and unexampled prosperity as a nation, were remotely owing to the very same system of measures which the Society is pursuing in respect to Africa. He remarked upon the superior facilities of civilizing the Negro, compared with those which existed in regard to any other untutored race of men on the globe, particularly the aborigines of our country.

Mr. Finley then presented a very interesting and important document from the Maryland State Colonization Society, containing the information, that they had determined to purchase a new territory, that of Cape Palmas, on the western coast of Africa, and found upon it a new colony of free blacks, with an ultimate view to the entire extirpation, at no distant day, of slavery within the bounds of that State. Upon this intelligence Mr. Finley commented as forming a new era in the progress of colonization efforts.

The following is the document alluded to.

"At a meeting of the Board of Managers of the Maryland State Colonization Society, held at the Colonization office on Monday, April 30th, 1833, the following preamble and resolutions were unanimously adopted:

"Whereas, it is the desire of the Maryland State Colonization Society, to hasten, so far as they can, the arrival of the period when slavery shall cease to exist in Maryland; and whereas, the Society believe that this can best be done by advocating and assisting the cause of colonization, which is the truest, the safest and the most efficient auxiliary of freedom under existing circumstances; and whereas, the cause of Colonization, which has already produced great results, and from which so much is still anticipated, must depend in Maryland upon the facilities afforded for the transportation and reception of emigrants on the coast of Africa, which can only be secured to the necessary and desired extent, by the establishment of settlements in Africa, where there will be no restraints upon emigration beyond the control of the State Society; and whereas, it is believed for these and other rea-

sons, to be expedient for the State Society, to form at this time, a new settlement on the coast of Africa; and whereas, it has been represented to the Society, that Cape Palmas and its neighborhood offer commercial and agricultural facilities of the most important character, so as to make a settlement there, desirable in every point of view; and whereas, it is believed that a settlement thus formed by a Society, whose avowed object is the ultimate extirpation of slavery, by proper and gradual efforts addressed to the understanding and experience of the people of the State, would be viewed with peculiar interest by all those who advocated colonization on account of the tendencies towards liberty, and would receive that aid from them which would ensure its prosperity and happiness; and whereas, the Society believe, that it is proper to use every means in their power to raise Maryland to the rank of a free State of this Union, not only on account of the immediate benefit to herself, but on account of the illustration which she would then furnish of the effect of colonization in removing slavery:

"Therefore, be it resolved, That this Society will forthwith establish a settlement at a suitable point on the coast of Africa, and will take immediate measures to procure both within and without the State, the necessary pecuniary aid.

"Resolved, That the Committee heretofore appointed on the subject of a new settlement, be directed to report to the Board, upon the position and the details of the proposed settlement, together with the probable cost of the same.

"Resolved, That the Managers of the State Fund be solicited to lend their aid in such manner as they may deem proper in this behalf.

"Resolved, That the Corresponding Secretary be directed to address a copy of the above resolutions to the Agent of the New York State Colonization Society, and that Mr. Latrobe, Mr. Sheppard and Dr. Bond, be a Committee to conduct such correspondence as may grow out of the said resolutions in the recess of the Board."

Among the resolutions offered at the meeting, was the following:

Resolved, That this meeting regards with lively interest the proposition of the Maryland Colonization Society, to attempt the abolition of slavery in that State; and that it be recommended to the friends of the cause in this city, and elsewhere, to cooperate in the promotion of that enterprise.

REPORTS OF AGENTS.

The Rev. E. W. SEHON writes, under date of St. Louis, Monday, April 20th, 1833, a few mornings before, at the annual meeting of the St. Lewis Colonization Society, he, by request, delivered an address, before a large and respectable audience. Seventy-three names were added to the list of members. A public collection was dispensed with, one having been recently taken up by Mr. Bascom. Mr. Sehon acknowledges the receipt of seven dollars, for jewelry, presented to him by Mrs. Rogers, of Morgantown, Virginia. The cause

of African Colonization has in the city many warm friends; and increasing attention to the subject, is daily evinced. Among the signers for \$10 a year at the late meeting, was Gen. Ashley

JOHN G. BIRNEY, Esq. writes, from New Orleans, April 13th, 1833. He received on that day from the Hon. Edward McGehee, of Mississippi, \$160, of which \$100 was his fifth annual subscription on the plan of Gerrit Smith; and the residue, \$60, was advanced by the Auxiliary Colonization Society, in Woodville, Mississippi, to the American Colonization Society. A considerable number of emigrants from Mississippi, are expected to be ready to go out in the ensuing autumn.

Saturday, April 20. This evening at five o'clock, all things being put on board the Brig Ajax, Captain William H. Taylor, (the same who commanded the Crawford) left the levee with 150 emigrants on board. She carried also Mr. Savage, a young gentleman from Ohio, who goes out as a teacher for the missionary station to be selected by Mr. Pinney, and Mr. King, heretofore Agent of the Tennessee State Colonization Society.

Sunday, April 21. The Ajax proceeded down the river this evening, though rather smaller than Mr. Birney could have wished; she is sound, in excellent order, and a good sailer.—Mr. Birney has little doubt that the amount of Judge Workman's legacy, will be transmitted very early. With his letter are forwarded his accounts, from which it appears that he has on hand \$534.64, belonging to the American Colonization Society.

In describing the scene presented when the Ajax left the levee, Mr. Birney says:

"Although my attention had, for some days, been given to details and duties, not of a character to arouse the finer sensibilities of our nature, yet, shall I—may I—never loose the remembrance of that exalted and soul-stirring emotion which the scene excited within me. Memory presented to me Africa, 'robbed and spoiled', weeping for her children—refusing to be comforted—now I saw her rejoicing at their return;—I thought of the shriek of phrensy, the stifled groan of death in the slave ship—now I saw the sober joy of the restored, and in their countenances the beams of an elevating and glorious hope. I saw *Avarice* dragging them to our shores, wringing from them cries of despair and tears of blood. I now saw *Benevolence* conducting them to their own, their Fathers' land, drawing from their grateful hearts tears of joy, and thanks and blessings. If it be weakness to sympathise with the miserable made happy—to rejoice even to tears at the contemplation of this, my country's true glory—to feel an overmastering expansion of heart at this practical exhibition of benevolence, then I am most weak indeed!"

We have received several communications of late, from ELLIOTT CRESSON, Esq. the able and indefatigable Agent, in Great Britain, of the Society. His last was dated Glasgow, March 15, 1833; and manifests his unabated zeal and increased efficiency in the cause of Colonization. The opposition to the Society seems to have assumed in Great Britain a character of peculiar intolerance; in

consequence, doubtless, of the difficulty felt by foreign philanthropists, in bringing home to themselves the circumstances which in the United States, embarrass every scheme, however conscientious or rational, for the benefit of people of color, even when such a scheme is demonstrably identified with the interests of the whites. Every intelligent and candid Briton, who brings his mind to calm reflection on the subject, will admit, it is true that the responsibility for this state of things, rests with his own country and not with ours. But how hard does experience prove it to be in every land, to persuade passion to be reasonable and prejudice to be just! No man could have done more towards accomplishing this end than Mr. CRESSON has done. And, in despite of local prepossessions, and of hostile measures from home, he has, we have the satisfaction of knowing, produced an impression on the public mind in Great Britain, favorable to this Society, which is not likely to be speedily or easily effaced. He has succeeded in fixing the attention of some of the master spirits of that nation, on the cause of Colonization in Liberia; and in proportion to the exactness of their scrutiny, has been the degree of the favor with which they regard it. In the letter to which we have specially referred, he inculcates a lesson which he has himself exemplarily obeyed:—"support" he says, "*a noble integrity throughout this trying period, and every good man must become a Colonizationist.*"

Though the unfavourable state of the weather, the casual absence of several leading individuals favourable to Mr. CRESSON's views, and other unforeseen circumstances, rendered the period of his visit to Glasgow unpropitious, the first meeting which he convoked was attended by about 800 persons, generally of much respectability. "Another adverse circumstance," says Mr. C. "is the bitter feeling grown up between the Church of Scotland and the dissenters lately—the latter having taken the A. S. S. lead, and my friends being among the former, has prevented that degree of union forming in England in our behalf. Then too, the Duke of Hamilton, whom we expected to preside, was called away to London, before my arrival. Our Committee deemed it best to make no collections at the night" [i. e. of a second meeting which was held,] "but they have since got for us some £60 or £80, and more is promised. £18 have also been sent from Perth." This last mentioned sum was collected by some young ladies of the Rev. Mr. THOMSON's family. "The stand taken by LORD MONCRIEFF, MR. JEFFREY and others, may be the foundation of a support and cooperation, beyond mere temporary caprice or popular ebullition. By a letter received from Malta, by our friend Mrs. FLETCHER; it appears that there too, our deeds of love had awakened great satisfaction."

Mr. CRESSON had expounded the state of the Colony and the nature of the Colonization Society, at a meeting of 1300 persons, held in Belfast; and the effect was decidedly favorable. He had a very good meeting at Greenock, the chief magistrate presiding, and a Committee composed of the leading inhabi-

tants being formed, of which, JOHN DUNLOP, Esq. is Secretary.

Mr. CRESSON has many and vexatious difficulties to encounter; but his progress hitherto, encourages the hope that he will ultimately triumph over them all. One thing seems certain, that should he fail, the failure will not result from any lack of zeal or ability on his part.

THE COLONIZATIONIST.—We have received the first number of a new periodical with the foregoing title, published in Boston during the past month [April.] Its typographical execution is in the fine style for which the press of the "Literary Emporium" is remarkable; and its contents are of a highly interesting character. Among the articles of this number are, the first announcing the Editor's intended "course," one on the progress and present condition of the colony at Liberia; Mr. Mann's address delivered at the public meeting of the Boston Young Men's Colonization Society, March 13th, 1833; an article on Oregon colonization; an account of the late Boston Lyceum debate on the question—"Have the measures of the American Colonization Society a tendency to remove the evil of *slavery from this country?*" and a memoir of Abduhl Rahhahman, otherwise called the "Moorish Prince," whose original elevated condition, subsequent captivity, and ultimate restoration to the country of his fathers, are so well known, and have excited so general an interest.

The course prescribed by the Editor (B. B. THATCHER, Esq. a young gentleman well known for his literary attainments, and for several able articles in defence of the society,) is manly and liberal. After stating that his "magazine is unpledged to any society, or to any system," and adverting to the American Colonization Society, he says:

"But we also have, and we hope to have still farther, a direct opportunity of appealing to the reason and feeling of a class of our community, who have heretofore either more or less opposed that society, or have at least remained indifferent to its success. The latter description comprehends, perhaps, a large majority of the people of New England; and the fact arises, we conceive, from the want of information in regard to the principles and progress of the cause which we propose to advocate. We shall advocate it as free men—as New England men—as citizens of the union—as lovers of the great interests of humanity, freedom, and truth. We earnestly invite, for this magazine, the discussion of all the subjects, and the communication of all facts within its scope—it being, of course, always provided, that the articles shall be not only acceptable in a literary point of view, to our own taste, but also of such a spirit and temper, as shall render them likely, in our opinion, to do good rather than harm. We shall make exceptions to no argument, as an argument, and to no scheme, as a scheme.

"All this may be done, we think, consistently with common decency in the use of language, and with the exercise of that charity which *"never faileth."* Our neighbors the abolitionists, however much we may find oc-

caution to reprehend their '*modus operandi*,' will by no means, form an exception to this rule. Neither will the slave holders of the remote southern states—not even the most inveterate, absolute, avowed friends of the slave system, though they certainly have been and are, many of them, the most intolerant foes which the Colonization Society has had to encounter.—Still it seems to us unnecessary to call any of these parties by 'hard names.' Some of their sentiments we most cordially abhor, and we shall take occasion to show the why and wherefore without hesitation, and without 'mincing' the substantial subject matter in the smallest degree; but we shall still endeavor to keep in view the restraints which are set to zeal in the best of causes, by what may be called the constitutional principles of morality and religion, as well as of polity and law."

A faithful observance of the limitations mentioned in the last clause of this extract, will render the abilities which the editor of the "*Colonizationist*" brings to his new enterprise, a subject of great public and social benefit. We doubt not that his work will prove a valuable auxiliary to the cause of colonization.

We regret to perceive from the report of the debate at the Lyceum, that some of the speakers utterly misconceive the principles of the society, as might readily be shown, did space and opportunity permit, or were any thing necessary to be added to the remarks in defence of the society, which were made by other participants in the debate. The Editor of this Journal must, however, make his acknowledgments to Mr. Pearl, for correcting a misconception, placed by Mr. Johnson, on a passage in an article written by the Editor.

The question of debate was decided by a vote of 108 in the affirmative, and 46 in the negative.

The following are the officers of the Boston Young Men's Colonization Society:

President, Henry H. Huggesford—*Vice Presidents*, Henry Edwards, Francis O. Watts, Charles G. Green, J. B. Coolidge—*Recording Secretary*, George S. Hillard—*Corresponding Secretary*, Benjamin B. Thatcher—*Managers*, A. D. Parker, O. W. B. Peabody, Clement Durgin, R. L. Porter, Charles Bowen, G. A. Samson, Charles Hubbard, B. F. Wing, Thomas Hudson, Francis Alger, J. A. Bolles, R. C. Waterston.

TO YOUNG MEN OF COLOR.—The subscriber, resolved, if the Lord will, on making a special effort for the improvement of the colored race of men, hereby invites the *Young Men of Color*, residing within the limits of New England and the State of New York, between fifteen and thirty years of age, who are honest and industrious, who possess healthy and vigorous constitutions, who are desirous of obtaining an education, and are willing to devote from four to six years to this object, either at a public school, or with a private instructor, and to labor four hours in each day for their support, to report themselves to him, at Montpelier, Vermont, by letter, (post paid) previous to the first of June next.

The letter of each person should contain a certificate of his possessing the qualifications

above named, signed by a magistrate or minister of the gospel. As this notice may not otherwise meet the eye of numbers to whom it is addressed, such persons as are willing to aid in improving the intellectual and moral condition of colored men, and whose local situation gives them opportunity, are requested to search out and inform young men of color of this proposal, and to aid them, if necessary, in forwarding their communications.

Should any considerable number report themselves, as above invited, they, and the public, may expect a further communication on the subject of this article.

CHESTER WRIGHT.

Montpelier, Vt., March 26, 1833.

The Rev. Mr. Wright, is Secretary of Vermont Colonization Society, and one of the best and most influential Ministers of Christ in the land. We hope he may prepare many young men of color to become Teachers and Preachers of the Gospel in Africa.

Review of Pamphlets on Slavery and Colonization. New Haven: A. H. Maltby.—This is a Review mainly of a pamphlet on Colonization, put forth last year by Mr. Garrison. It is interesting as an exposure of some of the unwarrantable measures resorted to by this advocate of abolition, to prejudice the public mind against the African Colonization Society, and incidentally presenting the single object of that Society. The views of the writer are sound, and they are presented in a convincing manner. The notions respecting the influence of the Colonization Society, in elevating the condition of the blacks, inducing discussions of the subject of slavery, and leading to its final abolition, are briefly but impressively expressed. The pamphlet deserves an attentive perusal, and we have no doubt, will win it. We understand that 10,000 copies of it have been ordered for circulation in the State of Virginia.—*Connecticut Journal*, May 14.

THE EXPEDITION.—A letter-writer from this city for the *Boston Mercantile Journal*, (a new afternoon paper,) speaking of the expedition for Liberia, about being fitted out from New York, says:—

"Among those who have applied for a passage here, (and who are to sail, however, from Philadelphia next week) are two colored men, carpenters, from your city. There is a family of four persons from Vermont; and an old gentleman from the same State, who is without friend or relative in this country, but is most resolutely bent upon laying his bones in the soil of his own father land. The circumstances of the Colony have been all faithfully explained to him, and he perfectly understands all the hazard he incurs in the change of climate at his advanced age; but still he is determined to make the experiment. He feels that Africa, and especially Liberia, is the place for him; it is the true home and strong-hold of the black man. He says he is content to see and hear what is going on there, and then to die, no doubt with '*nunc dimittis*' on his lips."

FROM LIBERIA:

We have conversed several hours, at different times with a young gentleman of this city, who some months since passed ten days at Monrovia. The station which he occupied on board one of our national vessels, gave him unusual opportunities of gathering information, and his impartiality—for, like multitudes of our intelligent northern citizens, he scarcely knows the name of the Colonization Society—is a sufficient guaranty of the truth of his statements.

Generally he confirms the most favorable accounts of the condition of the Colony, which have reached us, and we need not therefore go into detail.—The universal appearance of things was such as to give a strong impression of prosperity in business, united with domestic comfort, social cheerfulness, and a remarkable degree of public good order and peace. He did not see a *Liberian* intoxicated while he remained there; and whenever any thing of this kind occurred to the ship's crew on shore, the commander was immediately requested by the police of the town to remove the offender as soon as possible. Ardent spirits, so far as he could learn, were to be obtained at only one place in the settlement.

He dined and ~~supped~~ with several of the colonists, and their tables, he observes, would have done no discredit to the most liberal hosts in his own country.—Some of their gardens are cultivated in very good style; and, of course with the advantage of such a climate and soil as the *Liberian*, make a handsome show of tropical and other fruits. It was during our friend's stay that six of the Dey chiefs came in to negotiate a treaty of perpetual friendship and peace with the Colony—not long after the well-known expedition against King Kai Pa. He describes them as the most noble looking fellows he ever saw. Tall, straight, robust, well-proportioned, they walked leisurely through the streets of the settlement, with the air of men that neither knew master nor feared foe. It seems there is quite a number, our informant thinks from thirty to fifty, of the native boys and girls, living permanently in the families at Monrovia at this time, where they have been placed by their parents, for the purpose of being '*made Americans*.' They are fine, healthy, and docile children, delighted with their opportunities of learning, and already evidently destined, it would seem, to become the almoners of the arts over all the beautiful but benighted land of their fathers.—*Colonizationist*.

THE COMMAND.

'GO YE UNTO ALL NATIONS.'

Go forth! go forth! heralds of God,
To many a far-off shore,
Where never have the footsteps trod
Of holy men before.

The silver isles! the silver isles!
That gem the Afric sea—
When shall they burn beneath the smiles
That come, O God! from thee!

For, rich may all their vallies glow
With bloom of brilliant hues;
And soft their musky breezes blow,
As Herman's twilight dews:

Ay, summer's never-flowerless wreath
May bind them as a bride,

And all their soil may teem beneath
With veins of lustrous pride;

And birds that cannot choose but sing,
Their fount-like music pour
In every grove; and every spring
Leap up through sanded ore.

But what are sun-bright dells and hills?
What are your vine-bound woods?
Your breezes sweet, your golden rills—
O lifeless solitudes!

Go forth! go forth!—your spear and shield
High faith, and solemn prayer
That mails the soul—and God shall yield
The crown, the victory, there.

Colonizationist.

COLONIZATION.—We published a short time past, the circular of the Board of Commissioners appointed by an act of Assembly, and the act itself, which appropriates \$18,000 annually for five years, for the removal of free persons of color. From the table which accompanied this circular and act, each county in the State has a sum appropriated to the object contemplated by the General Assembly. We think this the time for the citizens of every county in the State to form auxiliary Colonization Societies in each county, to afford additional aid to enable the free people of color to avail themselves of the favourable opportunity to emigrate to Africa. This will be giving a new impulse to the colonization cause and the spirit of emigration in Virginia. Hitherto the efforts among the citizens of this State have been but partial. This is the time for them to move simultaneously throughout the State. Let all the friends of colonization now put forth all their strength and zeal, and we may hope to see the cause go on prosperously until we shall realize all we hope for in this philanthropic enterprise.

In looking over the table, showing the proportion of the sum of \$18,000, applicable to the transportation of free persons of color from each county and corporation, we are convinced that nothing could be easier than for each county and corporation in the State, to raise a sum equal to that which is appropriated by the act of Assembly. If this should be done, then we should realize annually, for five years, \$36,000, for the removal to Africa of the free persons of color in our State. By the table of apportionment, Richmond city is entitled to \$966. This will remove only thirty-two persons of color, but if an equal sum should be raised by the citizens, there might be aid given for the removal of sixty-four annually, for five years to come. We do hope the county and corporation courts, and the citizens of Virginia generally, will turn their attention to this subject, and act with promptness, so that they fail not to reap the benefits of the appropriation made by the Assembly. This is the time also for the auxiliary Colonization Societies to awake up to this matter.

Christian Sentinel, Richmond, May 17.

A respectable resident in one of the largest towns of the western part of this Commonwealth, who has, it seems, been heretofore induced to oppose the Colonization Society, even to the extent of lecturing against it, writes to us, that having been led freshly to examine the subject, with great deliberation, he had concluded to abandon his opposition, and to repair the injustice already done, by a frank acknowledgment of his errors. This is manly. It is the magnanimity which sacrifices all personal considerations to the sacred dignity of truth. And this, as the world goes, is but too rare a virtue; too many minds are, as regards themselves, equally ashamed to detect a mistake, and afraid to correct one. Our friend details the process of reasoning which, as he says, 'caught' him. This is amusing, but the personal references connected with it, we do not feel at liberty to publish. We hope to hear from this gentleman hereafter.—*Colonizationist.*

Food for Reflection.—A distinguished South Carolinian, in a recent letter to a friend in this vicinity, says,

'I have been looking at this subject with deep interest for some time, and have been astonished at the result of my inquiries. I know of no consistent friend of the Colonization Society in South Carolina, or indeed the other slave states, who is not also a Union man.'—*Ibid.*

FOURTH OF JULY.—At a meeting of the Board of Directors of the Massachusetts Colonization Society, held at the General Agency Office, Joy's Building, April 11, 1833, it was unanimously

Resolved, That in view of the momentous crisis of our country's history, in relation to the existence of slavery, it be earnestly recommended to Christians of all denominations, to spend a portion of the morning of the 4th of July next, in special prayer to Almighty God, to preserve us from impending evils, to protect, enlarge and bless the Colony of Liberia, to pour on benighted Africa the light of the Gospel, to deliver our beloved country from the sin of slavery, to put a speedy end to all traffic in human beings, and to give energy to all means now in operation, or which may yet be devised, to accomplish those important objects.

(¶) All religious or other papers, friendly to the African cause, are requested to publish the above resolution, and especially to call the attention of the Christian community to it near the appointed time, that there may be one simultaneous offering up of supplications to God in all the churches, on the anniversary of our National Independence.

J. N. DANFORTH,
Gen. Agent of the A. C. S.

Resolutions of the Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church.—At a meeting of the New York Annual Conference of the Methodist E. Church, the following resolutions submitted by Rev. Dr. Bangs, were adopted unanimously:—

Resolved, That the American Colonization Society, by transporting to Africa, with their own consent, the free people of color, and providing a home for them on that continent, performed an act of benevolence to this class of our population, and of patriotism to our country.

Resolved, That this Conference consider the manifestations of Providence, in the establishment and success of the Colony at Monrovia, as indications of mercy to Africa; and particularly in the influence that settlement exerts in abolishing the slave-trade, and spreading the blessings of civilization and of christianity over the African continent.

Resolved, That we recommend to the Preachers, and the Congregations of this Conference, to take up collections on or about the ensuing 4th of July, in aid of the American Colonization Society; and that the Preachers of this Conference be requested to preach a sermon on the occasion.

May 13, 1833.

FROM LIBERIA:

We have conversed several hours, at different times with a young gentleman of this city, who some months since passed ten days at Monrovia. The station which he occupied on board one of our national vessels, gave him unusual opportunities of gathering information, and his impartiality—for, like multitudes of our intelligent northern citizens, he scarcely knows the name of the Colonization Society—is a sufficient guaranty of the truth of his statements.

Generally he confirms the most favorable accounts of the condition of the Colony, which have reached us, and we need not therefore go into detail.—The universal appearance of things was such as to give a strong impression of prosperity in business, united with domestic comfort, social cheerfulness, and a remarkable degree of public good order and peace. He did not see a Liberian intoxicated while he remained there; and whenever any thing of this kind occurred to the ship's crew on shore, the commander was immediately requested by the police of the town to remove the offender as soon as possible. Ardent spirits, so far as he could learn, were to be obtained at only one place in the settlement.

He dined and supped with several of the colonists, and their tables, he observes, would have done no discredit to the most liberal hosts in his own country.—Some of their gardens are cultivated in very good style; and, of course with the advantage of such a climate and soil as the Liberian, make a handsome show of tropical and other fruits. It was during our friend's stay that six of the Dey chiefs came in to negotiate a treaty of perpetual friendship and peace with the Colony—not long after the well-known expedition against King Kai Pa. He describes them as the most noble looking fellows he ever saw. Tall, straight, robust, well-proportioned, they walked leisurely through the streets of the settlement, with the air of men that neither knew master nor feared foe. It seems there is quite a number, our informant thinks from thirty to fifty, of the native boys and girls, living permanently in the families at Monrovia at this time, where they have been placed by their parents, for the purpose of being '*made Americans*.' They are fine, healthy, and docile children, delighted with their opportunities of learning, and already evidently destined, it would seem, to become the almoners of the arts over all the beautiful but benighted land of their fathers.—*Colonizationist*.

THE COMMAND.

'GO YE UNTO ALL NATIONS.'

Go forth! go forth! heralds of God,
To many a far-off shore,
Where never have the footsteps trod
Of holy men before.

The silver isles! the silver isles!
That gem the Afric sea—
When shall they burn beneath the smiles
That come, O God! from thee!

For, rich may all their vallies glow
With bloom of brilliant hues;
And soft their musky breezes blow,
As Herman's twilight dews:

Ay, summer's never-flowerless wreath
May bind them as a bride,

And all their soil may teem beneath
With veins of lustrous pride;

And birds that cannot choose but sing,
Their fount-like music pour
In every grove; and every spring
Leap up through sanded ore.

But what are sun-bright dells and hills?
What are your vine-bound woods?
Your breezes sweet, your golden rills—
O lifeless solitudes!

Go forth! go forth!—your spear and shield
High faith, and solemn prayer
That mails the soul—and God shall yield
The crown, the victory, there.

Colonisationist.

THE
AFRICAN REPOSITORY,
AND
COLONIAL JOURNAL.

VOL. IX.]

JUNE, 1833.

[No. 4.

FOURTH OF JULY CONTRIBUTIONS.

THE present Number of the Repository is, perhaps, the last which can reach any of our subscribers, except immediate neighbours, before the ensuing Fourth of July.

The Anniversary of Independence has of late been very generally, in the United States, used as an occasion for appealing from the pulpit to the public at large, on behalf of the Colonization Society. This fit association, through the instrumentality of our holy religion, of a great national event with a plan for accomplishing a great national benefit, has hitherto been attended with a success proportionable to its claims on the public favour. Much of what the Society has hitherto done towards effecting the purposes for which it was organized, is attributable to means afforded to it by pecuniary aid collected on the Fourth of July. And indeed it may be freely admitted, that without such aid, its position at the present moment would rather be that of an experiment promising in theory, and recommended by partial success, than of one whose practicability on a large scale had been proved, and whose importance had been illustrated by its extensive results.

The obligations to the Clergy under which the Institution rests, were emphatically recognized at the last annual meeting, by the unanimous adoption of the following resolution, which was moved by the Hon. Mr. WILLIAMS of North Carolina.

"Resolved that the Reverend Clergy who have taken up collections in their churches for the benefit of this Society, merit its warmest gratitude; and that they be invited to bring the claims of it annually before their people, and solicit their contributions for the advancement of its cause."

In the brief but eloquent speech of Mr. WILLIAMS in support of his resolution, he thus invoked the aid of the Clergy:—

"Suppose all the free coloured population in the United States to be transported to Africa, and by this means our own country to be rescued from an evil always troublesome and often perilous; suppose in the time to come that a great and powerful nation has sprung up on that continent, devoted to the principles of christianity and cultivating the arts of civilized life; suppose the neighboring African tribes, now involved in gross idolatry, ignorance and superstition, to be redeemed from this deplorable state, and brought to a knowledge of the true dignity and duty of man; suppose the slave-trade, that odious and detestable traffic, to be effectually suppressed, to be denounced and punished as piracy throughout the world;—suppose as the consequence of these renovations, that myriads of human beings have been rendered virtuous, intelligent, and happy, who otherwise, would have been vicious, uninformed and miserable: suppose all this, and you have, Mr. President, some inadequate idea of the magnificent objects contemplated by the Colonization Society. With what ardor, then, with what zeal,

with what strenuous exertion, must the Reverend Clergy co-operate with us in all our efforts. It is their peculiar province, to teach us our duty in works of benevolence and deeds of charity. Yielding obedience to the precepts, and imitating the example of the Master whom they profess to serve, the Reverend Clergy cannot relax in their exertions; but they will, on every suitable occasion, bring the claims of the Colonization Society before their people, and solicit contributions for the advancement of its cause. For this, men may thank them as we now propose to do, but Heaven will reward them."

The contributions expected to be made next month, are a matter of peculiar interest to the Society, as it is under heavy engagements, contracted for the benefit of the cause; and moreover, finds it necessary to protect the Colony, by timely aid, against the consequences of the failure of the rice and other crops in Africa, last year. It is therefore earnestly hoped that no exertion will be omitted by the Reverend Clergy, and others favourable to our cause, to swell the contributions at the next national anniversary, to an amount even greatly exceeding the liberal standard prescribed by those collected at the last.

RICHARD SMITH, Esq., to whom the American Colonization Society has been indebted during the last thirteen years for his able, faithful and gratuitous services, as its Treasurer, has resigned that office. The Rev. JAMES LAURIE, D. D. has been appointed Treasurer till the stated meeting of the Board to be held on the first Monday of July next, when a Treasurer will be elected for the residue of Mr. Smith's term.

REVIEW.

Narrative of the Ashantee War; with a view of the present state of the Colony of Sierra Leone. By Major RICKETTS, late of the Royal African Colonial Corps. 8vo. pp. 221: London; W. Simpkin and R. Marshall. 1833.

The writer of this book was an officer of the British army in Africa, who had acquired considerable reputation by his military services, and by his exertions towards rendering the civil administration of the Colony at Sierra Leone creditable to his government, and beneficial to the natives. Copious information of his merits in these respects is afforded by himself; for though, like Cæsar in the Commentaries, he avoids in the "Narrative" the egotism of speaking in the first person, he is somewhat more minute in recording the several testimonials with which justice or gratitude had honoured his name, than his illustrious model would, perhaps, have deemed to be entirely in good taste.

About four-fifths of Major Ricketts' volume are devoted to the first subject indicated by its duplicate title,—the "Narrative of the Ashantee War." The public had been so long desiring an authentic account of the events of this war, and a satisfactory exposition of its causes, that Major Ricketts certainly acted judiciously in deciding to employ so large a portion of his work in endeavouring to gratify that feeling. In this effort, however, his good judgment seems to have been exhausted; for, in the execution of his plan, he is quite as unlucky as he was fortunate in its conception. There is scarcely any attempt at narrative within our recollection, which exhibits so curious an infelicity in the order, or rather the disorder of its facts; and which makes so little compensation for this grievous defect in historical writing, by any beauty of style, originality of thought, or fecundity in collateral topics.

In justice to Major Ricketts, we subjoin what has been generally regarded as among the most difficult parts of an author's task; but what is, nevertheless, in his instance, decidedly the best written portion of the book. We mean the *Preface*, which is as follows:

"The following narrative was originally written on the spot, without any view to publication, but having been subsequently submitted to the inspection of competent persons, it is now printed in conformity with their opinion; and it is to be hoped that the events related, as well as that part of the coast described, will be deemed sufficiently interesting at this particular period, when, owing to various causes, the public attention has been directed to Africa and her population.

"The author suffered shipwreck on that coast, and lost many documents which could not be recovered; but he has endeavoured, by unremitting exertions, in some measure, to supply the deficiency.

"The author's long residence in that country, and the various official situations which he there filled, enable him to present a correct account of the origin and final termination of those disastrous contentions, which for so long a period desolated the African shores, and which he sincerely hopes are now for ever closed.

"In submitting, therefore, this narration of facts, he trusts that it will be favourably received; and had not Providence left him the only surviving officer who witnessed most of the events on the Gold Coast, he would not have produced these pages, which are now published only from a sense of public duty."

From a narrative "*written on the spot*," by a person who possessed the advantage of a "*long residence in that country*;" who, from the "*various official situations which he there filled*," conceived himself enabled "*to present a correct account of the origin and final termination of those disastrous contentions, which, for so long a period, desolated the African shores*," the reader has undoubtedly a right to expect, though not perhaps a graphical description, at least a faint sketch of the physical and moral characteristics of Ashantee, and an intelligible recital of military events which, for so many years, had provoked and baffled public curiosity. Yet, though the writer avows as one of the two grounds which he assigns for his hope of being "*sufficiently interesting*," "*that part of the coast described*," we venture to aver, that, but for Mr. Bowdich's interesting work, entitled "*Mission to Ashantee*," published in 1819, and Mr. Dupuis' Journal of his residence there, published in 1824, the public would, in despite of Major Ricketts' "*description*," be to this moment as ignorant of that martial state, as a schoolboy is of Sir Isaac Newton's philosophy, who has never met with the name of this great man, except in some catch-penny Biographical Dictionary. And as to the more immediate purpose of Major Ricketts' "*Narrative*," it is by no means certain that any reader of it, who is not a conjurer, will derive from it an idea of the "*origin*" or "*final termination*" of the Ashantee War, more precise than had already been given to him by the newspapers of the day. The author, near the beginning of his "*Narrative*," speaks of the "*origin*" of that War; and in the last sentence says,—"*Thus terminated these disastrous disputes, which had disturbed the country for nearly ten years.*" But the interval is occupied chiefly with a naked diary, and desultory anecdotes; while the mind of the reader is subjected to a constant and painful effort to detect the true order of events amid the cloud thrown over them by violent transitions, a capricious arrangement, and an uncertain chronology. In many instances, military memoirs, by military men, have been remarkable for perspicuity; and such constitute the most valuable records of the events which they commemorate. The Commentaries of Cæsar, though composed in a travelling carriage, while the writer was hastening from one battlefield to another, have been, ever since their appearance, a model for simplicity of style, and variety as well as accuracy of information, which continues to defy the emulation of the closet. In France, her military annalists are, perhaps, her best historians. In England, and in the United States, some of the most interesting events in their wars have been best told by officers engaged in them, like Ludlow, Carleton, Johnstone, Tarleton, Lee, &c. Major Ricketts was, undoubtedly, under no obligation to produce as good a book as that of Julius Cæsar, or of any other soldier who had assumed the historian's office; but considering his opportunities, and the nature of his subject, he should have added something important to our previous knowledge of the Ashantees; and he was absolutely bound, in whatever he might write, to make himself be readily understood. Humble as such an expectation on the part of the reader would be, it is, nevertheless, doomed to disappointment; a feeling, aggravated when on referring to the preface, he is reminded that our author "*is the only surviving officer who witnessed most of the events on the Gold Coast.*" The remaining chances, then, for a satisfactory account of these events are, that the subject may be taken up by some judicious private or by some friend of Major Ricketts, who will make a better use of his pen.

rials than was suggested by the advisers into whose hands he seems to have thrown himself.

Bad as this book is, it nevertheless has some redeeming qualities. It is illustrated by a map of the Gold Coast, and the interior of the country, which, if correct, must be useful, from the minuteness of the topography; and by coarse, but strongly delineated plates, representing James' Fort, Cape Coast Castle and town, and Accra. It is, moreover, very handsomely printed, except as to the punctuation, which is often execrable. But a more important consideration is, that it is the only work professing to give the details of the war with the Ashantees, or exhibiting any very recent particulars as to their manners, resources and geography. In these points of view, it is not without interest; and as one object of this Journal is to publish information concerning Africa, we purpose to lay before our readers copious extracts from a performance, than which there is none better on the subject which it treats of, merely, we partly believe, because there is no other.

From what has been said, it will of course be understood that we shall make no attempt to abstract from Major Ricketts' "Narrative," a regular account of the Ashantee war; an attempt which could not end otherwise than in conveying vague and indistinct notions of events already sufficiently apocryphal. All that we can do is to exhibit his principal facts, with some effort at arrangement, and to transcribe some passages of more interest or less confusion than the rest. Before doing this, however, it may be well for us briefly to call the reader's attention to a few prominent features in the history of Ashantee, and to the state of things existing there at the period when our author's recital begins.

The Kingdom of ASHANTEE, otherwise called *Assente* or *Asiente*, is a populous, powerful, and comparatively civilized territory of western Africa, extending from 6° to 9° N. L., and from the meridional line to 5° or 6° W. L.; or, according to some authorities, to 4° W. L. to the river Volta. On the north of it, are the Kong Mountains; on the east, the Kingdom of Dahomy; and on the south and west, a part of the Gold Coast and the Ivory Coast. Its capital is named Coomassie; and in 1829 the inhabitants of the Kingdom were estimated at a million. Until within a few years past it was scarcely known to Europe or America, though not very distant from the British Colony at Sierra Leone. So little attention had it excited when Malte Brun wrote his recent and voluminous work on geography, that he despatches it in a dozen lines.

The first, and most comprehensive account of it, was given by Mr. Bowdich in the work already alluded to; and of which, the widow of that lamented gentleman remarks, that "it is a detail of splendour and bravery, accompanied by shrewdness, reflection and ingenuity; a polish of manner, a taste for arts, and a dexterity of manufacture, showing an advancement that astonishes us in a people called barbarous."*

This singular negro State is supposed to have been founded about a century ago, and to have been constantly at war with the neighbouring tribes until it finally acquired absolute dominion over some, and a species of feudal seignory over the rest. The Ashantees are entitled to a conspicuous place in the abhorrence of mankind, for having waged their wars and used their political ascendancy for the purpose of advancing the slave-trade. Residing in the interior, they sent their prisoners to the coast as slaves, and are said to have given rise to the celebrated *assiento* contracts made by Spain in aid of that infamous traffic.

Early in the present century, the chiefs of Assin, one of the kingdoms subdued by the monarchs of Ashantee, revolted, and being defeated, were pursued by the King of Ashantee into the territory of the Fantees, who not only

received, but joined the rebels. They were repeatedly vanquished. The conquerors first came in contact with the British about 16 years ago, at Annamahoe, a port on the gold coast, east of Cape Coast Castle. The inhabitants of this place, unable to resist their invaders, fled, and were massacred in great numbers. White, the British Governor, not only opened the gates of the fort for the reception of as many of the women and children as it could contain, but kept up a constant fire on the murderous enemy. An attack on the fort was the consequence; the following account of which, we extract from the London Annual Register, to which we shall be again indebted in the course of this article:*

"The English who had calculated at finding in their new adversaries a prowess somewhat on a level with that of the negroes on the coast, were exceedingly astonished at seeing them rush to the very muzzles of the cannon and fire with such precision that not a man could appear at an embrasure without being instantly brought down. A defence by 30 men, in a little old fort against 15,000 assailants, could not have lasted long; and Colonel Torrane, then chief Governor on the coast, hastened to send a reinforcement, and also to take measures for conciliating so formidable a power. With this view, he obtained possession of Cheboe, one of the revolted chiefs, then concealed near the castle, and sent him to the King, who caused him to be immediately beheaded. Hostilities ceased; and the Ashantees showed themselves most anxious to cultivate the favor and good-will of the British."

We shall have occasion in the sequel to notice again the incident related at the close of the preceding extract. It excited suspicion and distrust in the breasts of the native tribes hostile to the Ashantees, which continued for many years to embarrass the operations of the Castle.

The Fantees having again rebelled, were again, in 1811, defeated. In 1816, the success of the Ashantees was still more signal. Cape Coast was long held in a state of blockade; and, but for the supplies afforded by the Castle, a great part of its inhabitants must have perished by famine. The result was the acknowledged authority of the Ashantees over the whole coast.

Under these circumstances, the Colonial government admitted the sovereignty of the king of Ashantee over the Fantee territory; consented to pay to him the rent which they had before paid to the Fantee princes; and, through Mr. Bowdich, the gentleman already spoken of, negotiated a treaty with him.—Mr. Dupuis, who was, not long afterwards, sent out to reside as a permanent agent at Coomassie, with the title of Consul, soon had difficulties to encounter. The Fantees, too easily crediting some rumors in circulation, that the king of Ashantee, then engaged in suppressing an insurrection in the subject state of Gaman, had sustained great reverses, once more rebelled. In this they were, in opposition to the advice of Mr. Dupuis, countenanced by Mr. Smith, the Governor of Cape Coast Castle. At length the king of Ashantee returned triumphantly from Gaman, and filled with resentment at the inhabitants of Cape Coast, for their late proceedings. Desiring to be on good terms with the English, instead of assailing Cape Coast Castle, he despatched a messenger of high rank, who, at an audience before the council, produced from a little morocco trunk, Bowdich's treaty, and causing it to be read over, article by article, asked if every part of it had not been violated.—The perplexed Governor at length consented that Mr. Dupuis, whose mission had not yet been carried into effect, should proceed to Coomassie, and the messenger agreed to wait for fresh instructions from the King. Soon after, a nephew of the king came in solemn embassy, attended by a retinue of 1200 men, chiefly armed, with a mixture of boys and girls. He brought a cordial welcome to Mr. Dupuis; and an assurance that due preparations had been made for his conveyance and reception.

Our author's account of this embassy is as follows:—On the 5th of January, 1820, a nephew of the king of Ashantee, attended by a numerous retinue, demanded on the part of the king, from the Cape Coast people, 1600 ounces of gold, on the plea that they abetted the Commendas in their insolent con-

* Annual Register for 1834. p. 156.

duct to his messengers; and also 1600 ounces, in consequence of the Governor having broken the treaty (probably meaning the treaty which had been made with Mr. Bowdich), as they said, by not procuring the king satisfaction from the Commendas and Cape Coast people. The pretensions of the Ashantees were resisted by the Governor; and Major Ricketts refers to the following passage, from which it would seem that the king of Ashantee abandoned his claim:

"I want the people to serve me, and serve white men. It is true I told the governor he must pay me gold, but now I see your face I am willing to relinquish that. Cape Coast, however, must give me gold, for they are my people, and if they will be insolent I must punish them; for unless I do so, all these countries will laugh, and say what kind of a King is this? The governor knows I am right, for he now sends word the people are unable to pay sixteen hundred ounces, and that if I will abate something it will be paid. 'What I tell you,' added the King, noticing my surprise, 'is very true; here is the messenger,' pointing to the man who brought the message up."—*Dupuis' Journal of a Residence in Ashantee*. p. 144.

After the decided manner in which, Major Ricketts assures us, the exactions of the king of the Ashantees were repelled, and the subsequent abandonment, by that potentate, "of his claim," we were somewhat surprised at finding in immediate sequence of this statement, the following sentence:

"The Cape Coast people having been enabled in June, by the assistance which was offered to them by the Castle, to make their final payment to the king of Ashantee, it was expected that his chief would have taken his departure for Coomassie."—*Narrative*, p. 8.

Then follows an account of "his motive," i. e. it may be presumed, of the motive of the king's nephew for delaying his return home; and which he stated to be "further orders from the king to examine into the grounds of a difference between the Cape Coast people and the Fantees." p. 8. After detailing the grounds of this difference, Major Ricketts apprises his readers that "these events occurred in the beginning of April, 1821;" a seasonable piece of information, indeed, as he had already contrived, in the course of eight pages, to involve them in a chronological quandary.

Mr. Dupuis, immediately after the interview between the governor and the king's nephew, proceeded to Coomassie. The king of Ashantee renewed his professions of amity to the British; withdrew his demand of money from the fort, and intimated his willingness to accept a moderate compensation for his claim upon the town. He even assumed the title of vassal to the king of England, and professed his readiness to lead 10,000 men to any part of the continent, where his services might be wanted; asserting, however, with a qualification for the benefit of the British, his own supremacy over all the countries on the coast. A treaty was concluded, the fifth article of which was in the following words:

"The king of Ashantee claims the Fantee territory as his dominions, which the consul on the part of the British government accedes to, in consideration, and on the express condition, that the king agrees to acknowledge the natives residing under British protection, entitled to the benefit of British laws, and to be amenable to them only in case of any act of aggression on their part."

The Governor of Cape Coast Castle refused to ratify this treaty,* which he

* Major Ricketts says that Mr. Dupuis "sanctioned the claims of Osai Tootoo Quamina over the liberty of the whole Fantee nation, which is as extensive and as populous as that of Ashantee." The Major gives the following extract from the supplementary articles of the treaty:

"It is hereby expressly stipulated, that the natives of Cape Coast Town being subjects of the King of Ashantee, are excluded from participating in the benefits of either of the treaties, as the King is resolved to eradicate from his dominions the seeds of disobedience and insubordination."—*Narrative*, p. 21.

In reference to this stipulation, Major Ricketts cites the following passage from Mr. Dupuis' Work:

"Originally this monarch intended to have written a letter to the King of England, containing sentiments to this effect, but changing his intention after the general treaty had been signed, he desired his ambassadors to explain his sentiments at the British court as they are here recorded. The propriety of writing them down in a treaty, he affirmed was manifest, as the governor and white men would know his immutable policy, and the public sentiments of his captains.—*Dupuis' Narrative of a Residence in Ashantee*. Appendix, p. cxxiii.

stigmatised as betraying the interests of both England and the Fantees, and refused to see the negotiator for several days after his return. The governor also excited the natives to revolt from the king of Ashantee. By his persuasion, and against the remonstrance of Mr. Dupuis, Sir George Collier, then commanding a squadron on the coast, promised his support, and refused to take on board two ambassadors that had come from Ashantee with a present of two beautiful leopards.

On the 9th of April, 1821, news "was received at Cape Coast that a black man belonging to that place had been cruelly murdered at Moorie. The troops of the Castle were in consequence immediately assembled, and marched to Moorie, where they found about two thousand men assembled, and saw the mangled remains of the victim. As soon as the troops entered the town, a fire was opened upon them; but the Fantees, who had assembled to assist the Ashantees in their demand on the Cape Coast people, retired as the troops advanced, and returned the fire." p. 9. This unexpected co-operation between the Ashantees and the Fantees, appears, if we rightly understand Major Ricketts, to have resulted from some dispute between them and the Cape Coast people, in which a man named Paintry, a Fantee Caboceer, was the prominent character. The Ashantees afterwards rallied the Fantees, but both retired on the approach of a force which the governor had assembled. They had fifty killed, among whom was Paintry; the loss on the other side was only two killed, and a few slightly wounded. This event would, one might think, have fully satisfied each party with the feelings and designs of the other. But it seems that some further explanation was required to effect this object. "A short time after," says Major Ricketts,

"Messengers arrived at Cape Coast from the King of Ashantee, who stated that his majesty had heard that Paintry had been killed, and that he was directed to enquire of the governor, why this had been done without his being acquainted with it, and that they had brought the book of treaties, that the governor might look at them: the messengers being asked for what purpose, replied because the King said the governor had broken the law. The whole of the circumstances were however explained to the messengers for the satisfaction of the King, and in conclusion he was plainly told, that the government of Cape Coast acknowledged no right on the part of the King of Ashantee to interpose in any matter which occurred within the jurisdiction of the fort.

"On the 21st of August a party of Ashantees arrived at Cape Coast with a message to the governor, stating that a misrepresentation of the affair at Moorie had been made to the King, and that his majesty was so satisfied with the true account of the particulars given to his messengers, that he dropped the affair entirely, and had given orders that every obstruction to the direct communication of the Ashantees with Cape Coast should be immediately removed." p. 11, 12.

In January, 1822, according to our author, some Ashantees came to Cape Coast, with an insolent message to Mr. Smith, the governor, "and required him to swear on 'white man's book' (the Bible), and also the people of Cape Coast, that they were the good friends of the king." p. 12. During these disputes, the natives of Cape Coast, and the African Company's Government, had each erected some hasty fortifications made of clay.

In this posture of affairs, the administration of Cape Coast Castle was taken away from the African Company; and Sir CHARLES MACCARTHY was sent out by the British Government to take the command on that coast. For that purpose he embarked on board the *Iphigenia*, March 11, 1822. His arrival in the country in his new official capacity,* appears to have excited a general feeling of satisfaction, which was exhibited in a lively manner when the new

* "Sir Charles immediately proclaimed defiance to the power of Ashantee, and promised protection to the Fantees, who now rose again in revolt against their conquerors.

"Notwithstanding such provocation, the resentment of Ashantee was first shown only by a suspension of intercourse, and every thing remained as quiet as if the treaty had been in force. Those, however, who were familiar with the policy of that State, saw in this very silence, the omen of approaching tempest; for they knew that its great expeditions were always preceded by a long train, not only of military preparations, but of auguries, incantations, and Charles, lulled into security, set out to visit the settlement of Sierra Leone."
for 1824: p. 126, 127.

charter and proclamation were read. For some time previous, the Ashantees had suspended trading with Cape Coast, in consequence of a controversy between their king and the Cape Coast people, about his demand of presents to assist in making a splendid entry into his capital of Coomassie, after his victory over the king of Bentooko. The Cape Coast people, unwilling to offend the king of Ashantee, and yet apprehensive that their compliance with the present demand might be used as a precedent for future exactions, compromised the matter by making a sort of protest against the right of his majesty to the tribute, and sending him a present of fifty ounces of gold. Not long after, a similar demand was made of the people of Commenda, where was an abandoned English fort. But so extravagant was the requisition, when compared with the poverty of the inhabitants, that, after avering without effect, their inability to meet it, they refused to admit the messengers into the town. The king of Ashantee, taking fire at this alleged insult to his messengers, called on the Cape Coast people for satisfaction, alleging that the Commendas were their dependants, and in case of refusal, threatened the former with invasion. "The governor," says Major Ricketts,

"Replied that the Cape Coast people had not been guilty of any offence against the King of Ashantee, that they were by no means accessory to the conduct of the Commendas, nor ought they to suffer for their act of delinquency; and he added, that if the King commenced hostilities against the Cape Coast people, he should consider him as an enemy, and would afford them all the protection in his power." p. 5, 6.

(To be continued.)

COLONIZATION.

[From the (Philadelphia) Presbyterian, June 5.]

Mark this! The African question is approaching a crisis. The true friends of the coloured population should be on the alert. Let the Anti-Colonization plan prevail, and the emancipation of slaves in the southern States, will probably be procrastinated a century. The attempt talked of in this city to break down the American Colonization scheme, by the organization of a National Anti-Slavery Society, should be met (not by intrigue or reproach, but) by a consolidation of all the forces which can be brought in aid of the Liberian enterprise. We talk of 'great political questions.' This is the great political question. We talk of dividing the Union. This is what will divide the Union. * * * * * The views of sober and practical men in all parts of the country are converging—the Colonization Society is the only hope for Africans. We could weep over the phrensy of the zealots who under the show of philanthropy are vilifying this Institution. We know something of slavery from personal inspection, and while we know the picture drawn of it by the Liberator and his school to be falsely charged, we hate the system of bondage as the offspring of ***. We know something of slave-holders, and we lament this cancer on their body social. But the knife may be applied so as to kill the patient, and in this case is actually brandished by multitudes of empirics who never saw the disease.

We are summoned by the enemies of Colonization to drift down on a troubled sea. We would if it were in our power, utter a penetrating cry which should reach every recess of New England and the Western Reserve, and say, *Brethren! stay your hands!* Spare this single cable, which you now so madly threaten! or we are left to the turbulence of a turbulent gulf.

DEFENCE OF COLONIZATION.

The Christian Spectator for March, contains a long and able article reviewing Mr. W. L. GARRISON'S "Thoughts on African Colonization"; Mr. JAMES CROPPER'S letter to Mr. THOMAS CLARKSON; Mr. C. STUART'S "Prejudice Vincible"; and an article in the American Quarterly Review for September 1832 on the abolition of negro slavery.

We subjoin some passages of this Review, more immediately relating to the Colonization Society. Copious as these extracts are, every friend of the cause who reads them will participate in our regret that our limits have made it impossible for us to transfer more of this vigorous critique to the pages of the Repository.

In reference to Mr. GARRISON'S "Thoughts, &c." the Reviewers say:—

The allegations of this book against the American Colonization Society, as distinctly and formally set down, in so many sections, are the following:

I. "The American Colonization Society is pledged not to oppose the system of slavery;" or, as we read the running title of the section, it "is not hostile to slavery;" or, as it is expounded in another instance, it "is solemnly pledged not to interfere with the system of slavery, or in any manner to disturb the repose of the planters;" or, to turn to another paragraph, it "pledges itself not only to respect the system of slavery, but to frown indignantly upon those who shall dare to assail it."

II. "The American Colonization Society apologizes for slavery and slaveholders." That is—if we read aright—it "exonerates the supporters of the slave system from reprehension."

III. "The American Colonization Society recognizes slaves as property." "This recognition," says the accuser, "is not merely technical, or strictly confined to a statutable interpretation." [Pray, what is "a statutable interpretation" of a recognition?"] "I presume," he proceeds, "the advocates of the Society will attempt to evade this point, by saying that it never meant to concede the moral right of the masters to possess human beings; but the evidence against them is full and explicit. The Society, if language mean any thing, does unequivocally acknowledge property in slaves to be as legitimate and sacred as any other property, of which to deprive the owners either by force or by legislation without making restitution, would be unjust and tyrannical."

IV. "The American Colonization Society increases the value of slaves." "Thus" it "is the *apologist*, the *friend*, and the *patron* of SLAVEHOLDERS and SLAVERY."

V. It "is the enemy of immediate abolition."

VI. It "is nourished by fear and selfishness." Its "governing motive is fear—undisguised, excessive fear." "The principal object avowed for the removal of the free people of color, is, their corruptive and dangerous influence over the slave population." "Throughout all the speeches, addresses, and reports in behalf of the Society, it is confessed, in language strong and explicit, that an irrepressible and agonizing fear of the influence of the free people of color, over the slave population is the primary, essential, and prevalent motive for colonizing them on the coast of Africa—and not, as we are frequently urged to believe, a desire simply to meliorate their condition and civilize that continent."

VII. "The American Colonization Society aims at the utter expulsion of the blacks."—Its "implacable spirit is most apparent in its determination not to cease from its labors, until our whole colored population be expelled from the country." It "expressly denies the right of the slaves to enjoy their freedom and happiness in this country."

VIII. It "is the disparager of the free blacks." "The leaders in the African colonization crusade, seem to dwell with a malignant satisfaction upon the poverty and degradation of the free people of color, and are careful never to let an opportunity pass without heaping their abuse and contempt upon them."

IX. "The American Colonization Society denies the possibility of elevating the blacks in this country." In the running title, this accusation is thus expressed, "The American Colonization Society prevents the instruction of the blacks." In the course of the illustration it is explained thus, "The Society prevents the education of this class, in the most insidious and effectual manner, by constantly asserting that they must always be a degraded people in this country, and that the cultivation of their minds will avail them nothing."

X. "The American Colonization Society deceives and misleads the nation." This means, as we understand it, after a careful examination of the illustration and argument, not only that the hopes inspired by the establishment of the colony are delusive, and operate to divert the public mind from other and more efficient undertakings; but also that the Society, knowingly and intentionally imposes on the public by false representations of plain matters of fact.

These are the charges. The author does not regard one of them as light or trivial. His style and language show that, in every section, he considers himself as imputing great criminality to somebody. He is not merely exposing the error of attempting to colonize Africa with free people of color from America; he is charging crime upon a great multitude of persons.

Against whom then are these charges preferred? Whom does the accuser mean by the American Colonization Society? Does he mean merely the managers and executive officers

FROM LIBERIA:

We have conversed several hours, at different times with a young gentleman of this city, who some months since passed ten days at Monrovia. The station which he occupied on board one of our national vessels, gave him unusual opportunities of gathering information, and his impartiality—for, like multitudes of our intelligent northern citizens, he scarcely knows the name of the Colonization Society—is a sufficient guaranty of the truth of his statements.

Generally he confirms the most favorable accounts of the condition of the Colony, which have reached us, and we need not therefore go into detail.—The universal appearance of things was such as to give a strong impression of prosperity in business, united with domestic comfort, social cheerfulness, and a remarkable degree of public good order and peace. He did not see a *Liberian* intoxicated while he remained there; and whenever any thing of this kind occurred to the ship's crew on shore, the commander was immediately requested by the police of the town to remove the offender as soon as possible. Ardent spirits, so far as he could learn, were to be obtained at only one place in the settlement.

He dined and ~~supped~~ with several of the colonists, and their tables, he observes, would have done no discredit to the most liberal hosts in his own country.—Some of their gardens are cultivated in very good style; and, of course with the advantage of such a climate and soil as the *Liberian*, make a handsome show of tropical and other fruits. It was during our friend's stay that six of the Dey chiefs came in to negotiate a treaty of perpetual friendship and peace with the Colony—not long after the well-known expedition against King Kai Pa. He describes them as the most noble looking fellows he ever saw. Tall, straight, robust, well-proportioned, they walked leisurely through the streets of the settlement, with the air of men that neither knew master nor feared foe. It seems there is quite a number, our informant thinks from thirty to fifty, of the native boys and girls, living permanently in the families at Monrovia at this time, where they have been placed by their parents, for the purpose of being '*made Americans*.' They are fine, healthy, and docile children, delighted with their opportunities of learning, and already evidently destined, it would seem, to become the almoners of the arts over all the beautiful but benighted land of their fathers.—*Colonizationist*.

THE COMMAND.

'GO YE UNTO ALL NATIONS.'

Go forth! go forth! heralds of God,
To many a far-off shore,
Where never have the footsteps trod
Of holy men before.

The silver isles! the silver isles!
That gem the Afric sea—
When shall they burn beneath the smiles
That come, O God! from thee!

For, rich may all their vallies glow
With bloom of brilliant hues;
And soft their musky breezes blow,
As Herman's twilight dews:

Ay, summer's never-flowerless wreath
May bind them as a bride,

And all their soil may teem beneath
With veins of lustrous pride;

And birds that cannot choose but sing,
Their fount-like music pour
In every grove; and every spring
Leap up through sanded ore.

But what are sun-bright dells and hills?
What are your vine-bound woods?
Your breezes sweet, your golden rills—
O lifeless solitudes!

Go forth! go forth!—your spear and shield
High faith, and solemn prayer
That mails the soul—and God shall yield
The crown, the victory, there.

Colonizationist.

been formed. Certainly we have never become a party to such a contract. Perhaps it will relieve the mind of this uncompromising man, to be informed that by the payment of one dollar annually, he himself may become a member of the American Colonization Society, and take a part with his voice and his vote, at all its meetings for business, and still be as zealous as ever in propagating his own peculiar opinions respecting slavery and the rights of Africans.

But, the author will tell us, the pledge of the constitution is not all: have I not summoned a cloud of witnesses, to prove something more? We ask in reply, how much more do these nine pages of extracts from speeches, reviews and essays, prove? So far as they merely repeat and expound the constitution of the Society, they prove nothing at all. So far as they advance beyond that line, they express simply the sentiments of individuals, and can be fairly imputed to none but their individual authors. Should it be said, that even with these limitations they prove that "colonizationists generally agree" in not opposing slavery; we may answer they prove no such thing, for it would be perfectly easy to quote from what the friends of the Society have said and written, at least as many pages, expressing sentiments of settled opposition to slavery, of ardent desire for its abolition, and of inflexible resolve to aim by peaceable means at the overthrow of the system.

Here then, we repeat, is the first and leading fallacy of the pamphlet before us, a fallacy which runs through every section. It regards any body who happens to speak or write in favor of colonization, as an authorized expositor of the views of the Society. It regards every exceptionable or seemingly exceptionable sentiment, which can be culled out of such speeches and essays, as if it were incorporated into the Society's constitution; and its constant aim is, to make the reader feel that if he befriends the cause, he gives his support to every such obnoxious sentiment.

We have other objections to the methods of proof adopted in this pamphlet. The author is chargeable with great unfairness in his quotations. Any reader who derives his first knowledge, or his chief knowledge of the Society from this pamphlet, is naturally impressed by the frequency with which citations are given from the reports of the Society. It seems as if the author were determined to have the very best authority for all his declarations. It seems as if the institution were to be condemned by the official statements of its managers, formally accepted by the members at their annual meetings. The effect of passages cited from "Second Annual Report," "Tenth Annual Report" etc., is highly important in respect to the impression which the author is aiming to produce on his readers. Now it so happened that we recognized as old acquaintances some of the sentences thus quoted and knew that such sentences were never incorporated in any report of the managers to the Society. This led us to examine a few other sentences quoted in the same manner, as from the official communications of the Board of Managers. One after another was searched for in vain through the body of the report referred to, and was found at last either in some speech delivered at the annual meeting, and published with the report as a part of the preliminary matter, or in some of the documents included as articles of intelligence in the appendix. And if we may judge from the multiplied instances which we have been at the trouble of examining, and which have been taken altogether at random, nearly all the quotations which seem to be from the Annual Reports, are only quotations from the matters which accompany the Annual Reports as published. Mr. Garrison may say, that in all this he had no intention to deceive; but whatever may have been his intention, the quotations are in fact unfair and deceptive.—He may say, that he referred to the reports only as pamphlets known by that name, he may say that the distinction between the report and the various matters printed with it, did not occur to him as important; but no apology can rectify the actual unfairness of his quotations. And what makes the unfairness more striking and more effectual, is, he recognizes at first, again and again, the very distinction which he afterwards so generally disregards. Through the first section and a part of the second, he carefully observes this distinction, in all his quotations; but then, as if he felt the necessity of something more imposing and authoritative than extracts from speeches and appendixes, and as if he had ascertained that he was likely to find very little which would be to his purpose, in the actual communications of the managers to their constituents, he begins suddenly to accumulate quotation upon quotation from "Annual Reports" in a style as deceptive as it is impressive. The deception may be accidental; but its effect is to mislead the uninformed and unsuspecting reader, as really as if it was designed.

In addition to this, the author palpably misconstrues the language, and misrepresents the sentiments, of those whose words he adduces in proof of his accusations. It is enough for us to bring forward such instances of this, as have happened, for particular reasons, to arrest our attention. A few examples of this kind, will suffice to show how far this pamphlet may be trusted as "an impartial exhibition" of the opinions entertained by the friends of colonization.

Among his nine pages of proofs, that the American Colonization Society is not hostile to slavery, we find the following passage cited from the Christian Spectator, for September, 1830.

This institution proposes to do and by a single specific course of measures. Its direct and specific purpose is not the abolition of slavery, but the civilization of the African race, the conversion of the heathen to the Christian religion, and to which efforts are not spared. The sin of pauperism, or the extent of corruption, or the enervation of science, or the facilities for their fathers.

Now who would suppose, from the manner in which this quotation is made, and the proposition of Mr. G. which it is designed to establish—who would suppose that one leading object of the article from which the sentence is extracted, is to prove that the progress of colonization will infallibly act upon public opinion throughout the slaveholding States, in such a manner as greatly to accelerate the abolition of slavery, and its abolition not by successive instances of private manumission, but by legislation? Who would suppose that the very document from which Mr. G. derives the proof that the Society makes no opposition to slavery, urges, as the grand argument in behalf of the Society, the infallible tendency of its enterprise, to abolish that unchristian and accursed system? Yet such is the fact.

In another place, the following sentences are credited to the African Repository. They belong in fact to an "Address to the public by the managers of the Colonization Society of Connecticut," published in 1828.

It is taken for granted, that in *present circumstances*, any effort to produce a general and thorough amelioration in the character and condition of the free people of color, must be to a great extent fruitless. In every part of the United States there is a broad and impassable line of demarcation between every man who has one drop of African blood in his veins, and every other class in the community. The habits, the feelings, all the prejudices of society—prejudices which neither refinement, nor argument, nor education, nor religion itself can subdue—mark the people of color, whether bond or free, as the subjects of a degradation inevitable and incurable. The African in the country belongs by birth to the very lowest station in society; and from that station he can never rise, be his talents, his enterprise, his virtues what they may. . . . They constitute a class by themselves—a class out of which no individual can be elevated, and below which none can be depressed. And this is the difficulty, the invariable and insuperable difficulty in the way of every scheme for their benefit. Much can be done for them—much has been done; but still they are, and, in this country, always must be a depressed and abject race: p. 136.

We have taken away Mr. Garrison's italics and capitals, and have restored the emphasis with which the words were originally printed. Will the reader believe, that this, as it stands in the pamphlet before us, is one of the author's strongest testimonies to prove that the American Colonization Society prevents the instruction of the blacks, and denies the possibility of elevating them in this country. The position which the writer of the Address undertakes to illustrate, in the paragraph from which these sentences are culled, is that "*IN PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES* any effort to produce a *general and thorough* amelioration in the character and condition of the people of color must be, *to a great extent*, fruitless." The whole paragraph describes their condition as affected by "present circumstances." And one point, one distinct head of argument, which the address urges on the public, is the common, and with many friends of the Society, favorite topic, that the success and progress of the work of colonization will change those "present circumstances," that it "will not only bless the colonists, but will re-act to ELEVATE THE STANDING OF THOSE WHO REMAIN BEHIND," and that from beyond the Atlantic there will come a light to beam upon the degradation of the negro in America. We leave it to every man's sense of truth and fairness whether here is not, on the part of Mr. Garrison, something of the nature of misconstruction.

We go farther. This author not only misconstrues, but he garbles, mutilates, and interpolates false explanations, to make his misconstructions more effectual. Take the following example of a quotation from the same document from which the preceding was selected.

He [the planter] looks around him and sees that the condition of the great mass of emancipated Africans is one in comparison with which the condition of his slaves is enviable;—and he is convinced that if he withdraws from his slaves his authority, his support, his protection, and leaves them to shift for themselves, he turns them out to be vagabonds, and paupers, and felons, and to find in the work-house and the penitentiary, the home which they ought to have retained on his paternal acres. p. 62.

Here the interpolated explanation entirely changes the meaning of the sentence. The writer whose words are thus applied, is not speaking of "*the planter*," that is, of planters generally; but is supposing a particular case, the case of a slaveholder by inheritance, who wishes to act conscientiously towards the beings whom he finds "dependent on him for protection and support and government," and who 'may be made to feel the evils of slavery as strongly as any man,'—and to prevent the possibility of such a misconstruction as Mr. Garrison has forced upon his language, he subjoins to the sentence above quoted, "This is no unreal case. There may be slaves—there are slaves by thousands and tens of thousands—whose condition is that of the most abject distress; but these are the slaves of masters whose whole conduct is a constant violation of duty, and with whom the suggestion of giving freedom to their slaves would not be harbored for a moment. The case which we have supposed, is the case of a master really desirous to benefit his slaves." The author of Thoughts on African Colonization has certainly some peculiar ideas of the way to make "an impartial exhibition" of other men's opinions.

To the foregoing passages we can only add some extracts from the summary by the Reviewers of the tendencies of the scheme of Colonization, so far as the abolition of slavery is concerned.

1. It secures in many instances the emancipation of slaves by individuals, and thus brings the power of example to bear on public sentiment. This is not conjecture; it is proved by the induction of particulars. The friends of the Colonization Society, in their arguments on this subject, can read off a catalogue of instances, in which emancipation has already resulted

from the progress of this work. We know that on the other hand it is said, that the arguments and statements of colonizationists prevent emancipation. But the proper proof of this assertion would be, to bring forward the particular facts. Tell us of the individuals who have, as a matter of fact, been effectually hindered from setting their slaves at large, by what they have read in the African Repository, or by what they have heard from the agents of the Society. We say then that, unless the testimony of facts can deceive us, colonization is bringing the power of example to bear on public sentiment at the South, in regard to slavery. Each single instance of emancipation is indeed a small matter when compared with the continued slavery of two millions; but every such instance, occurring in the midst of a slaveholding community, is a strong appeal to the natural sentiments of benevolence and justice, in all who witness it.

2. This work, as it advances, tends to improve the character and elevate the condition of the free people of color, and thus to take away one standing and very influential argument against both individual emancipation and general abolition. This, to an unprejudiced mind, is one of the most obvious tendencies of African colonization. As we said on a former occasion,* so we say again, with the assurance that whoever may deny it, none will disbelieve it, 'Not Hayti has done more to make the negro character respected by mankind, and to afford the means of making the negro conscious of his manhood, than Liberia has already accomplished. The name of Lot Cary is worth more than the name of Boyer or Pétion. It has done, it is doing, more to rescue the African character from degradation, than could be done by a thousand volumes of reproaches against prejudice.' And thus it has done, and is doing, more to accelerate the abolition of slavery, than could be done by a shipload of such pamphlets and speeches as some that we might mention. Elevate the character of the free people of color—let it be seen that they are men indeed—let the degrading associations which follow them; be broken up by the actual improvement of their character as a people; and negro slavery must rapidly wither and die.

3. African colonization, so far as it is successful, will bring free labor into the fairest and most extended competition with slave labor, and will thus make the universal abolition of slavery inevitable. Doubtless the cultivation of tropical countries by the labor of free and civilized men, must at some time or other bring about this result, whether our colony is to prosper or to fail. We know what changes have taken place in Mexico and the South American republics. We know what changes are threatened and promised in the West Indies. But at the same time we are confident, that the most rapid and most effectual way to bring free labor into fair competition with slave labor, and thus to drive the products of the latter out of every market, is to establish, on the soil of Africa, a free and civilized commonwealth, whose institutions shall all be fashioned after American models, and whose population shall be pervaded and impelled by the spirit of American enterprise. This is the work which the American Colonization Society is prosecuting with all its resources.

4. The prosecution of this work is already introducing into the slaveholding States, inquiry and discussion respecting the evils of the existing structure of society there, and the possibility of its abolition. The great body of the friends of the Colonization Society at the South, no less than at the North, regard the scheme of that institution as something which will ultimately, in some way, deliver the country from the curse of slavery. All who oppose the Society there, oppose it on the same ground; they look upon it as being, in its tendency and in the hopes of its supporters, an anti-slavery project.

JUDGE TEST'S ADDRESS.

(CONCLUDED FROM PAGE 80.)

We conclude in the present number of the Repository our extracts from Judge Test's Address. The portions of it which are omitted, are on topics with which our readers have become familiar from other sources, or are such as seemed likely to interest them in a less degree than the passages which we publish.

In some parts of the interior indeed, there appears to be a degree of civilization prevailing, hardly to be expected in so wild a country; and wherever the light of truth has made its appearance, the practice of manstealing is held in the greatest abhorrence. Major Laing, who went to Tombuctoo in 1825 or 6, with some merchants from Tripoli, was demanded soon after he arrived, by 30,000 of the citizens, or Fellahs, to put him to death, for fear he would carry news to the Christians, who would come to take them into slavery.—The commander of the town would not surrender him, and sent him away privately with some of his own life guard; but they discovered his rout, overtook him and killed him, and his escort.

I know the inquiry may be made, why have not the results contemplated taken place long ago?—there have been christian settlements all along the coast of Guinea for many years—you have already the Cape of Good Hope, Saint George Del Mina, Cape Coast Castle, with a strong citadel, and Sierra Leone, besides many others which need not be enumerated; why have not these effected some good, they have been long established? The answer is at hand; so far from operating against the slave-trade, they have been used in promoting it. These establishments have generally been made by companies chartered by France, England, Holland, Portugal or Spain, and really intended for no other purpose than to facilitate trade with the natives, and that trade itself extending to the purchase of slaves—indeed it may be said, they have been the nurseries of that vile and infamous traffic since their establishment, until within a very few years. As the world has grown more enlightened, as religion, science, and knowledge have spread, the traffic in human flesh, and the subjugation of man by his fellow man, are held more and more in abhorrence. And these very establishments, lately the haunts of pirates and hotbeds of iniquity, under the auspices of a more enlightened age, may be made to aid in giving liberty, dignity, and character to those very people, toward whom they have been so long used as the instruments of degradation and oppression. It has universally been the case, that where a mild and philanthropic course has been pursued toward the natives, they have been readily taught to see the heinousness of enslaving their fellow men, and have not only abandoned it, but held it in the greatest possible abhorrence. Indeed there are not wanting evidences of their zeal in opposing those who have been hardy enough to attempt the pollution of the soil of Liberia with the abominable traffic, for they have turned out in mass to aid in bringing to justice, offenders against the laws of the Colony in that respect.

It does seem contrary to nature itself, to every spring or motive to human action, that beings identified in all their qualities and attributes, connected together under even the most imperfect forms of social existence, could ever find a motive thus to degrade and oppress their species. But living under the benignant influence of the gospel of Jesus Christ, the light of science, and the examples of refined morality, it is altogether inconceivable. Teach the poor ignorant African his duty to his God and his fellow, and his docility will induce him to join us "in every good and perfect work."

Admitting those premises, which I am disposed to assume as *postulata*, it becomes only necessary to point out the means by which the Society is to accomplish this great and sublime part of their original intention; that is, of putting down the slave-trade, and annihilating slavery itself, by colonizing the free blacks in Africa. I have heretofore remarked that there are places in the interior of Africa, in which civilization has arrived at a point we should scarcely look for. There are large kingdoms and populous towns, which carry on an extensive trade with the Turks—and where the Mahomedan creed is taught and practised. These towns and kingdoms have remained exempt from the ravages of the Arab by their strength, their populousness, and indeed by becoming the instruments in obtaining slaves from the less populous and more feeble kingdoms. There is the kingdom of Footah Jollah, of which Teembo is the capital, and is as large as Baltimore; they can take into the field 16,000 cavalry; this city cannot be more than 250 miles from Monrovia N. Prince Abhuhl Rahaman, who had been a slave in this country for about forty years, but has now gone home, was entitled to the throne of that kingdom while he was a slave here. * * * The territory of this kingdom is as large as all New England.

The kingdom of Ashantee, of which Coomassie is the capital, lies about 150 miles in the interior, north of Cape Coast Castle; and from any calculation that I can make, it cannot be more than 250 miles from Liberia. Even the Cape has trembled when these powerful people have moved. Mr. Bowdich says, he never saw so rich a soil as in the country of the Fantecs,

which lies on the road to that country. The Ashantees are perhaps the richest and most numerous of any in the centre of Africa, except perhaps the Tombuctoos. Their population is estimated at a million of souls, and their warriors at 200,000. The arts and sciences seem to be understood by them; their houses are ornamented in rather a pleasing style, and neatness and order universally prevail. The population of Coomassie is thought to be 100,000. Mr. Bowdich says, that in washing the filth of the market place, they sometimes obtain 800 oz. of gold-dust. He declares that he heard, in the deep recesses of that vast continent, in a place called Gaboon, Handel's hallelujah. I mention this only to show the identity of genius in every place. It is said to be one of Handel's boldest and most masterly pieces of music, and Mr. Bowdich says, that the player, who was a negro, appeared so carried away with his performance, that he was led to inquire if he was not insane; he was told not, except when he performed upon his instrument, and that at such times he always exhibited signs of insanity.

Dahomy is another very fertile and powerful kingdom, in the neighborhood of Liberia. The King's palace is surrounded by a mudwall, enclosing about a mile square of land; the inhabitants are kind and courteous to strangers—but a very warlike people. The avenue to the King's palace is paved with human skulls.

Tombuctoo is another large and populous kingdom, with a capital of the same name, containing a splendid mosque and palace built of stone. The African Association calls this a luxurious, opulent and flourishing city—governed by a severe police, and which attracts the merchants of all the principal towns in Africa. There are great numbers of weavers of cotton clothes in this city, and goods are carried in caravans from thence to other parts of the continent. The British settlement of Sierra Leone, it is said, are cutting a road from thence to that city; and it is contemplated by the citizens of Liberia, I believe, to do the same in time, or when they shall find themselves able—King Boatswain has agreed to give a privilege 150 miles through his territory. This city must be distant from Monrovia, about 5 or 6 hundred miles, and about half the distance from Sierra Leone. It will perhaps, not be amiss here, to be a little more particular in relation to Tombuctoo. It is said to be a city nearly or quite as large as New York. We have this description from Abduhl Rahaman, whose grandfather was the reigning monarch of that kingdom forty years ago, while Prince was a slave in this country. Prince is an intelligent man; he was educated in Tombuctoo, and wrote and read the Arabic language with facility, and understood something of the sciences, and particularly that of the law. The account he gives, corresponds with the history and geography of the countries he describes; so that his relations have every appearance of truth, and are entitled to credit. He was the rightful heir to the throne, but while he was a slave here, the descent passed him and fell upon his brother.

It seems to me that I shall have merely to state facts, and leave you to draw the conclusion, for to attempt a course of reasoning upon all the various facts which present themselves, would be to extend this address to an unreasonable length. I will beg leave however, to further make a general statement in relation to the geography of that continent, in order to show the facility with which a Colony may be established there, and its general bearing and operation, as connected with the promotion of the objects of this Society, as well as its influence upon the political aspect of affairs in this country generally.

It is a remarkable fact, that within fifty miles of the border of the Mediterranean, south, there is an arid, barren desert, six or seven hundred miles in width, without a river and scarcely a drop of water, and at the distance of two or three hundred miles further south from its termination, there is an inland sea, said to be nearly 1000 miles in circumference, and from which, I believe, there never has yet certainly been discovered, an outlet to the sea.—This lake is near the centre of the continent, east and west, and around its

banks, nature seems to have scattered her bounties in the greatest profusion. Numbers of rivers, and some very large ones, flow into it, and some have thought the Niger itself did so. There is another remarkable fact, worthy of notice, in the geography of this country, and as it may have a bearing on the general discussion of the subject before us, I will beg leave to mention it.—The Isthmus of Suez is about 70 miles in width, and it has almost a regular declivity of about six inches a mile, to the Mediterranean sea; and with a small relative amount of labor, a canal might be cut from one to the other; thereby, opening a passage into the Indian Ocean through the Red sea, instead of having to travel a boisterous circuit, nearly ten thousand miles, around the Cape of Good Hope.

The Senegal, penetrates the continent about 1000 miles, the Gambia about 700, and the Saint Paul's, (near the banks of which, stands the town of Monrovia,) about 250 miles, and all have their sources near to each other in the Kong Mountains, the western extremity of that range called in Egypt the Mountains of the Moon, in which rises the Nile; and the better opinion now seems to be, so far as I am informed, that an arm of even the great and mysterious Niger itself descends to the Western Ocean, some where about the Bight of Benin, or Bay of Formosa, not very distant from the territory of Liberia.

With the exception of a few establishments, made by individuals belonging to various nations, and under their countenance, the whole Western coast of Africa, from the point of the great desert in the 20th degree of north latitude, to the 30th degree of south, may be said to be fairly open for colonization, by the various governments of the civilized world, and holds out an invitation to philanthropy to exert itself in favor of the poor ignorant and enslaved African, while it calls upon those nations in a voice terrible as the denunciations of Divine vengeance, to do justice to the hapless millions, their injustice has doomed to captivity. I have been more particular on this part of our subject, with a view of showing, not only the facility with which Colonies may be established in that country, but to show the care with which a trade with the interior as well as the exterior may be carried on.

The whole Western coast of Africa is indented with a multitude of inlets, which ebb and flow but a short distance in the country, but are headed by streams that water, for a considerable distance, the most fertile region that can be imagined, and which might be navigated with flat boats, and steam boats. If the knowledge of applying the power of steam to the propelling of vessels, had been discovered some two or three hundred years ago, Africa would not till this day have remained a howling wilderness. It is said indeed, that some individuals in England have already applied to their government for a monopoly in navigating the African rivers with steam. I have no hesitation in saying, that a trade with that country holds out prospects of great emolument to the adventurers—and I will venture to say, that if we neglect it, it will not be long before it will be monopolized by the British.—The country abounds in all the tropical fruits, and vegetable productions.—Cotton grows luxuriantly, and is of a much better staple than any raised in North America. The sugar-cane flourishes and is of the best kind, and coffee grows spontaneously, and may be cultivated to any extent—one tree it is said, will produce nine pounds, and they grow to the height of forty feet.—Although it is very lately since the inhabitants have had any idea of its becoming an article of commerce, yet it is already brought to the coast and sold at about four cents a pound. Rice grows in profusion, and without watering, as required here; iron is plenty, gold is abundant, and so is silver. Indeed gold is so common, that the Executioner in Coomassie on a festival, wears a large hatchet of it round his neck, as the badge of his profession. The King of Ashantee, it seems, built him a house, the windows of which are cased with gold, and the pillars of his piazza are made of ivory. Mr. Bowdich says, "that at a procession he was witness to, gold and silver pipes and cares dazzled the eye in every direction. Wolves' and rams' heads as large as life,

cast in gold, were suspended from their gold-handled swords, which were belted round them in great numbers." Ivory is an article of common trade; gums and medicinal drugs of various kinds are plenty; indigo and dye woods of almost every description, may be produced in unlimited quantities. All these various articles might be got of them, in exchange for commodities, which with us would be considered light and of little value. Indeed I have no hesitation in saying, that if a trade was set on foot with these people, for the products of their soil, instead of their flesh and blood, it might be made the means of redeeming them from their barbarism, and of adding new resources to our national power and national wealth. Our trade with foreign countries, for the above enumerated articles of produce, amounts to perhaps ten millions annually. And suppose it were exclusively directed to Africa, so far as a supply could be had, would it not be of greater mutual benefit, than could be derived from any other direction we could give it? The Senegal and the Gambia both pervade the country of the Foulahs, which borders on the territory belonging to the Colonization Society, and is bounded in part by the river Mesurada on the south. The grain coast, the ivory coast, and the gold coast, or the territory of the Ashantees south-east of Liberia, are penetrated with small rivers, and indeed so is the whole of the country south, including Dahoma, Galbonyas, Gaboon, Loango, Congo, Angola and as low down as Cape Negro, in latitude 16 south, and no doubt, could all be navigated for a considerable distance in the country, by steam boats; and by establishing depots on the coast, it is not difficult to see, that the whole of the trade of the exterior might be brought to those points and concentrated at Monrovia.—The consequence would be, by the establishment of a general intercourse, that those depots would constitute principal marts—would rise into towns and cities, and in time would become seats of learning, opulence, politeness and religion. The Niger, under various names, if reliance can be placed upon travellers, seems to pervade this continent from east to west, nearly 2000 miles; and if it be true, that an arm of it descends to the Bight of Benin, the produce of the whole interior beyond Lake Tchad, may be drawn to a few points on the western coast of this continent, by the power of steam acting upon those rivers; and wherever the principal point of this trade shall be, it will admit of the largest city, for it will concentrate a larger portion of commerce than any one spot on the globe. It is indeed said, that near the Bay of Benin once stood, one of the most populous and commercial cities in Africa, until the withering blast of the slave-trade past over it, and swept all its splendors to the ocean of oblivion. It will not be necessary to detain you long in delineating the relative advantages of the two points, Benin and Monrovia, as regards the location of their rival pretensions for this conspicuous point in the commercial world. The country around the Gulf of Benin is low, marshy, and of course unhealthy, which may be one of the causes of the almost entire annihilation of the splendid city which once graced its shores. It lies too far east for the trade from the western continent, and it is so situated, that the European trade must pass upwards of 1000 miles, immediately by Monrovia, to get to it; the latter lying in 67° E. L. from Washington City, while it lies in 87° of the same. The harbour of Monrovia is spacious, commanding and secure, the situation of the town high and healthy, the country around it fertile, abounding in mill-seats, and forest timber adapted to house and ship-building, and indeed, possessing every facility for the founding of a great commercial city; the Saint Paul's and Pissou rivers rising in the country east; the one supposed to be navigable for small craft near or quite an hundred miles, the other upwards of 200. I mention the Pissou and the St. Paul's rivers; and I beg leave here to correct an error in the geography of Africa, in relation to Mesurada river. The maps, nearly all that mention it, lay it down as being three hundred miles long. It is not so; it is a very short river, and answers no purpose of navigation, I believe, but to furnish a commodious harbor, being a mere inlet of the sea. The town of Monrovia is well

situated to become the general mart of the interior of all Africa. It lies at a point on the coast, where a large portion of the internal trade must centre, about half way between the Bay of Biafra and the mouth of the Senegal, and in the track where vessels from Europe and America will generally first make the land. As conclusive evidence of its superior advantages in point of trade and commerce, it is only necessary to state the fact, that the Colony, with a population of only 2000 souls, exported, during the last year, articles of commerce of the value of \$100,000. We have the testimony of other nations, that Monrovia is the most eligible port on the west coast of Africa. Sometimes not less than five square-rigged vessels are there at the same time, and but few, scarcely a day, passes without an arrival or a departure. That the inland trade of the country may be very readily drawn to Monrovia from a vast circle round it, is evinced by the large amount of its exports; and a number of the Colonists, who went there emancipated slaves, entirely ignorant of commercial concerns, and destitute of every thing, have amassed considerable fortunes within a few years. Several vessels are now engaged in the coasting-trade. * * * *

The Colony of Liberia will be amply sufficient to receive the blacks as fast as they can be prudently sent there. There are now in the U. S. about 300,000 free blacks, and about 2,000,000 of slaves. During the last ten years, the annual increase has been about three and a third per cent. There are now about 2,300,000 blacks; and if they continue to increase at the same rate for sixty years, without intermission, there will be upwards of 9,200,000. The increase for the first year, will be about 69,000, and for the last, nearly 270,000. The increase is by a direct ratio, and is very rapid, while the decrease is by an inverse ratio, and is equally rapid. For example, if they are permitted to increase on for sixty years by the same ratio, that they have for the last ten years, their number will be augmented upwards of 6,700,000, but if you subtract from their numbers 69,000 annually, which is the increase, they remain in statu quo—so that although you have removed but 4,140,000, yet you have 6,700,000 less than you would have, if you had removed none. Take another view of the subject; suppose you keep down the increase of the blacks, see how the ratio between them and the whites varies. There is now one black to five whites: if the increase of the black population be carried off, at the end of sixty years there will not be one black to thirty whites. When, if they are suffered to remain, and shall continue to gain in numbers as they have done, they will stand to the whites, nearly as one to three. The next question that occurs is, would it be prudent to send so great a number in one year as 60,000? I should say not at present, but as the Colony shall improve and increase in numbers, its capacity to sustain population will enlarge, and in a few years you may, with safety and propriety, send 100,000 annually.

Africa is yet almost a wilderness, and from the dispositions evinced by the natives towards the Colony now established, and from every communication we and other nations have had with them, we have every assurance, that territory sufficient may be procured to establish, not only one state, but twenty, which may in time constitute the grand Republic of Liberia. The territory already acquired by the limited means of this Society, is sufficient to sustain a population of a million or more. Situated as Monrovia is, capable of commanding so large a portion of foreign commerce, as well as the domestic trade of that continent, the Republic will find it its interest, as well as the interest of its inhabitants, to apply its resources to that object, as well as to the improvement of such a course will be found to correspond with the interests of this country. As the slave or black population shall continue to be drawn from the southern states, and the vacuum to be filled from the north, they will naturally be inclined to adopt the culture of cotton, and in a few years will be enabled to export more of cotton from the Republic,

to engage more generally in that and the sugar-planting, to which by nature, its climate, its soil, and the habits and constitution of its citizens are better adapted. Alexander Hamilton, in his celebrated Treasury Report, in 1789, suggested it problematically, that at some time cotton might be cultivated in the United States. And I will beg leave here to state, problematically, that the Southern States, as low as the 31° of North latitude, will one day become manufacturing and agricultural states; and the principal part of our cotton, sugar and coffee, will be imported from Africa. The state of the world at this time, strongly sustains such a prediction.

The next question that presents itself is, what are the ways and means, and how are they to be marshalled for the accomplishment of this great object?—Certain it is, the limited means of this Society are not at all adequate. The state of public feeling in several of the slave states, is favourable to the principle of Colonization, and to furnishing the means from their own resources; and a majority of the whole states, is favourable to a contribution by the General Government. Virginia, for example, to judge from her late movements, I presume, is disposed to appropriate \$100,000, and if the other slave states shall be similarly disposed, as I have no doubt they shortly will be, and shall contribute in an equal proportion, it will constitute a fund of \$500,000. Let the General Government likewise appropriate the same, which, added to the appropriation by the individual states, furnishes the sum of \$1,000,000.—Now the cost of transportation for an emigrant, will not amount to more than twenty dollars. It would, or ought to be, a consideration with the merchants, that as the object of carrying these people to their homes, from whence their ancestors had been unjustly dragged, is an exercise of the principle of benevolence, and that therefore, they ought to do it upon the most liberal terms. In a voyage to the Cape Verd, or Canary Islands, they would not find themselves far driven out of their course, in going to Liberia. We will, however, lay their transportation at twenty dollars a head, and their subsistence there, until they are able to sustain themselves, at ten dollars a head, including their conveyance to the place of embarkation—which, from the operations of the Society heretofore, I have no doubt will be entirely sufficient. This will make each emigrant cost in the whole, for his transportation, thirty dollars. This sum, thus applied, would transport annually 33,333; a number larger however, than ought to be transported in any one year for some time, and perhaps more than could be obtained from among the free blacks and those derived from manumission together. But let the fund be kept up, or a pledge obtained upon some correct principle, from the states, that it shall be paid when called for or needed; and whatever surplus shall remain, after defraying transportation and sustenance there, let it be applied to improving the condition of the Colony by making internal improvements, opening roads to the interior, in order to invite a communication and trade with the natives, fortifying the towns and harbours, making ample provisions for the future reception of emigrants, purchasing more territory, and giving presents to the natives, in order to conciliate their good will—and especially in improving the militia and the navy. Two or three small well armed vessels, to be kept continually cruising along the coast, would effectually put down the slave-trade, which can never be accomplished without the adoption of some such measure. And two or three sizeable vessels, kept continually plying between the port of Liberia and the United States, would do the carrying business, and save an immense expense in the transportation of emigrants; and besides, a regular trade of this kind kept up, would be the means of introducing among the colonists a knowledge of nautical science, while it would furnish great facilities to the free blacks to go at their own expense to the country. The frequent arrivals from here, would render them familiar with the details of its affairs. Its government, the assistance thereby given to the Colony, its order, security, and prosperity, with a sense of the dignity

to seek among their kindred there, that freedom, equality and independence, which an inexorable destiny has denied them here. By the adoption of some such measures as these, you would not only create a general interest in the blacks to emigrate to that country, but you would enhance its resources, so that it would be able to sustain them to any amount when there. Its moral influence would not only be felt here, but it would inspire the natives there with a sense of your honor, your justice and superior endowments, and hold out inducements to them to follow your example. Maintaining with them relations of peace and amity, they would seek your protection, your commerce and your friendship; led by your example, they would abandon their pursuits of kidnapping, they would demolish their altars erected to idols, they would throw down the crescent and take up the cross. During the operation of these measures, if this fund be maintained, it will be continually accumulating, while the Colony will be preparing to receive the accumulating amount of emigrants: and by the time the whole shall be necessarily called into requisition, it will be adequate to the transportation annually, of three hundred thousand instead of thirty-three. It will be a desideratum to procure among the emigrants as many young people as possible, between the ages of eighteen and thirty, as it will tend to diminish the increase of population here; and as the young go, the old will be inclined to follow, and thus promote the grand object intended. The necessity of adopting some such measures too, as these, must appear evident from the reflection, that an object of such vast magnitude, can never be carried into complete effect without the most perfect system.

It may be thought by some, that the transportation of between sixty and seventy thousand persons annually, is too Herculean a task to be performed; I cannot think so. I see that within the last ten months, about 50,000 emigrants have arrived in Canada, which contains a population of only about 500,000; and surely if that number can, in that time, transport themselves with their own resources, and brave the rigors of a Canadian winter, I should think not sixty, but an hundred thousand may be transplanted in Africa, with the aid of one million of dollars, where an eternal summer prevails. After those measures shall have continued to operate for a time, and after the Colony shall have begun to assume a place among the nations of the earth, they will begin to feel it beneath their dignity to have their country populated by the charity, or voluntary contributions of other nations, standing upon an equality with themselves; and this principle will be found to operate more strongly upon their individual, than upon their national character. It will begin to be thought a species of pauperism to have been indebted to charity for a passage to Liberia, and will operate as a strong inducement to rely upon their own resources for their transit there. * * * But it is said \$500,000 is too large a sum to appropriate to such an object as this. I ask, is it not as important, nay more so, to be providing the means of getting rid of our black population, as that of the Indian? I think circumstances warrant me in saying it is. We are appropriating annually to this service, between five hundred thousand and one million dollars annually. The annuities paid to the various tribes of Indians, amount to upwards of two hundred and fifty thousand dollars annually. * * *

I beg, before I close, to say a few words in relation to the situation of this Society. In speaking of the measures to be adopted, I have said nothing about the operations of the Society. I presume those measures, or any extensive ones, will not be got into operation immediately; and in the mean time their exertions ought not to cease or slacken. I am inclined to think, that by continued exertion, we may be accomplished towards elevating the enormous condition of the persons of Africa—and in time (though it will be long,) the whole may be brought to that state. Too much praise is in commendation of what they are doing, and their protection. The Commission

tion. Until that, however, shall be done, every exertion ought to be made by the Society, to go on with the principles upon which they set out. There are weighty considerations in favor of the Government taking this Colony under its protection, besides that of facilitating the consummation of the object for which it was instituted. This Colony has to perform all the high functions of a sovereign nation. It has to guaranty its own safety: for this purpose, it has to declare war, to make peace, to establish foreign and internal regulations. It must make its own treaties, establish its own laws, administer justice, secure itself against foreign invasion and domestic insurrection. In the performance of these momentous duties, it becomes necessary to subdue its enemies, punish its own citizens for breaches of its laws, and that even with death. These are grave powers to put in the hands of a few individuals, just emerged from among the very dregs of mankind. It is true, all these things are done for them, by this Society; but who are this Society? * * * * Suppose some acknowledged sovereign power should attack the Colonists, in order to bring them under subjection to their own authority, who is to protect them? The Society here, are altogether inadequate to the task; their decrees, under any circumstances, can only operate as matter of advice—they have no mode of enforcing obedience to them. They have no other power over them, than that which wisdom has over virtue. Suppose the Colonists were to be attacked by pirates, their private property might fall a prey to these marauders, and there is no power to redress their grievances, or revenge their wrongs. They are acknowledged, formally, by no nation; nor could any sovereign power, without a very great responsibility, espouse their cause, and more especially if it be not admitted by ourselves, that our Government has power to interfere with the establishment of the Colony. If they be without our jurisdiction, how could we claim a right to punish offences committed against them? The Colony has been established at great labour and expense, and with a partial sacrifice of human life—it has assumed a considerable importance in numbers, wealth, and moral character; and in relation to the natives themselves, a high national character. It would be a great pity, and for which I firmly believe, the United States would be held responsible, if they should fall a sacrifice to their own imprudence, or the cupidity of any other people or power. The territory embraces a population of nearly or quite 200,000 souls; 199,000 of whom, are totally destitute of all civil or political knowledge, and as unqualified to govern themselves, as children, no matter how well they might be disposed to act. The natives (how many of them, I am not exactly informed, but it strikes me, not less than 15,000,) have put themselves under the protection of the Colony, and are assuming the manners, habits, and modes of life, of the Americans—are taught at their schools, imbibing the principles of the Christian religion—are a moral, inoffensive people, learning the arts of husbandry, and doing daily labour for the American Colonists. Such a precious few, ought not to be sacrificed through the neglect or political divisions of a people, to whom they have a right to look for justice and the most ample protection.

A THOUGHT FOR THE AFFLICTED.

When the traveller Park, sinking in despondency in the deserts of Africa, cast his eye on a little plant by his side, he gathered courage: "I cannot look around without seeing the works and Providence of God." And thus asks the Christian: "Will God feed his young ravens? Does he notice the fall of a sparrow? Should I then perish in God? He that spared not his own Son, but freely gave him up for all, he will he not with us? y give If thing for me, we

[From the Vermont Chronicle, May 24.]

CHARACTER OF GEORGE WASHINGTON,

Commander and Chief of the American Army during the Revolutionary War, and first President of the United States.

Scarce any man, in modern days, has stood higher in the estimation of the whole civilized world, than Gen. Washington. As a patriot, a sincere, enlightened, and undeviating friend of freedom and of the rights of man; as a man of the strictest integrity, as a sincere and a devoted Christian, he has been held up to the gaze of an admiring world, and seldom, if ever, has a voice been raised to question his claim to this high honor. But it seems that all this is a delusion—the very reverse of truth. The honor of this discovery is due to the advocates of the New England Anti-slavery Society, whose delineation of his true character we proceed to copy.

1. *In religion, he was a hypocrite.*

Call the slaveholder by whatever Gospel name you please, his profession of religion is insulating hypocrisy.—*Liberator*, May 18.

2. *As to his honesty, he was a thief.*

His religion and Christianity are insufficient to actuate his obedience to the eighth commandment,—“thou shalt not steal.”—*Ib.*

3. *He was a kidnapper.*

For he is a man-thief, a sinner of the first rank, and guilty of the highest kind of theft, who is condemned to death by the law of Moses.—*Ib.*

4. *He was habitually guilty of perjury.*

Every man-stealer, who takes the oath of office in the United States, commits wilful and corrupt perjury; and during the whole period of his continuance in office, he is living with the guilt of habitual false-swearing attached to him.—*Ib.*

5. *He is now in hell.*

And unless he repents, with all other workers of iniquity, will “have his part in the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone.” No man-stealer can enter the kingdom of heaven.—*Ib.*

At least, such was the doom for which his general character prepared him, and there is no evidence that he escaped it, even by a death-bed repentance; for he lived and died a *slaveholder*.

This description of the true character of Washington is found in 46 lines in the fourth and fifth columns of the second page of the *Liberator* of May 18. By a more extensive, and yet not laborious, search, we might prove, by testimony equally conclusive, that he was a “robber,” (Prof. E. Wright,) that he was a “tyrant,” (Mr. Garrison, *passim*;) and that he deserved many other equally opprobrious names. We hope men will learn to be consistent on this subject, and if they believe the *Liberator* and its partizans, speak of Washington accordingly.

A PLEA FOR COLONIZATION.

[From the Christian Advocate, N. Y. May 10.]

The reason against colonizing seems not to regard the providences of God in this event; but would require us to forego the accomplishment of a great present good, through fear that an evil may, at some future time, result from it. But the strongest anti-colonizationist cannot show that the evil feared will as certainly follow, as that *present good* will result from colonizing free people of color. If this be so, Divine Providence clearly on the side of colonizing. We are to do present good, clearly opened, and we are to have a large number of H and k and who of-

Can any doubt whether present good results, and will result, from the measures of the Colonization Society? Is it not too evident to admit of doubt that the condition of the colonists is improved by their settling in Africa?—To doubt of this is about the same as to doubt whether freedom, with all its attendant blessings, is preferable to the degraded condition of the free people of color in this country. As soon as they step foot on the Society's territory, they are released from the oppression of contempt; realize the importance of the change in their circumstances; feel the dignity and responsibility of free men; have the means of education, and of acquiring property put into their hands; and while they respect themselves, are respected by every body else. It is equally evident that the country to which they emigrate is made better by them. The vicinity of a well-regulated community must have a salutary influence upon the natives, and has already exerted such an influence to a considerable extent. The Colony at Liberia is a light shining in a dark place, and cannot shine in vain. The neighboring clans have signified a desire to join the Colony, and partake of the blessings of civilization; and so soon as it shall become safe for the Colony, they will no doubt be admitted. And in time, and it would seem at no very distant time, civilization and christianity will be extended over the whole continent, chiefly by the means of Colonization.

And shall we relinquish the project of Colonizing and abandon this glorious object, through fear that it will have an unfavorable influence upon slavery in this country? Can we see any tendency in Colonization to this result? We confess we have not seen it, but the contrary. Here is then what an eloquent speaker has represented as a grand "circle of benevolence," worthy the attention of men and christians. All that is noble in civilization, in government, in morals, and in the christian religion, is embraced in the plan of Colonization.

LATEST FROM LIBERIA.

Extracts of a letter to the Secretary from the Colonial Agent, dated

LIBERIA, February 28, 1833.

DEAR SIR:—I have already by the Brig Ruth, advised you of the arrival of the bark Hercules, and Ship Lafayette, and I have now the pleasure of announcing the arrival of the Brig Roanoke after a passage of forty-two days from Norfolk; the emigrants, 127 in number, have been landed in good health and sent to Caldwell, where they are to remain until they have undergone the process of acclimation, after which they will be distributed among the different settlements, they having the liberty of choice; such as are mechanics, at least a majority of them, will probably prefer locating themselves at Monrovia, as they will have a better chance for the profitable exercise of their vocation.

I regret to be compelled again to urge upon you the importance, nay, the absolute necessity of sending out with every expedition supplies adequate to the subsistence of the people for six months after their arrival. The means at the disposal of the Board will thus be economized, the necessity of such heavy drafts from this quarter be obviated, and a fruitful source of murmuring and dissatisfaction be removed. The quantity needed can readily be ascertained by making the calculation, taking the navy ration as the standard, except, that instead of allowing the same quantity of beef and pork as therein stated, reduce it to two pounds of each per week—spirituous liquors are of course to be withheld. Hospital stores, such as cheap tea, sugar, molasses and vinegar, ought also to be provided.

The arrival of so many emigrants within these few months past, has caused us no little embarrassment, and this at a time when I was prevented by ex-

treme indisposition, from making such arrangements as to secure their accommodation; by the exertion however of the Vice-Agent, comfortable shelters have been provided for all, and they generally seem to be perfectly satisfied. The people from South Carolina and Georgia have for the most part been located at Monrovia; such as were able rented houses for their families, but for others whose circumstances prevented their providing themselves with shelters, I have agreed to defray the expense of lodgings for six months, as the receptacles at Caldwell are barely sufficient for the accommodation of the emigrants per Ship Lafayette and Brig Roanoke.

It gives me great pleasure to state that the emigrants per bark Hercules, are the most enterprising, intelligent and industrious we have received for several years; many of them are possessed of some capital, and seem desirous of so investing it as will advance the best interests of the Colony; such as are farmers wish to draw their plantation lands in a body, in order that they may be of mutual assistance to each other in their agricultural operations.— This request shall be acceded to so soon as my strength will admit of the exertion necessary for the selection and laying off a suitable range of farm lots.

* * * * * You will be pleased to learn that the emigrants from Charleston and Savannah, as well as those from Maryland, have in most instances recovered from the first attack of the coast fever, and thus far the proportion of deaths is not greater than one per cent. and a fraction, nor do I think it will in the whole, after they have fully undergone their seasoning; exceed three per cent.

The settlement at Grand Bassa, which I visited in the early part of last month, is, you will be gratified to learn, in a condition highly prosperous.— They have put the place in a complete state of defence, by the erection of a barricade capable of resisting any force the natives may bring against it.— They have also cleared up, and are now building on their town lots, in its immediate vicinity. Many of them are at present engaged in planting a large tract of land in cassada for their common use; this is the more necessary, as there is every probability of our being unable to procure a supply of rice until the coming crops are gathered, which will not be sooner than October; the crops of last year having failed for want of rain, at the time when the grain was forming. While at Grand Bassa, my health was such as to prevent me from examining the country in the vicinity of the town; but from Mr. Harris, an intelligent mill-wright, I learned that he had discovered two very fine mill-seats on the land recently purchased of King Joe Harris. They are in sight of the settlement, and distant from it about four miles; the supply of water is abundant during the whole year, and a fall of twelve or fifteen feet can readily be obtained. There is also a great quantity of timber of the best quality growing in the neighborhood; in short for local advantages, fertility of soil, and the facilities of procuring articles of trade or subsistence, I know of no place within the limits of our territory that can compare with the country in the vicinity of the Saint John's river, and I have no hesitation in asserting, that in a short time it will rival, if not become superior to either of the older settlements.

With a view of opening the communication with the chiefs residing a few days' journey in the interior, I have furnished Mr. Weaver with an outfit of such articles as were suitable for presents, and directed him to ascend the St. John's river, either in canoes, or travel along its banks until he arrived at the country of a King who is said to be very powerful, and whose residence is about one hundred and fifty miles distant from the settlement. Bob Gray, one of the Grand Bassa chiefs, has promised to furnish him with guides, and use every means in his power to facilitate his progress through the country. Should he succeed in his mission, which I have every reason to believe will be the case, we will open to ourselves a country represented as fertile in the highest degree, and abounding in the most valuable of African productions.— From what I can learn, I am of the opinion that we will have less difficulty

in penetrating into the interior from this point than any other we could select—it therefore would be the most eligible for missionary operations. * *

Our schools are still prospering and are every day becoming more popular, as the beneficial results arising from our present system of education become more apparent. You will be pleased to learn that Mr. James R. Clarke, who came out in the *Hercules*, has received the appointment of teacher at our re-captured African settlement. The Ladies Auxiliary Colonization Society of Philadelphia, have generously contributed the funds necessary for his support, and directed me to offer him the situation; he has accordingly accepted it, and will so soon as he has recovered from the fever, enter on the discharge of the duties assigned him.

Your suggestions respecting the importance of extending the civilizing and religious influence of the Colony over the neighboring native tribes, shall receive every attention their importance demands—it is a subject which has for some time occupied my thoughts, but as yet we have been able to effect but little. * * * The expedition from Charleston is the most unexceptionable that has landed on our shores since I have resided in Africa.

* *Extract of a letter from Dr. Mechlin, dated LIBERIA, March 8, 1833.*

"I have barely time to announce the arrival of the ship *Jupiter*, which anchored in our harbour this morning."

A young man in New York has recently received a letter from his mother, one of the colonists, in which she says, "at no period since the foundation of the Colony, has it ever been in so flourishing circumstances;" that "the improvements in Monrovia &c. have been truly astonishing during the last year; and would be considered incredible to any one who had not been to the Colony, or had not been informed of them by some respectable person who had been there."

INTELLIGENCE.

The (Philadelphia) *Biblical Repository and Theological Review* for April 1833, contains a Review of the last Annual Report of the American Colonization Society, in which the Institution is defended with a force and eloquence that must make a deep impression, wherever the article is read.

The (New York) *Methodist Magazine and Quarterly Review* for January 1833, also defends the Society, with signal ability, in an article reviewing Mr. Garrison's "Thoughts, &c.," which will, we hope, fall into many hands.

As neither of these periodicals reached us till just as the present number of the Repository was going to the press, we are unable to give a more minute notice of them, or make any extracts.

EDITOR'S CORRESPONDENCE.

The following interesting letters, one from the REV. WILLIAM MCKENNEY, the zealous and efficient Agent of the Maryland State Society, and the other from an enlightened philanthropist, have been too long withheld from the readers of the Repository.

NORFOLK, Va., December 27, 1832.

REV. & DEAR SIR,—Believing that it may not be uninteresting to you, I avail myself of a leisure hour to narrate some of the incidents connected with, and growing out of my late operations in Maryland, as Agent of the "Board of Maryland State Colonization Managers."

You are already apprised of the number of emigrants on board the *Liberty* on their way to Liberia. I have the pleasure to inform you that the number of passengers on board the *Liberty* is 114.

are, in my judgment, entirely worthy of the liberal *outfit* they have received from the "Maryland State Colonization Society," and of the very judicious and *abundant* supply of provisions for the voyage, and for their consumption in Liberia, until they can raise the means to support themselves. This, I am sure, a very large majority of them will soon be able to do. The upright and honorable character they sustained in their recent respective neighborhoods, of which they carry with them satisfactory testimonials, fully authorizes the expectation that they will be *greatly instrumental* in perpetuating the prosperity of the Colony.

The great anxiety expressed by the different heads of families, to have their children *educated*, and the interest which the children themselves always seemed to feel, when the subject was named, furnish a delightful presage of their future success and prosperity. It affords me great pleasure to state that the heads of five families, numbering nearly fifty persons, are truly pious: others, not heads of families, are also pious.

It will no doubt be gratifying to the friends of Colonization generally to learn, that, in this expedition, there are thirty-five *emancipated slaves*, whose recent owners expressed to me a high degree of satisfaction in giving them their liberty under circumstances so entirely favorable to their future prosperity.

The first instance of this voluntary surrender, occurred in Snow Hill, Worcester Co. After having delivered an address to the colored people, in the presence of a large company of whites, I was met at the altar of the church by many of the former, who came forward to receive a small pamphlet, called "News from Africa," published by order of the Maryland State Managers, for gratuitous distribution among the free blacks. A comely, well-dressed, thoughtful, and intelligent looking man asked me for a book. While in the act of handing him one, I asked him if he was free. His reply was, no, sir. His master, Mr. John Sturges, Jr. (then unknown to me), was standing by, and immediately said, "Shadrach, you are free from this night." Wonder, mingled with an *apparent* degree of doubt, held Shadrach in *momentary* suspense. His master observing it, said, "Shadrach, I say again, you are from this moment, as free as I am. It was an affecting scene, and one which I shall never forget. Shadrach is now on his passage to Liberia.

The annexed copy of a letter to me, from Col. William Jones (monce) of Somerset Co., who gave me a pressing invitation to visit his family, for the purpose of addressing his people on the subject of emigration to Liberia, is a fair specimen of the tone of feeling which is now gradually and *extensively* circulating on the Eastern Shore of Maryland.

Discarding, as I have always done, any *direct* interference with the delicate and *difficult* question of slavery, as it now exists in our country, and *conscientiously* believing, as I do, that those who are now so ardently, vehemently, and I add, rashly engaged in publishing it on this subject, are the cause they

their influence extends, actually fighting against its success. I cannot, however, but greatly rejoice in the prospect of an ultimate *voluntary* and harmonious action in favour of Colonization, as the only *practicable* mode of doing that which every man capable of thought and feeling, wishes to be done. Legislative action upon this subject, *separate and apart* from Colonization, can never meet the *difficulties* of the case. Human ingenuity, skill, and power combined, can never *change colors*, nor remove those prejudices which are consequent upon them.

The unprecedented success of the grand experiment of Colonization, so untiringly and manfully persevered in by your Board, has utterly demolished the *principal* difficulty in the way of ultimate general emancipation. The remaining difficulties are *gradually* yielding, not to the force of legal inhibitions and proscriptions, but to a benign power, whose influence, like the "still small voice," is more operative and efficient than the stormy wind, the earthquake and the fire.

The sentiments contained in Col. Jones's letter, furnish a delightful augury of the final triumph of the cause of Colonization, by means of *voluntary* emancipation. They are inseparably united, and stand, or fall together. Destroy the first, and you render the second *perfectly hopeless*, and throw over the present heart-cheering project, both as it respects ourselves, and the whole African race, a mantle of darkness, stretching far into the distant future, unmitigated by one ray of light. But the spirit of the age, the tone of public sentiment, and the superintending care of Almighty God will sustain, accelerate, and finally consummate the benevolent purposes of this *just and merciful* cause.

Virginia, will, it is hoped and believed by many, during the present session of her Legislature, act worthy of herself, by making a liberal appropriation in aid of the cause.

I write in haste, and have no time to copy what I have written. Should you deem the facts and incidents I have named, worthy of notice, you are at liberty to give them a place in the African Repository.

Very respectfully and truly yours,

W. M'KENNEY.

Somerset County, (E. S.) Md. }

November 3, 1832. }

REV. W. M'KENNEY, Agent for Md.

State Col. Soc. and State Managers.

DEAR SIR:—Pursuant to a resolution, some time since formed, to which my mind has been brought by the great importance of the subject, I now offer as candidates for immediate emigration to the Colony of Liberia in Africa, a family of thirteen slaves, whose names and ages are mentioned below. I am urged to this act from various considerations. 1st. From the consideration of christian duty, which enjoins it on me to seek and promote, as far as in my power, the happiness of mankind.—2. The importance of elevating to higher enjoyments a miserable and benighted race, whose condition in this country must always be a reproach and drawer of dishonour to such morality, and correct

conduct. 3. Their claims on us, founded in the great principle of eternal justice, which can only be fairly met by restoring them to the land of their ancestors—a land to which they have a right, growing out of the uncanceled gift of the God of the universe. And 4. In the hope and *confident belief* that the great effort, which is now making to better the condition of this unfortunate race of our fellow creatures, will result in the final extinguishment of the debt contracted by our ancestors, and so long due to Africa, “a debt in men, money and morals.” This consummation is now ardently desired by all true christians, and philanthropists; and it is with no small degree of satisfaction that I find our most distinguished citizens, lending their aid in the support of a cause, the final triumph of which is only necessary to fill up the measure of our country’s glory. May their efforts abound yet more and more, until the only blot which stains our political escutcheon shall be eternally effaced.

It gives me pleasure to assure you, dear sir, that my children, who are now all grown, heartily unite with me in this act and in the sentiments I have expressed.

Very respectfully, your friend.
WILLIAM JONES, (MONEE.)

Spencer Jones, aged 45; Lucy Jones, 40; Sally Jones, 25; Leah Jones, 23; Moriah Jones, 20; Tamer Jones, 16; Eliza Jane Jones, 11; Charles Jones, 9; William Jones, aged about 9; Edward Jones, 7; Washington Jones, 4; Robert Jones, 4; Margaret Jones, 2.

Extract of a letter to the Editor, dated *Port Gibson (Miss.) May 4, 1833.*

There is a rapidly growing interest in behalf of African Colonization, in this State; and could you visit us and hear the universal disapprobation which is expressed in regard to slavery, you would be surprised. Gloster Simpson is my neighbour, and a freeman of my wife’s uncle: he is greatly esteemed, and is exerting a happy influence for your Society. My uncle has provided for the emancipation of his family.

AUXILIARY SOCIETIES.

Georgetown, D. C. May 21, 1833.

DEAR SIR—Agreeably to your request, made known through the African Repository, I send you a list of the officers of the Georgetown Auxiliary Colonization Society.

Respectfully yours,

ROBERT P. DUNLOP, Sec’y.

Rev. R. R. GURLEY.

JAMES DUNLOP, *President*; SAMUEL MCKENNEY, *Vice-President*; ROBERT P. DUNLOP, *Secretary*; FRANCIS T. SEAWELL, *Treasurer*;—*Managers*, Thomas Turner, Bennet Clements, Paul Stevens, John Little, Thos. Brown, Robert White, James L. Edwards, Albert Jones, Jeremiah Orme, Henry Addison, Richard Cruickshank, John Dickson.

Extract of a letter to the Editor from GEORGE K. PARDEE, Esq., dated *Wadsworth, O., May 22, 1833.*

We recently had a public meeting at this place, at which the writer of this, had the honour to deliver an address in behalf of the

blacks and colonization; after which, a Society was organized, and funds raised to the amount of about twenty dollars, which will probably be paid over to the Parent Society about the 4th of July next, at which time, we are to have another meeting.

In an extra of the *Ithaca (N. Y.) Journal*, issued May 15, 1833, is the following interesting article:

African Colonization.

At a meeting of the Young Men of Ithaca, convened, pursuant to notice, at the Lyceum Hall of the Academy, on the evening of the 26th of March, 1833, for the purpose of taking into consideration the propriety of organizing a Young Men’s Colonization Society auxiliary to the Tompkins County Colonization Society, CHARLES HALSEY was called to the Chair, and PHILIP C. SCHUYLER appointed Secretary.

The meeting was addressed by Messrs. Pelton, Johnson, and Woodruff, in explanation of the origin, progress, present condition, and future prospects, of the American Colonization Society. After which, the following resolution was submitted and unanimously carried:

Resolved, That this meeting proceed to organize a Young Men’s Colonization Society, auxiliary to the Tompkins County Colonization Society.

The following was adopted as the Constitution of the Society:

ARTICLE 1. This Society shall be called “*The Ithaca Young Men’s Colonization Society*,” auxiliary to the Tompkins County Colonization Society.

ART. 2. An annual subscription of *any sum* shall constitute an individual a member of this Society.

ART. 3. Every member who shall not, at or before each annual meeting, direct his subscription to be discontinued or changed in amount for the succeeding year, will be presumed to have continued the subscription of the preceding year for the next year.

ART. 4. The officers of this Society shall be a President, Vice-President, Secretary and Treasurer, and eight Directors; of which Board, when regularly convened, three shall constitute a quorum.

ART. 5. The Treasurer shall keep the accounts of the Society, as well as take charge of its funds, and hold them subject to an order of the Board.

ART. 6. The Secretary shall conduct the correspondence of the Society.

ART. 7. The Society shall hold its annual meeting on the 4th of July, to receive the Annual Report and elect new officers; and when the 4th of July shall come on Sunday, the meeting shall be postponed until the following day.

On motion of Mr. Woodruff, the Society then proceeded to the election of officers, when the following gentlemen were appointed:

WILLIAM A. IRVING, *President*; B. JOHNSON, JR., *Vice-President*; JOHN M. PELTON, Esq. *Treasurer*; DR. WM. S. PELTON, *Secretary*;—*Directors*—George McCormick, Wm.

G. Grant, Don. C. Woodcock, P. C. Schuyler, Justus Slater, Wm. T. Eddy, Geo. H. Seaman, Benjamin Durham.

On motion of Mr. Woodcock,

Resolved, That the proceedings of this meeting be signed by the Chairman and Secretary, and published in the *Ithaca Chronicle*, and *Journal*.

CHARLES HALSEY, Ch'n.

PHILIP C. SCHUYLER, Sec'y.

At a meeting of the Board of Man held April 10th, it was resolved to send Circular to the Young People of the States, in behalf of the claims of African Colonization: and one was accordingly sent, which subsequently received the approval of the Board. It occupies a column of the *Ithaca Journal*, and is written with spirit and force.

We learn from the same paper that the first anniversary meeting of this new and hopeful Auxiliary Society, is to be held at the Village of Ithaca, on the 4th of July next, when a Colonization address will be delivered by the Hon. SAMUEL M. HOPKINS, L. L. D. of Geneva, and an opportunity given to all who desire to unite with the Society.

CONNECTICUT COLONIZATION SOCIETY.—

The meeting was held on Tuesday evening, May 21st.—Hon. Judge Peters in the Chair. The meeting was addressed by the Rev. Mr. Danforth, Agent of the Parent Society; Mr. Thomas Hobby of Augusta, Georgia; R. S. Finley, Esq., and Rev. T. H. Gallaudet, Secretary of the Society. Mr. Hobby had lately spent six weeks in Liberia, and his statements in regard to the condition and prospects of the Colony were of the most encouraging kind.—Mr. Finley showed, from a variety of facts that had fallen under his own personal observation while at the South, that the constant and increasing tendency of the plan of Colonization, is to lead to the emancipation of slaves, and that this had already taken place, and is still, in a very encouraging manner.—He stated, that so far as his observation had extended, the actual laborers in the cause of Sabbath School instruction among the colored people were, without exception, friends of the Colonization Society.—Mr. Gallaudet maintained that the late movements in Maryland demonstrate the tendency of Colonization to the entire eradication of slavery.

The friends of Colonization will be gratified to learn from the subjoined article, that a suggestion for the establishment of an Auxiliary Society at Detroit is before the public. We trust that it will be carried into effect promptly and vigorously; and doubt not that the Editor from whom it has proceeded, will contribute all in his power to so desirable a result.

From the *Democratic Free Press*, Detroit, May 15, 1833.

COLONIZATION.—Every citizen of U.

ty of our national character is identified with its success. We have been in asserting

that we have acquired abroad, than the manumission of the slave population and their Colonization in the

lan their fathers.

ni gh the efforts of the American Colonization Society and its auxiliaries, of which

te a large number in many of the

ed to which thousands of free colored

ave emigrated, who now enjoy the

s of freedom and religion; and it is

be regretted that a few infatuated

als are at this time endeavoring to

the progress of an enterprise so high-

lated to advance our own welfare and

on, as well as to promote the happiness

ns who are at this moment in bondage.

mediate and total emancipation of

es in this country, would without

be inexpedient and dangerous. The

must be effected gradually, to be safe

ly; and we hope and have abundant

to expect that the institutions above

to will be able to defray the expense

ation of all who may be set at liberty.

holders at the South have in various in-

es declared their entire willingness, nay,

xious desire to manumit their slaves,

if they could be sent to the Colony;

sufficient donations have been recently

made to the Society for that purpose—all that

is wanting is the zealous action of the North,

and most glorious enterprise that was ever

taken in this country will be success-

accomplished.

we would invite the attention of our fel-

lows to this subject. Would it not be

well to organize a Colonization Society in

etroit? and while we are acting so nobly to

the stain of intemperance from our na-

tional character, at the same time to blot out

the raceful stigma of slavery.

The address delivered in September last, before the Madison Co. (Alab.) Colonization Society, by HARRY J. THORNTON, Esq., is a sensible and eloquent performance. We make room for the following extract:

"Mr. President—I have thus far only considered this Society in its primary object and its most obvious bearings. I intimated however, that in its consequences, (and in that view I frankly confess its interests are doubly endeared to me,) it might lead to the gentle and gradual, though certain and final, extermination of domestic slavery. Many of its friends entertain the ardent hope, that a little outlet is here made, through which, in time, the whole mass of our black population may be drained; and every one must admit, that if, from any cause, yet latent in the gloom of futurity, a to become desirable or necessary operation of the Colonization Society have rendered that

er in which the be effectuated

through the medium of this Society, if the object itself, under any and all circumstances, be not objectionable, which I trust is not the case, I feel assured that the means it proposes cannot be repudiated. They seem to be just and unexceptionable. The leading cause in this effect, will be voluntary emancipation.—When so happy a receptacle shall have been established for freed slaves, there can be no just obstacle interposed to the exercise of individual beneficence in this behalf. The benevolence of masters will be quickened as by a new birth, when the assurance is felt that, an unmingled blessing will be conferred upon its object. Even hitherto, when that charity was, to say the least of it, doubtful as it regarded its object, and positively detrimental to the community, yet it has been flowing on, in a constant and unremitting stream. May we not suppose that it will swell to overflowing, under the benign auspices of this institution. When emancipation shall have progressed until, by the vacuum created, a large mass of free white labor shall be called into action, its superior advantages will be universally experienced, and even sordid Avarice will begin to release her grasp upon the slave. In some instances, the Society has encountered opposition, from the very fact of its likelihood to produce this result. Such opposition however, I am persuaded, will yield to better reflection. If it be demonstrated that no private right is to be violated—that no slave is to be liberated except by the free consent of his owner, and that consent too, as we suppose, founded upon a full and just apprehension of his own interest, would not a continued opposition exhibit a strange example of human perversity? If we interpose barriers to the exercise of the will of the master to liberate his slave, do we not commit the very violence upon his rights, which we slander the promoters of colonization with endeavouring to practice upon ourselves? It surely is so, unless this singular paralogism can be maintained, that there is only a right to possess and enjoy this species of property, and no right to abandon it."

REPORTS OF AGENTS.

Greenville, (Il.) April 29, 1833.

DEAR SIR—Not having received an answer as yet, to my last letter, and fearing that it has never reached you, and being very anxious to hear from you, I would venture to address you again. In my last, I stated my reasons why I had not engaged in the business of the American Colonization Society sooner; but lest it may have been lost by the way, permit me to say in this, that it was in consequence of the Indian war last spring, together with the bad seasons, which so much frustrated the public mind, as to render it impracticable to say any thing on the subject.

But I commenced about the 1st of February last past, and have formed the following Societies, viz: Greenville, Bond county Colonization Society; thence I went to Carlisle in Clinton county, and found that Mr. Edwards had once addressed people on subject, and had procured a number of subscribers; b

professional duties, he had left the constitution in the hands of the subscribers with a request that they would organize and report to him as soon as they could make it convenient; but I found that they had neglected to do it, and there was no Society in the place: I made an effort, and succeeded very well.—In Lebanon, St. Clair county, a similar effort had been made, but failed in like manner.—There I also formed a very respectable Society. I also succeeded in Belville in forming a good Society, of which the Governor of the State is the President. I also formed a Society in Waterloo, in Monroe Co.; also in Salem, in Marion county; also in Hillsboro', in Montgomery county—a small Society of but 22 members, and \$27 subscribed.

I visited Macaupin, Montgomery county, and commenced a Society; but as the place is small and several of the most efficient men were absent, it was thought best to leave it with the Rev. — Otwell to call them together at a proper time for the purpose of organizing, which was done. In Alton, in Madison county, I pursued a similar course; and there for the first time took up a collection amounting to \$1 87. I would have solicited donations and lifted collections had it not been that the times were so very hard and money so scarce, and believing that I should ultimately obtain more money as well as more friends to the Society by obtaining subscribers, and requesting the people to pay the money to the Treasurer of the several Auxiliary Societies, between the time then present, and the 4th of July next. But as times are a little more promising, I shall from henceforth solicit donations and make collections as well as form Societies. I also made an effort in new Nashville, Washington county; the place is small, and it happened to be an unfavorable time: I left the business with the Rev. — Fisher, who promised me that he would do all that he could, and write to me on the subject. The whole amount subscribed at present and to be paid by the 4th of July, is about \$300. I hope that the most of them will be prompt to pay; but time is the best fortune-teller. One thing, however, I think I may say from what I have seen and heard since the commencement of my feeble labours, and that is, that should the seasons again become fruitful and money plenty in this country, as it formerly was, this State will contribute as much to this glorious cause, as any other State in the Union, that is no more wealthy. * * * * * Nearly all the Preachers of the Gospel, with whom I have become acquainted, have promised me to take up collections for the Society, on or about the 4th of July.

I think I shall be able to raise considerable money this season, and shall get the business in such a way, as to afford annually, considerable. And if public opinion may be excited to procure the passage of such laws as will aid on with the work, I think we need not fear, for the Society is growing in numbers here very fast indeed. It is aided by the Legislature. I shall add a new member to the cause.

bless the Colony so as to afford encouragement to the free people of colour to emigrate. I have found one family, if not two, who will apply for a passage to Liberia next spring. I wish that you would drop me a line on the subject, informing me how to proceed, if this should be the case.

JAMES LATTA, Agent.

R. R. GURLEY, Sec'y. A. C. Society.

From the (Frankfort) Commonwealth.

SECOND WESTERN EXPEDITION TO LIBERIA.—Having, at the solicitation of the Managers of the Kentucky Colonization Society, conducted the emigrants from this State, who formed a part of the last expedition to Liberia, to New Orleans, and assisted the Agent of the Parent Society in making arrangements for their transportation, I offer you the following for the information of those of your readers who may feel interested in the great work we have commenced.

The emigrants from this State departed for New Orleans about the 22d of March last, and were, by the kindness and liberality of Capt. SHRODES of the Steamboat Mediterranean, provided with a gratuitous passage. The number amounted to 102—of which, 32 were liberated by Rev. Richard Bibb, of Logan county; 12 by Mr. William O. Dudley, and 6 by Cyrus Walker, Esq. of Adair county; 7 by Mrs. Mary O. Wickliffe, of Lexington; 5 by Rev. J. D. Paxton, 4 by A. Minor and D. Caldwell, 3 by Mrs. Powell, and 2 by Rev. John C. Young, of Mercer county; 4 by the heirs of Dr. A. Todd, deceased, and 3 by Jonathan Becraft, of Burbon county; 6 by Benjamin Johnson, Esq. of Hillsboro', Ohio; 2 by Rev. Dr. Blackburn, of Versailles; 3 by James Hood, of Fleming county; 1 by A. J. Alexander, of Franklin county; 1 by John Hobson, of Warren county; 1 by Dr. B. Roberts, of Logan county; and one by Cyrus Edwards, of Illinois, and the remainder were free persons. These were joined at New Orleans by 44 from Tennessee, 1 from St. Louis, 1 from Ohio, and one or two from New Orleans, making the whole number about 150. Of these, only 6 were above the age of fifty years, and only 5 between the ages of forty and fifty. They were pronounced by the most competent judges, to be superior to any collection of colored people which they had ever seen. They were all in good health, and were not only well satisfied, but delighted with the idea of going to a country where they could be truly free. They were accompanied by Mr. A. H. SAVAGE, of Ohio, a young gentleman who expects to spend his life in the interior of Africa. Mr. H. D. KING, an Agent from Tennessee, also went out as a passenger, to examine the country and return in a short time.

The Brig *Ajax*, commanded by Capt. Wm. H. TAYLOR, (the gentleman who commanded the vessel which carried the last emigrants from New Orleans,) was chartered to transport them to Liberia, and all the necessary arrangements having been made, they departed from the port of New Orleans on the evening of the 20th of April. Every accommodation was afforded, and we parted with them, with the desire that He who is "God of all the

ends of the earth and the confidence of them who are far off upon the sea," would watch over them during their perils on the deep, and bring them safely to a land which they may call their own. The whole expense of the expedition amounted to about \$5,000; of which \$2,300 were paid by the Ky. Col. Society.

Thus has departed the second expedition from the Valley of the Mississippi, to Africa. It would be unnecessary here to enlarge on the probable results. If our friends will only afford us the requisite pecuniary aid, the work may be carried on with great success among us. From information I have received, I have no doubt but that with proper exertion, one hundred and fifty of the first order of emigrants might be despatched from this State during the next fall. The only difficulty is the want of funds; the sum requisite for provision, transportation, &c. is \$35 a head. Shall we continue our exertions in this great work of interest, as well as benevolence, or shall we slacken our exertions, solely because the friends of our country and Africa will not afford the necessary aid to carry them on? It gives me pleasure to state, that the Board of Managers have determined to fit out another expedition in the fall, and have directed their agents to make the necessary preparations. We hope our friends will bear it in mind, and act with the same liberality for which they have heretofore been distinguished.

T. A. MILLS, Cor. Sec. Ky. Col. Society.

Frankfort, May 4, 1833.

LETTERS FROM COLONISTS.

From the (Richmond, Va.) Religious Herald, May 3.

We have been favored with the following letter, written by a young colored man, who was liberated about four years ago, and sent from Fredericksburg to Liberia, where he is now employed as a printer; the man alluded to as having just arrived was manumitted by the same person. The letter is given with scarcely an alteration or correction.

MONROVIA, LIBERIA, Feb. 11, 1833.

DEAR SIR,—I received your letter of the 20th inst. by the arrival of the ship *Lafayette*, with an hundred and fifty-four emigrants.—Among the emigrants, was Mr. —, in whose care came your letter, and an arithmetic called Colburn's Sequel, a book that is of great service to me, and I am very much obliged to you for it. You also recommend to my care Mr. —, a young man sent out by your mother. He is now comfortably situated at Caldwell, one of our middle settlements. He is working for 75 cents a day: he was down here on yesterday, he intends working by the day until he can purchase some farmer's tools to commence farming for himself.

We express great joy and thankfulness to your Mother and her offspring for permitting of his liberation, and greater thanks to that God, who overrules the heavens and the earth; and holds in his hand the hearts of the sons and daughters of men, and directs their course

whithersoever he pleases, even in bringing them across the waters of the great deep.— Truly his mind is in obscure darkness, but he seems to see the light of prospect from afar, and is cheered.

Affairs of the Colony appear quite smooth at present. The war horn is not heard here. The natives are more friendly with us. Our recaptured Africans seem somewhat presumptuous at times. I thank you for the papers, and the book which my worthy friend Mrs. —* sent me, called the Pilgrim's Progress. All these were received, and are much valued by me. I hope many months will not elapse, before I shall receive more presents of the same kind from you all.— Though I have nothing to send you in return but good will, and that I am trying to live a christian's life in this dark and benighted land.

On the 16th of January the bark Hercules arrived in our port, with an hundred and seventy emigrants, from Charleston, South Carolina. They are pretty well. And on the 20th the ship Lafayette arrived with an hundred and fifty-four emigrants, from Baltimore, Maryland, all I believe in good health. We have been favoured with the above-mentioned numbers to come over on this side the great waters to join this federal head so to speak. We are looking every hour for the arrival of the ship Jupiter. We hope many months will not pass away before we shall see our harbour glittering with ropes that have been the bearers of the people destined to return to the land of their forefathers.

Let me say something of the above-named — whom your mother sent over; when he first approached my presence, I had no knowledge of him; but the name he bore, after a little discourse, caused me to recognize him. He is now comfortably situated at Caldwell, the middle settlement, where he can make a crop. When he first arrived he acted like a young horse just out of the stable—he tested freedom. I gave him the best instruction I could.

There is, as you will see inserted in the 10th No. of the Liberia Herald, three extensive buildings lately erected solely for the accommodation of new-comers. Ho! all ye that are by the pale faces' laws oppressed, come over to the above-mentioned destiny.

The Charleston people, (the most of them) are very intelligent. The major part of them are living in Monrovia keeping shops.

You are desirous to know the exact number of the Colonists, I will give it as near as I can, (counting the two last arrivals) 2829 in all.

Good news from Canada, while I was penning the foregoing lines, my ears were assailed with shouts of praise and hallelujahs to God and the Lamb forever; it is about ten o'clock in the night. They proceeded from a young man who has been for some time under conviction of sin. He lives near — suddenly he experienced the love of God shed abroad in his heart. The raculous scene took place in my own room on the Sabbath day, 29th of January, the wonders of redeeming grace.

subject I could pen nothing but what you are acquainted with.

Remember, I beseech thee, that I wish to become one of the blowers of the Gospel trumpet. That I cannot be, without such books as are adapted to prepare me.

Since my exit from death unto life there has been a new church erected, called the Second Baptist Church, of Monrovia; the pastor of which is the Rev. Colin Teage. Our new church moves slowly, for want of funds to defray the expense. I trust we will not always be in this barren state. I would offer a petition but am doubtful whether or not it would be received or noticed. Nothing do I hear of the coloured inhabitants of the town of Fredericksburg migrating to Liberia. The laws of Virginia surely must be more favorable to the man of color than the laws of South Carolina; surely they do not shrink back for the fabrications of its enemies; will they still lay down in Turkish apathy? Africa is a land of freedom; where else can the man of color enjoy temporal freedom but in Africa? They may flee to Hayti or to Canada, but it will not do; they must fulfil the sayings of Thomas Jefferson, "Let an ocean divide the white man from the man of color." Seeking refuge in other parts of the world has been tried, it is useless. We own that this is the land of our forefathers, destined to be the home of their descendants.

You are not aware perhaps that there has recently been a new settlement established at Grand Bassa, under the superintendence of Mr. Wm. Weaver; it is a place that many will resort to. The settlement at Grand Bassa is located in a very good place, and the inhabitants comfortably situated. Our infant commerce is stretching out her hands, and inviting the weary wanderers of the Ocean to call. If your readers will peruse the Liberia Herald they will see for themselves the number of vessels that arrive and depart in the course of a month.

I have given you my brightest ideas on things at present that I am capable of doing; pardon my errors and overlook my inferior discoveries. Remember my best respects to the family and particularly my friend Mrs. —.

I remain your friend,

J. C. M.

From the Charleston (S. C.) Observer.

The following letter from one of the female emigrants from this city, to her patronesses in Monrovia, has been sent to us for publication.

MONROVIA, (AFRICA), Jan. 29, 1833.
HONORABLE & DEAR LADIES:—I arrived here on the 16th of January, in the ship from Savannah. I was out any accident or sickness on my way. We had our Sabbath school, during the passage, regularly at usual times. I attended a weekly school, and was very busy on the passage.

I was on the Sabbath, in the morning, at the Hobby, a very amiable man, from Georgia, who was with me on the passage.

* His former Mistress.

winds, and pleasant weather, most of the way—in this, the love of God was manifest towards us.

There are three churches here, one Methodist and two Baptist.—The Presbyterian church is not finished. The Agent, Mr. Mechlin, has granted us the use of the Court-House until ours is finished: we expect to worship there next Sabbath 10th inst.

I can say very little about Liberia at present. They have an Infant School here, under a competent teacher, a Mrs. Johnston, sent out here under the patronage of an Association of Ladies in America. I have visited her school, and presented the children some of the books you sent us on board the Hercules; for which, dear ladies, permit me to return each of you my humble and sincere thanks. The Infant School System, sent me by Miss —, was of great use to me, for which I owe you a debt of gratitude which I can never repay. I feel that we have the prayers of each of you, and it will be our unceasing vigilance to merit a continuance of the same, together with the christian church in America. We have formed several meetings for prayer, every Monday afternoon, and the first Thursday of each month for females; and we are about forming a Charitable Society, the same as that which has been formed by the male emigrants on board the H.— which they, in order to manifest their gratitude and high esteem for Capt. L. have named it the Longcope Benevolent Society; the name of ours we have not determined as yet. I am delighted, and feel comforted in the thought, though weak and unqualified as I am, God can make me useful to these perishing heathen.

The natives are naked, except a piece of cloth wrapped about their middle. Some appear indifferent about receiving instruction, and others desirous to receive instruction.—The present state of the heathen is deplorable beyond description. They spend their days in wretchedness and misery, without the comfort of the Gospel,—they are setting in the region and shadow of death. O! my dear Miss —, when will this vast continent be brought to a knowledge of the truth as it is in Jesus, and Africa be a land of virtue and religion as it is of freedom? O, may you never forget us; and if you are not permitted to visit this distant clime, and declare the efficacy of a Saviour's blood, yet you can pray for us; and by your exertions can awaken others to do the same; and in the day of account, may those who heard from your lips the way of life, rise up and call you blessed. Write soon and pray for me. L— J—.

The Vermont Chronicle announces the publication of a pamphlet entitled

'Remarks on AFRICAN COLONIZATION and the ABOLITION OF SLAVERY: In two parts. By a citizen of New England. Windsor, Vermont;—published by Richard's & Tracy: pp.

' says the Chronicle. *'*

tions of Mr. Garrison and his coadjutors.—Part 1st is a brief account of the origin, progress and ends of the Colonization Society;—Part 2d, of the origin, progress and aims of the Abolitionists. The publication is timely, and this, or something like it, should be at hand, wherever the 'Thoughts' and other publications of Abolitionists are found. The reports and documents of the Colonization Society have become very voluminous, and it is difficult to find a connected series of them in one place. Of course it is a labor to collect from them a refutation of the falsehoods propagated against the Society; while, on the other hand, it is easy for any opposer of the Society to collect from Mr. Garrison's documents, the whole array of objections and slanders so industriously circulated by the Abolitionists. The pamphlet is ably put together, the authorities and illustrations are from authentic documents, accompanied by their proper references. It is written with coolness and candor, and without railing and useless declamation. We know of no publication so well adapted to the present state of feeling on the subject, as this."

DISCUSSION ON COLONIZATION.

On Thursday evening, according to previous appointment, the discussion on the comparative merits of the principles of the Colonization Society, and of the friends of immediate abolition, as a means for the safe and salutary extinction of slavery, took place in Clinton Hall.

Rev. Mr. Frost of Whitesboro' presided.—The meeting was opened with prayer by Rev. Leonard Bacon of New Haven.

Mr. R. S. Finley, Agent of the Colonization Society, opened the discussion, in favour of its claims, and spoke precisely one hour. He was followed for the same length of time by Rev. S. S. Jocelyn of New Haven in favour of the principles of immediate abolition.

Finley then occupied ten minutes, Jocelyn ten, and Mr. Finley ten, when the debate terminated. The Hall was thronged to overflowing. Among the audience we noticed distinguished gentlemen, from various parts of the country, including one or two clergymen from the South.—*Gen. of Temp.*

From the Foreign Missionary Chronicle.

AFRICAN MISSION.

The friends of this mission will be happy to learn that there is a prospect that Mr. Finney will, at no distant period, be joined by one or two missionary brethren.

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Contributions,
ation Society,
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THE AFRICAN REPOSITORY,

AND
COLONIAL JOURNAL.

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JULY, 1833.

[No. 5.

REVIEW.

Narrative of the Ashantee War; with a view of the present state of the Colony of Sierra Leone. By Major RICKETTS, late of the Royal African Colonial Corps. 8vo. pp. 221: London; W. Simpkin and R. Marshall. 1833.

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 140.)

THE new governor sailed for Sierra Leone about the 12th of May, 1822, (leaving particular instructions for cultivating the friendship of the natives, and for observing the existing treaties, &c.,) and returned to the Gold Coast in the early part of December 1822. In the month of November of that year, he learnt to his great chagrin, that the chief of the Ashantees had, by his agents, kidnapped a mulatto man, (a Serjeant in the "Royal African Colonial Corps,") carried him to the distance of fifteen miles from his residence, and detained him in irons in the place of his captivity. From the period of Sir Charles Mac Carthy's return to the Gold Coast, until February 1823, reports were constantly circulated by persons in the service of the King of Ashantee, (whose name we now learn, is OSAI TOOTOO QUAMINA,) that this prince disapproved of the proceedings of his agents, and had ordered the restoration of the Serjeant. "On the 2d of February, it was ascertained that a son of the late King had been sent down by Osaï from Coomassie, with one of his executioners, to put the Serjeant to death, and to send the jaw-bone, skull, and one of the arms of the victim to him. This murder was committed on the 1st of February." *The governor considering it to be his duty to punish the perpetrators of this crime, and avoiding any measure which might involve the innocent with the guilty, proceeded to Annamaboe. We subjoin Major Ricketts' account of the governor's mode of travelling on this occasion, and of that usual with Europeans, under given circumstances:

* Of this outrage, the following account is given in the Annual Register for 1824:

"The storm was first announced by an act of violence against a private individual. A British Serjeant was seized in the great square at Annamaboe, and carried off to prison, on pretext of his having used disrespectful expressions to the King. Captain Laing, a meritorious officer under Sir Charles, offered to undertake an embassy either to Coomassie, or to Donquah, the place of the Serjeant's confinement; but Sir Charles overrating the danger of such a step, declined these offers. During six weeks, nothing was done to save the prisoner, and at the end of that period he was beheaded at Donquah. This was evidently intended as an open declaration of war. The King summoned all his vassal States to his standards, and on the 1st of January 1824, he sent very fishes of the sea: and he sent the great war drum of Ashantee."

"He went by a new road which had been formed by subscription during his absence through the country. He and his suite were conveyed in carriages drawn by natives, six to a carriage, which accounted for the swiftness: the carriages were drawn by these men at the rate of twelve miles an hour, which, considering the uniformity of the road, was astonishing. They were more so, as they were not at all fatigued on their arrival at Annamaboe. — Neither asses, donkeys, nor mules, thrive on the Gold Coast. These animals have frequently been brought there from other parts of the Coast, but always died in a short time after being landed. At Accra, where the ships of the squadron are chiefly supplied with live stock, consisting of a small breed of cows and bullocks, with sheep and turkeys, obtained near the river Volta, they answer much better than at any other of the European possessions of the Gold Coast; and horses have been known to live there for several years. The manner in which the Europeans travel in the vicinity of the forts where the road will allow of it, and they possess the means, is that which has been just described, and where the paths are narrow, they are carried in what is called a hammock, which is a piece of board about two feet in length, and half as broad, having two holes at each end fastened to a bamboo pole, very tight but strong, leaving sufficient room between, to enable the traveller who sits sideways on the board, with his feet resting on a smaller board below, dependant from the other, leaning his chest against the pole, and resting his arms on it, which is carried alternately on the shoulders and heads of two men. The native chiefs travel in this manner, and also in baskets made like a child's cradle, in which they can recline at full length, or sit up; the basket is also carried on the heads of men." p. 15—17.

The governor met with an enthusiastic reception from the natives, and on his return to Cape Coast Castle was greeted with an equal manifestation of cordiality.

We are now introduced by our abrupt historian to one King Adookoo, who, we are informed, had, together with "the principal chiefs of the Fantees, &c." "returned from Donquah to their homes." Then comes what was possibly intended to be understood as the commencement of the Ashantee war. Shortly after February 21st, 1823, an expedition was formed, and marched against the Ashantees, which, from various untoward circumstances, failed; and on the 14th of April, Sir Charles Mac Carthy sailed for Accra, — arrived there on the 16th, and on the 8th of May, arrived again at Cape Coast. It appeared that the King of Ashantee had threatened to drive the English into the sea. On the 30th of May, a party of Ashantees having shot at a mulatto man coming out of the fort at Danish Accra, and at four other inhabitants who were unarmed, — a skirmish ensued, in which fourteen Ashantees were killed. Shortly after, the Ashantees attempting to escape from the places whither they had retreated for safety, were attacked; forty of them were killed; and a considerable booty fell into the hands of the Accras. On the 17th of May, Sir Charles Mac Carthy sailed for the Gambia, to inspect the settlement of Bathurst, which had been established by him six years before, on the island of St. Mary's, and July 11th, landed at Sierra Leone. Here he learnt that several of the native chiefs, both inland and near to the Colony, were at war; that trade was consequently stopped; and that Amorah, King of the Mandingo country, at the head of a large force, and assisted by the Soolimas, threatened to attack Dallah Mahamadoo, a chief residing on the Bulum shore, seven miles across from Freetown. Sir Charles personally and successfully interposed with this chief to prevent hostilities, and sent our author and another officer to make the same attempt with Amorah.

"Amorah was in camp near Fanghia, but he returned to Fouricaria to receive them. He promised to follow the advice of the governor; and on the return of the mission to Sierra Leone several gold and other merchants came at the same time in canoes from that country. — The following anecdote is worthy of being inserted: on the mission taking their leave of Amorah, he, after disclaiming in a violent manner any animosity against Sierra Leone, which he had been accused of by his foes, said in broken English, "Dallah Moody had man too much, he no King, he give me bad names, he call himself Englishman, and he say me Spaniard, me Portuguese. Mac Carthy me governor like him, me Englishman."

"Amorah is a very clever man: he writes Arabic well. The town of Fouricaria is extensive, and the houses neatly built. They appear like so many cottages at a good distance from each other. There were several Arabic schools in the town. The banks of the river are beautiful, and a good road was met on the river as far as King Amorah's town. Horatio, the mission, cc. The coffee

The governor received information that 3000 Ashantees had shown themselves in the Fantee country on the 4th of June, and that Major Chisholm, who was in command there, had on the 11th, sent Captain Laing with a large force of regulars, militia and allies to meet them. The report of the advance of this force under Captain Laing induced the Ashantees to re-cross the Bosempra and return to Coomassie; and Captain Laing having formed a junction with Appea, (whom we afterwards, p. 36, learn to be King of Adjumacon,) made preparations for attacking Quashie Ahmonquah, a Fantee chief, who had taken part with the Ashantees. Quashie, however, fled to the banks of the Pra, and Essecoomah, his capital, was destroyed by order of Captain Laing. This officer was afterwards directed by Major Chisholm to march against a body of the enemy, who, it was reported, had entered the Fantee country with orders from their King to force their way to the Dutch settlement of Elmina. On the 13th of August, Quashie Ahmonquah was attacked by Appea, who in this affair, took eighty prisoners. On the 19th, Captain Laing marched to his assistance against the Ashantees who were advancing in large force against him, with a detachment of the 2d West India regiment, in company with the Annamaboe militia, and a party of the allies. On the next day, he proceeded to Essecoomah, from which place Appea's advanced guard had been driven back that morning with the loss of one Captain, and six men killed. The enemy abandoned the place in disorder and without any resistance; having previously massacred their prisoners. They were pursued next day by the allied forces, who came unobserved on their camp. They immediately deserted it, but were enabled to make good their retreat. Captain Blencarne, of the Royal African Corps, was ordered by Major Chisholm from Accra with a reenforcement to assist Captain Laing's division if required; and 1600 men were ready immediately after the order was known. Another camp had been formed by order of Major Chisholm at D' Jouquah, distant inland from Cape Coast about eighteen miles to the north-west, with a force to prevent the Ashantees from getting to Elmina and being supplied with ammunition from thence.

On the 28th of November, Sir Charles Mac Carthy arrived at Cape Coast after a long passage of thirty-one days, owing to calms. Major Ricketts gives the following account of his reception:—

"On his landing, every countenance, black as well as white, expressed that joy which can only be compared to that produced in a family on the return of an affectionate parent. Soon after his excellency's arrival, he visited the camp of D'Jouquah, then commanded by Lieutenant Mac Lean, of the royal African colonial corps; and on his return proceeded, on the 15th of December, to Annamaboe. On landing, the crowd of chiefs, pynins, (a kind of magistrate among the natives,) men, women, and children, was innumerable; the air resounded with cries of "*Accoa ba E'woora O!*" meaning, how do you do master. His excellency, after a short visit to the fort, inspected the militia. The parade here was also crowded by an immense population. After the inspection, the native chiefs with their martial bands, armed followers, dignitaries, and favourite wives, passed in succession before him, being seated under a neat bamboo hut erected on the ground for the occasion, surrounded by his suite, and the officers and gentlemen of Annamaboe. The several chiefs shook hands most cordially with the governor, expressing in the strongest and most animated terms by words, countenance, and gesture, their satisfaction at his return among them. As soon as they had resumed their seats around the parade, their several officers marshalled their men, who went through the evolutions and firings of a sham fight; chief after chief sent his men, and various chiefs of towns situated at a small distance from Annamaboe, joined the meeting, their men taking a share in all the sports; the firings, &c. lasted for several hours; the reports of the muskets, the noise of the war-drums and other instruments, the cries of the warriors, and the rejoicings of the women, produced such a singular effect, that it is impossible by words to depict an adequate idea of the scene." p. 34—36.

A messenger from Appea, King of Adjumacon, having announced the intention of that personage to visit the governor, Sir Charles was induced to defer for another day his visit to the camp at Yancoom, in the Fantee country, which had been formed in the neighbourhood of D' Jouquah, by the directions of Major Chisholm. On the 1st of December, Sir Charles, and of

"On the morning fixed for the grand entry of Appea into Annamaboe, the whole line of the beach between that place and Agah, (one mile in length,) was crowded with the carriers of his army. As the day advanced, the line of dependants was succeeded by the armed men of this chief; innumerable umbrellas of various colours could be distinguished, and their glittering swords, with gold hilts, had a very imposing appearance. About eleven o'clock, notice being given of Appea's near approach, his excellency left the fort, and took his seat in the bamboo hut before mentioned, every thing indicating the rapturous ecstasy of the multitude; as Appea advanced, a dead stillness prevailed, which was only broken by the sudden sounds of horns and drums. The procession, which entered the area in good order, had been arranged with great taste, and the effect certainly exceeded expectation. Eight large canopies attracted curiosity from their ingenious construction of cloth of various colours, some of them diversified with figures; also some large umbrellas, carried over the several captains, riding in their palanquins, or litters of various descriptions, each captain or commander being surrounded by his own clan. At length Appea, of whom all had felt anxious to obtain a sight, appeared; he was carried by his own domestics, who, by every expression and attention, showed their care of their master; he reclined on a satin cushion, with a handsome cloth of native manufacture, to cover his body if required; his oceras, or confidential pages, preceded his palanquin, carrying elephants tails, emblematic of his power, and ten gold hilted swords; his first wife and sister were close in succession, followed by his bards, who sang his victories and great titles; his band followed playing their familiar airs, by which the deeds of their great men are recorded in the minds of the people. His drums which played their part in the rehearsal of his power, were covered with tartan plaid, to hide the skulls and jawbones of his conquered enemies, with which they were decorated according to the custom of the native chiefs on this part of the coast; he being fearful, from the character he had heard of his excellency, that they might give offence. As each of the chieftains of Appea drew near the bamboo hut, the captains alighted from their palanquins, and after making a low obeisance to his excellency and uncovering both shoulders according to the custom of the country, they shook hands and endeavoured to evince every demonstration of respect and affection; each paraded to the spot allotted to him and his retinue: the same form was followed by Appea. The whole of the chieftains surrounded by their countrymen and adherents having taken their proper stations according to the custom of their country, the same compliment was observed by the caboceers of Annamaboe.

"On the morning of the 20th of December, his excellency, without any of those who were to accompany him, and without palanquin bearers, or any one but a native guide, proceeded to Yancoomassie camp on foot, distant about twenty-seven miles in the interior of Annamaboe, and was seven miles off when his suite joined him. At the different villages through which Sir Charles passed to the camp, he was received by the women and children, who were the only persons left in them, with every demonstration of joy and respect, the men having all joined the camp. They sang songs in his praise, at the same time clapping their hands; some of the women offering him, and those who followed, palm wine and fruit, whilst others swept the street as he passed through their respective villages. They had never seen him before, but such fame had his goodness gained him, that he was looked upon as a supernatural being, which indeed his commanding stature did not tend to diminish.

"On his excellency's arrival at the camp, the native chiefs, ever ready to avail themselves of an opportunity to manifest their zeal, went through their evolutions. His excellency was pleased with their attentions and expressed his wish to dispense with their firing; but Adookoo, King of Fantee, sent a polite message to him, saying he must do his duty whatever might happen, even if some one should be killed. The whole of the native chiefs who joined in the war against the Ashantees were not satisfied until they had evinced their sincerity by swearing allegiance in their fashion, as follows: the person about to swear took a sword in his right hand, and with great animation whilst expressing his determination, called heaven to witness that he would be faithful to the cause, continually pointing the sword upwards at the governor's head, and flourishing it round his own, so near at times, that his excellency's eyes were frequently in imminent danger. They would also swear on the bible, (white man's fetish as they termed it,) but before any of them would consent to join in the war against the Ashantees, Sir Charles was obliged to assure them, that he would never make peace with that tribe without acquainting them with his intentions, and that their interest should ever be considered. The reason which they gave for making this stipulation was, that when, after a protracted defence, the Ashantee army conquered the Assin country north of the river Bosomepra in 1807, the resistance made by these people so exasperated the King of Ashantee, that he ordered every one who fell into his hands to be put to death. Those who could effect their escape sought safety by flight to Fantee. These unfortunate people, driven to despair, arrived at Cape Coast expecting to find protection, but on the contrary, the governor, Colonel Torrane, seized Cheboo their King, an old, infirm and blind man, and delivered him over to the Ashantees, after they had arrived at Annamaboe, where he was put to death, with the most excruciating torture. Those of his people who had remained at Cape Coast with a hope that the life of their King would satisfy their enemies, were grievously deceived, for they were driven out by force, and harassed by every means that could be devised. Those who were taken prisoners and brought in, lingered out a painful existence in the dungeons of the castle, many of them died, and the few that remained were brought to the hammer and sold as slaves to the best bidder. At Annamaboe, the treatment of the natives was equally dreadful; even those who had found protection in the

fort were claimed by Colonel Torrane, on the pretence that the King of Ashantee had made a present of them to him; and many of them were actually sold, and put on board of slave vessels, others were transported to Cape Coast, where such scenes of human misery and suffering presented themselves as are too shocking for recital." p. 36—42.

It may be wished that Major Ricketts had added some farther explanation of the disgraceful transaction, to relate which his history takes this retrograde and confused movement. His account of it, the reader will observe, is substantially the same as that noticed in a former part of this article.

On Sir Charles's return from Yancoomassie, he called at Donquah, where were shown to him the house in which the Serjeant, before mentioned, was imprisoned, and the large tree under which that unfortunate person was murdered. According to our author, this town is very pretty; the main street is about 60 feet wide, with a row of trees in the centre, affording a beautiful shady canopy. On the 25th of December, the governor inspected his regiment, the Royal African Colonial Corps; and after an appropriate harangue to the European and native African soldiers, presented to the regiment a pair of colours. Hearing that the Ashantees were making various menacing movements, he changed his original intention of going to Accra; directed Captain Blencarne to move forwards towards them with his division; directed Captain Laing to advance with the Fantee troops to the Assin country; and proceeded himself to D'Jouquah camp, taking with him nearly all the troops. A small detachment of the 2d West India Regiment, and the militia, had previously marched to that place.

"It would be difficult," says Major Ricketts, "to describe the feelings of the native population on the departure of these troops to wage war against the tyrant who had so long been the scourge of a considerable portion of western Africa. On his excellency's reaching the camp, the troops, including the native allies, were drawn up ready to receive him, and the natives greeted him in a manner far beyond any thing that can be conceived. He expressed great admiration and satisfaction at the appearance of so many fine men ready to avenge the murder of a British Serjeant, who had shown the Ashantees a specimen of the British character in denying to his last moment that their King was his master." p. 44, 45.

After diligent preparations on the part of Sir Charles MacCarthy, and the collection of a force amounting to nearly 2000 men, it was determined on the 4th of January, 1824, to make a movement to Ampensasue, the head quarters of Annimelle, the King of Warsaw, on the left bank of the river Bosempira; and Major Chisholm was ordered to join the army. In consequence of information received of the enemy's proceedings, Sir Charles determined to go farther into the country, to encourage the natives by his own presence and example, to defend their families and property. On the 9th, he went from D'Jouquah on foot for Bansoo, a village 17 miles distant, leaving about 500 men, of various descriptions, to follow him. On the 10th, with the whole of the troops and natives, he moved on for Heman, a village on the banks of the Bosempira, leaving Brigade-Major Ricketts (the author,) with the rear guard to see every thing forwarded. On the 12th of January, Sir Charles, after a difficult march over precipitous and swampy ground, arrived at Deraboassie, another village 17 miles lower down, on the banks of the Bosempira. On the 13th, the troops commenced crossing the Bosempira in eight small canoes, which carried but two men at a time, besides the person who paddled; and as soon as the native company of the Royal African Colonial Corps had crossed the river, Sir Charles, who was one of the first that passed over, proceeded with them for Assamacow, in the Warsaw country, distant about 20 miles from the river. The march was attended with great difficulty. On the 14th, the whole body of troops arrived at Assamacow, where they waited five days for the native force to come up. "During this period" says our author,

"An Ashantee girl and a lad arrived & had beer
Ashantee, and sent to Sir Charles."

ce :

to them respecting the King, that when they left Coomassie, young virgins had been sacrificed on certain days in the week to the fetish for the recovery of his health. The town of Assamacow is delightfully situated, and the houses have nearly the appearance of those in an English village of the better class. They are neatly built in superior style, and that in which Sir Charles Mac Carthy was quartered, was ascended by a flight of twenty steps. The rooms are floored, and the windows have green jealousies; there was also a bedstead with curtains in his sleeping room. The houses are built of the same materials as those at Cape Coast, viz. swish and thatched roof." p. 49, 50.

Learning that the Warsaws and Dinkeras were retreating before the Ashantees, and were in want of provisions, Sir Charles, on the arrival of the native force, despatched Mr. Williams, colonial secretary and adjutant general of militia, to assure those people of his intention to join them in a few days, and that he expected the main body of the army to form a junction with him. On the 19th, in consequence of information received from Mr. Williams, Sir Charles despatched Major Ricketts with the regulars and militia, to join Mr. W., designing himself to follow with the native forces. "The cries" says our author "of the immense number of women and children, who had met together on the march, was [were] most distressing; and there were some poor old men among them who tottered along on crutches." p. 52.

On the 20th, after a difficult march, (the mud in some places reaching the troops above the middle of their bodies,) our author reached the river, twenty miles from Assamacow. Shortly after he joined Mr. Williams with the troops, he was informed that none of the natives would clear the jungle for the camp. After some decided indications of a disposition on the part of the Warsaws to retreat, a strong guard of militia was posted to prevent them until Sir Charles Mac Carthy should arrive. An alarm was given that the Ashantees were advancing, and every one took his station, where the troops remained for about five hours exposed to a tremendous storm of rain. It having now become dark, and it being a strict rule with the Ashantees never to fight at night; the troops were called in, sentries being left where they were thought to be necessary. A messenger, who had been despatched to apprise Sir Charles of the alarm, returned with an answer expressing that general's disbelief that the Ashantees were so near, and ascribing the rumor to a design on the part of the natives to induce him to retreat. On the next morning, January 21, 1823, the governor came up with about 200 men from Appea, chief of Adjumacon, whom he had sent as a body guard to Sir Charles, and forty natives of Cape Coast; the Commendas, amounting to several hundred, having halted on the way. He was also accompanied by Quashie Yacow, chief of Assamacow, an infirm old man, who was carried in a basket. Sir Charles did this to induce Quashie Yacow's people to follow him, they having shown no inclination to move forward. While he was in conference with the chiefs of the Warsaws and Dinkeras,

"The alarm was given, and every person repaired to his station, Sir Charles still doubting that the Ashantees could have advanced so near. His body guard of their own accord took up their position on the extreme left; Sir Charles missing them, sent repeatedly to desire they would come to him, but they positively refused, stating that they understood bush fighting and had got a position which they liked.

"About two o'clock the enemy, who were said to be considerably more than ten thousand men, instead of being divided, as it was reported, were collected together, armed with muskets, and having a large description of knives stuck in their girdles, they were heard advancing through the woods with horns blowing and drums beating, and when they came within half-a-mile of our party they halted, when Sir Charles ordered the band of the royal African corps which had accompanied him, to play "God save the King," and the bugles to sound, he having heard through some channel in which he placed confidence, that the greater part of the Ashantees only wanted an opportunity to come over to him. The Ashantees played in return, which was alternately repeated several times, and then a dead silence ensued, interrupted only by the fire of our men at the enemy, who had by this time lined the opposite bank of the river, which was here about sixty feet wide. Having marched up in different divisions of Indian file through the woods with their horns sounding the recall of their different chiefs, a black man who been at Co. very Ashantee chief with the army by the side of the river, had nearly

"The action now commenced

ted all nearly

dark. It was reported about four o'clock that our troops had expended all their ammunition, consisting of twenty rounds of ball cartridges, besides leaden slugs which were contained in small bags suspended by a sling round the men's necks, and loose powder contained in small kegs, carried also by the men themselves. Application was made to Mr. Brandon, who arrived in the middle of the action, for a fresh supply of ammunition, he having received his excellency's orders to have forty rounds of ball cartridges packed in kegs for each man ready to be issued. This was done to lighten the men, who had to carry respectively their own provisions for many days, as well as to preserve the ammunition from being damaged by the swamps and rain; but Mr. Brandon said that it had not yet arrived, and that he had only a barrel of powder and one of ball with him, which were immediately issued. He had left Assamacow with about forty natives carrying ammunition, and was in advance of them when the engagement commenced.

"The carriers who were natives of that and the adjoining countries, and who had been obtained at Assamacow more by persuasion than by any other means, seeing the Warsaws, their countrymen, making the best of their way from the battle, followed their example, nearly the whole of the guard it is supposed shared the same fate as most of their brethren the militia and soldiers: a corporal of the militia and one or two others, composing part of the escort, arrived at the place of action shortly before its conclusion, and reported that the carriers had refused to advance any further with the ammunition, and that most of them had run away. On this circumstance being reported to Sir Charles, he desired to see Mr. Brandon, with whom he was exceedingly angry, and if he had not suddenly disappeared either into the woods or to look after the ammunition, it is probable that if Sir Charles had had the means at the moment, he would have put his threat into execution of suspending him to a tree.

"The enemy perceiving that our fire had slackened, attempted to cross the river, which at this time had become fordable and succeeded. They had often attempted it when the river was swollen by the rains that had fallen, on trees which had been previously felled across to answer as bridges, but they were repulsed with great slaughter. The enemy had despatched a considerable force to encompass our flanks in order to prevent our retreat, and now rushed in all directions on our gallant little force, who still defended themselves with their bayonets, until they were completely overpowered by their myriads, who instantly beheaded nearly every one of those who unfortunately fell into their remorseless hands. The Warsaws it appeared had left the field early in the action. His excellency, who had himself received several wounds, thus perceiving every thing was lost on his side, retired to where Cudjoe Cheboo, the King of Dinkera surrounded by his people, were bravely fighting." p. 55—59.

Here our author stops to give a long biographical account of Cudjoe Cheboo, King of Dinkera; an account, interesting enough in itself, but which no writer, less contemptuous of method than Major Ricketts, would have dreamt of dovetailing into a description of a battle. Having taken this excursion from the field, he thus returns to it:

"Sir Charles, in joining the King of Dinkera, wished the men to be informed of his intention to retreat, but neither bugles nor any other instruments were to be had to give the requisite signal, every man of the African corps having joined his company in the action; and it was impossible, from the thick underwood where the men were now overpowered by the enemy and dispersed, to see many yards around, and a few wounded men only were got together. A small brass field piece, which had arrived during the engagement, and flung down in haste, for it was still lashed with ropes to the poles on which it had been brought on men's shoulders, was about this time unloosed and the muzzle raised, whilst Mr. De Graft, a man of colour, linguist at Cape Coast and lieutenant in the militia, went round and obtained some powder from the King of Dinkera, with which and some loose musket balls, that had been left in a keg, it was loaded and fired in the direction of the enemy, in hopes to impede, in some measure, their advance; but they immediately afterwards rushed forward, and killed and wounded two men of the 2nd royal West India regiment, viz. the brigade-major's and Sir Charles Mac Carthy's orderlies.

"The brigade-major, who had been wounded, finding that his excellency had left the King of Dinkera, followed in the direction which he understood he had taken, and shortly after observed him in a track in advance. He recognized him by his feathers. *Soon after some musketry was fired in front, and there was a general rush back of those who were with him, after which no more was seen of him.* The brigade-major, followed by some of the wounded and Mr. De Graft, entered the thickest part of the wood, inclining towards the King of Dinkera, who still kept up a fire and retreating at the same time. A Warsaw man rushing by at this time, was fortunately seized by a militia serjeant who spoke the same language, and the man promised, if he was rewarded, that he would guide *through the woods.* A silver whistle and chain were then given to him by Mr. De Graft, on which he led the way, one of the party holding him fast. He took them first along a stream of water, then out, and along the banks for a short distance; then in again, and out on the other side, this he said was to conceal their track. The enemy at last found them, scouring the wood and *soon after they were seen.*

"It having

said that it was impossible to proceed until the moon arose; consequently they were obliged to halt for several hours. The rejoicing of the Ashantees on their success, and their attempt to sound some of the instruments of the band which they had taken, was distinctly heard, not being distant half-a-mile. About midnight the moon appeared, and the Warsaw man commenced cutting in that direction, the others following him; and when it began to descend, he halted, and said he could not proceed, until the sun arose, when he renewed his labour and continued until three o'clock in the afternoon, at which time they got into a track leading to Assamacow; and after proceeding a considerable distance, a party of the enemy was observed near to them; they therefore retraced their steps, till observing a small track to their right, which they took, the Warsaw man having decamped. This path led them into another, along which they had gone but a short way, when they met with about fifty Warsaws, who reported that there were Ashantees a little farther on. Upon being asked where they were going, they replied in search of their families, whom the enemy had taken from their villages. Captain Ricketts then requested that he and his companions in arms might be allowed to accompany them, as it appeared that they intended to proceed in the direction where the division of the army under Major Chisholm would most probably be found. This proposal having been consented to, under a promise of reward, and it being near dark, the whole filed into the woods, and got on a small island surrounded with a swamp, in the crossing of which Captain Ricketts unfortunately lost his shoes. About one o'clock there was an alarm of the enemy having discovered them, but it turned out to be only two stragglers of the Ashantees, who perceiving a light, were induced to approach, thinking they might besome of their own people. They were immediately seized, and they insisted for a long time that they were Dinkeras, but a few of that tribe happening to be with the Warsaws, they without hesitation pronounced them to be Ashantees; on which every knife was drawn, and after getting from these two unfortunate persons all the information they could give, they immediately cut their throats. They then sounded their horns, and proceeded by another direction to the river Pra. About six o'clock they fell in with a party of the enemy, and a kind of running fight ensued, and many of them were killed. The Warsaws recovered several of their wives and many of their children were found in the woods, some of the young infants in a dying state, and others with their brains dashed out, the Ashantees having obliged the women to throw away their children in order to enable them to carry their plunder. At last the whole party arrived at a deserted village on the banks of the Pra, where they were obliged to halt for the night, there being only a small broken canoe, that could scarcely swim, with which to cross the river.

"Next morning at day-light, after the women had passed over, Captain Ricketts followed, but on being landed on the opposite side, he was so much exhausted that he could not move. Not long after, two European soldiers of the African corps having made their appearance, Captain Ricketts asked them if they knew him? to which they answered in the negative; but on telling them who he was, they, after looking for some time with astonishment, recognized him, and took him up and carried him alternately on their backs to a small croom a few miles off, from whence they had come, and where they had left the remainder of the troops which had been sent in advance by Major Chisholm to prepare the natives to join him as he came along. These poor fellows did all in their power to make Captain Ricketts comfortable; and having acquainted him that Major Chisholm was on the march to join Sir Charles Mac Carthy, he expressed a wish to see him as soon as possible: the soldiers therefore constructed a kind of basket, in which they placed him, and having by force obtained a guide to show the nearest way, took him up on their heads and proceeded; but after going some distance, through jungles and trees, the branches of which were at times obliged to be cut to allow the basket on the men's heads to pass, the guide said he could not find the path: they therefore returned to the croom with him, when he despatched some of the black soldiers in another direction to meet Major Chisholm, who not long after arrived on the other side of the river, and who hearing of the captain's state, sent him clothes and provisions, following himself soon after." p. 61—67.

The sentence which we have italicised in the foregoing extract, is the only information of Sir Charles Mac Carthy's fate that is given in our author's narrative of the disastrous battle of January 21st! Major Ricketts, it is evident from many parts of his book, felt a most respectful and affectionate attachment for this unfortunate general, which appears to have been fully merited. Sir Charles Mac Carthy was moreover by far the most important individual engaged in the battle. Yet so slightly does Major R. advert to the fate of the commanding general, that but for an item in the synopsis of contents prefixed to the chapter, containing the words "capture and massacre of Sir Charles Mac Carthy," the reader would be exceedingly puzzled to know what became of him. This is the more extraordinary, as Major Ricketts had just found time to discourse through two or three pages, about Cudjoe Cheeboo, King of Dinkera. At some distance afterwards, indeed, having devoted another chapter and more, to other matters, the Major gives the following "*particulars of the death of General Mac Carthy,*" so called in the synopsis of contents:

"It appeared by Mr. Williams's statement, that he left the field of action in company with Sir Charles Mac Carthy, Mr. Buckle, and ensign Wetherell; and, after proceeding a short distance along the track to Assamacow, they were suddenly attacked by a part of the enemy, who fired and broke one of Sir Charles's arms; and that he immediately after received another wound in the chest and fell. They then removed him under a tree, where all remained awaiting their fate, which they perceived to be inevitable. Immediately after, Mr. Williams received a ball in his thigh, which rendered him senseless. Previous, however, to his falling, he saw ensign Wetherell, who appeared also to have been wounded, lying close to Sir Charles, cutting with his sword at the enemy, as they were tearing the clothes off his friend and patron. Mr. Williams, upon recovering his senses, perceived that some Ashantees were attempting to cut off his head, and had already inflicted one gash on the back of his neck; luckily, however, at this crisis, an Ashantee of authority came up, and recognizing Mr. Williams, from whom he had received some kindness in the African company's time, withheld the hand of the savage: on Mr. Williams' recovering his senses, he saw the headless trunks of Sir Charles Mac Carthy, Mr. Buckle, and ensign Wetherell. He was then taken prisoner and marched to Assamacow, where the Ashantee army was encamped.

"During his captivity he was lodged under a thatched shed in the day time, and locked up at night in the same room with the heads of Sir Charles, Mr. Buckle, and ensign Wetherell, which owing to some peculiar process, were in a perfect state of preservation. Sir Charles Mac Carthy's presented nearly the same appearance as when he was alive." p. 82, 83.

It may be as well to bring in at this place the farther notices of the gallant Mac Carthy's fate, which appear in the Narrative.

"A brother of Adookoo, King of the Fantees, who had been taken prisoner by the Ashantees, when they attacked and beat the Fantees in 1807, made his escape from the enemy on their retreat on the 13th: [i. e. of July 1823,] and stated that he was

"Umbrella bearer to the King, and was with him in the action of the 11th. The Ashantee army had suffered dreadfully from small pox, dysentery, and want of provisions, which had carried off many thousands; and, in consequence, caused so much discontent and insubordination in their army, that on the night of the 11th, whole bodies had deserted from the King, who were ascertained to be Assassins, and who afterwards joined our native allies. He further stated, that the heart of Sir Charles Mac Carthy was eaten by the principal chiefs of the Ashantee army, that they might imbibe his bravery; that his flesh had been dried, and with his bones, divided among every man of consequence in the army, who constantly carried his respective proportion about with him, as a charm to inspire him with courage." p. 104, 105.

After relating the events of a subsequent battle with the Ashantees, in which they were defeated, Major Ricketts says:

"Among the sad trophies of the day, was supposed to be the head of Sir Charles Mac Carthy, which was sent to England by Lieutenant-Colonel Purdon; it was taken by the Aquapim chief. The King carried it along with him as a powerful charm, and on the morning of the battle, he poured rum upon it, and invoked it to cause all the heads of the whites on the field to lie beside it. The skull was enveloped in paper covered with Arabic characters, and a silk handkerchief, over all was a tiger skin, the emblem of royalty." p. 122.*

'The head taken there, and supposed to be Sir Charles Mac Carthy's, was stated by the man of colour, a returned prisoner from Coomassie, mentioned in page 150, to be that of Tooto Quamina, late King of Ashantee." p. 176.

After mentioning that the news of the action of January 21st did not reach Sierra Leone until the 16th of April, Major Ricketts pays the following tribute to the memory of his old commander:

"The melancholy intelligence of a beloved governor, the friend of mankind and the idol of every loyal and grateful heart within the colony of Sierra Leone, having fallen by the hands of savages, produced those feelings of sincere regret in the minds of the inhabitants which can be better conceived than described, as he possessed every quality calculated to secure the fidelity and attachment of all classes of people who had the happiness to be placed under his government." p. 92.

By a letter backwards, less perplexing than most of our author's historical progressions, we are now transferred from the bloody 21st of January to some letters which had been written before the battle of Adamansco, if we

* It is stated in the Annual Register for 1826, p. recovered Sir Charles Mac Carthy's head, refused

may so name it, (see page 52,) from Sir Charles Mac Carthy to Major Chisholm. It seems that from some casual delay in the forwarding of these communications, this officer did not receive in time his orders to join with his division, and was consequently not on the field of battle. On the 23d, he received his first information of the action; and on the 24th, learnt that our author was lying wounded at an adjacent village. His reflections resulted in a determination to retire to Cape Coast Castle, whither he proceeded with his party. "Captain Ricketts was carried in a basket on the heads of some of the native soldiers, having a man in front with a cutlass to cut the wild vines and branches of trees; and the wounded men, blacks, were assisted along by their comrades. Not more than an hour after the march had begun, Captain L'Estrange, of the Royal African Corps, who had gone in advance with his company, died from excessive fatigue." p. 70. The party arrived next day at Cape Coast, which Major Laing had previously reached. The strenuous efforts that were made to assemble a force sufficient to oppose the advance of the enemy were, of course, impeded by the effect of the unfortunate battle. The allies among the natives were abundant in pretexts for declining to take the field with the few remaining troops. On the 5th of February, however, Captain Laing marched from Cape Coast for D'Jouquah, with a detachment of the Royal African Corps, followed by a small party of Annamaboos and Fantees; in all, about 400 men. Major Chisholm and Captain Laing joined their forces on the 15th of February at Commenda, having "determined," says Major Ricketts, "to chastise the natives of Dutch Sucoondee for an insult to Captain Woolcomb commanding his majesty's ship the Owen Glendower, and two of his officers on the 25th of January." This insult was a resistance to the landing of a party of marines, who had undertaken to alarm the natives, in consequence of a previous controversy; and to punish which insult Capt. Woolcomb had attempted to set fire to the town, but without effect, from the dampness of the thatch. Another motive for Major Chisholm's vengeance against Sucoondee, was that the natives had committed acts of hostility upon certain wounded soldiers who had found their way to the water side after the battle of January 21st. The result of Major Chisholm's chastisement, was that the whole of the inhabitants, together with a party of about 400 Ashantees fled from the town, which was instantly set on fire, and was completely destroyed; every valuable, rum, powder, and stores of every description, being either burnt or blown up.

The Ashantee army, now ascertained to be 15,000 strong, had continued at Assamacow, ever since the action of January 21st. It was determined to dispute with them the passage of the river Bosempira. Capt. Laing was intrusted with the command of the force designed for this object; but being unwell, he proceeded to England, taking with him the official despatches. Captain Ricketts, still not recovered from a dangerous illness, was directed to proceed to the Pra, and take charge of the army until Capt. Blencarne, who had been ordered up from Accra, should arrive. On his arrival at Commenda, the troops being drawn up in line, "made a formidable appearance, and could be distinctly seen by the enemy from Dutch Sucoondee, where many of them were stationed. The Accra chiefs sent over some of their *fetish* men, whom they thought would be safe as belonging to the same *fetish** as the King of Ashantee, but they were beheaded immediately." p. 75. The whole of the allied forces at this time, had increased to nearly 8000 men, and the native chiefs were impatient to cross the river and attack the enemy. Capt. Blencarne having arrived, Capt. Ricketts was ordered to return to Cape Coast,

* This word, it would seem, is used by the African tribes in several senses. "Their *fetish* men, whom [who] they thought would be safe as belonging to the same *fetish* as the King of Ashantee, but they were beheaded immediately." In p. 98, a *fetish* is said to be a "sanctified boy." In p. 121, we are told that some of the natives declared that "it was against their *fetish* to fire on a Monday: And in p. 141, the King of Ashantee is said to have been "afraid to send messengers to Cape Coast, unless the chiefs of Adansay would take *fetish* that they would not incur any danger."

which he did, leaving the command to Capt. Blencarne. On the 12th of March, this officer joined the allied chiefs, Cudjoe Cheboo, Appea, &c. at Kemim.

About the middle of March the Ashantees made overtures, through Governor Last, of the Dutch settlements, for a conference. Our author was accordingly, on the part of the British, sent to Elmina. The Ashantee agents stated that the King had not sent his army to fight with the white men, but to bring to him Cudjoe Cheboo, King of Dinkera, Awoosooco, chief of Tueful, and Annimelli, King of Western Warsaw, who had made war against him their sovereign; that on the delivery of these three men, the Ashantee army would return home; but that they had orders to take the King of Dinkera in particular, though he should be locked up in Cape Coast Castle. They denied that the King of Ashantee had ordered the Serjeant to be killed, but asserted that the Fantees had, of their own accord, perpetrated that crime. Captain Ricketts, in reply, disclaimed, on the part of the King of England any wish to make war on the natives of Africa, and suggested that if the Ashantees wished to make peace, it could be effected at Elmina, provided proper persons should be sent by them for that purpose. At the suggestion of Governor Last, Mr. Williams, the Colonial Secretary, who had been captured by the Ashantees, was released and delivered to him, after being first publicly led about in a state of nudity, with his hands tied behind his back. He was liberated on condition that he should not be allowed to go to Cape Coast, or to any other place except Holland.

In regard to negotiating a peace, the Ashantee agents stated that certain chiefs appointed to treat at Elmina, were unwilling to come by water, as they would be sea-sick; but that they would proceed by land, if the colonial army were withdrawn from the banks of the Pra. This proposal was rejected, and hostilities recommenced.

Some of the circumstances of Mr. Williams's captivity have already been cited. The following in relation to it and to the battle of January 21st may be added:

"Mr. Williams was only allowed for his daily food during his cruel confinement, as much snail soup in the morning and evening as could be contained in the palm of his hand. Whenever they beheaded any of their prisoners, they obliged Mr. Williams to sit on one side of the large war drum, while they decapitated the unfortunate captive on the other. It was said that Mr. Jones, a merchant and captain of the militia, fell into their hands alive, and because he had received five wounds, he was sacrificed to the fetish. It seems that every person, whether Ashantee or prisoner, who may be so unlucky as to receive that number of wounds in one action, is considered as belonging to the fetish. It was also reported that Mr. Raydon, captain in the Cape Coast militia, was taken prisoner; that he was deprived of his clothes, and because he could not keep pace with them, they put him to death. It was the intention of the Ashantees to have sent Mr. Williams to Coomassie; but he not being able to walk that distance, the ball still remaining in his thigh, they endeavoured to extract it by tying the thigh tight with strings, both above and below the part where it was lodged, so as to force it out. Mr. Williams declared that the pain was most excruciating; but not succeeding, he had reason to be apprehensive that they intended to put him to death, when the welcome intelligence of their intention to send him to Elmina was made known to him, after a captivity of two months. He reported that the discipline of the Ashantee army, and the regularity with which the different duties were conducted, astonished him, and he added that the Ashantees estimated their loss in the action of the 21st of January to have been very great. The following are the names of the officers killed and wounded on the side of the British, in the battle near Assamacow:

KILLED.

Brigadier-general Sir Charles Mac Carthy, governor.	
Ensign Wetherell,	} 2nd West India regiment.
Dr. Tedlie, surgeon,	
J. S. Buckle, Esq., colonial engineer.	
Captain Heddle, Captain Jones,	} Merchants.
Captain Raydon, Captain Robertson,	
Mr. Brandon, ordnance-keeper.	

WOUNDED.

Captain Ricketts, 2nd West India regiment, major of brigade to the forces.
 Ensign Erskine, royal African colonial corps.
 J. T. Williams, Esq., colonial secretary and adjutant general to the militia, (taken prisoner.)

"About ninety of the soldiers and militia were wounded, many of whom subsequently died at Cape Coast from the hardships and privations which they had endured, and about one hundred and seventy-seven were killed, taken prisoners, or lost in the river." p. 83-86.

The allied chiefs, misled by a rumor that in order to obtain peace, the English intended to give up to the Ashantees Cudjoe Cheboo, and the two other chiefs, already mentioned, determined on attacking the Ashantees themselves; and for that purpose, on the 24th of March, they crossed the river about 7000 strong, leaving Capt. Blencarne with only 600 men. Whether or not the efforts which were made to undeceive them about this rumor, were successful, our author has forgotten to tell. After the allied chiefs had been nine days occupied in cutting paths towards the enemy's camp, "and enduring many privations,

"the chiefs of the right informed those on the left, composed principally of Warsaws, who were ready to attack the enemy next day; when their courage failing them, being river, they crossed it at night, followed by others. There being no other mode of advance, they crossed the river, and on plantain stalks and branches of trees, with nearly all their ammunition, and

The noise made by the allies, roused the attention of the Ashantee army. Capt. Blencarne, deserted by the former, returned with his troops to Cape Coast.

The following passage illustrates the tendency of this writer to a vitious distorting of incidents out of their natural order:

"The enemy did not march to Commenda immediately after this, but occupied the camp on the banks of the Pra which our forces had quitted. During the nine days that the allies were cutting their way to the enemy, the few officers who were with Captain Blencarne visited daily the different out-posts along the banks of the river. Lieutenant Mends, of the royal African corps, being the only officer present capable of fatigue, this arduous duty almost solely devolved upon him, and in the performance of it, he had frequent skirmishes with the enemy's foraging parties across the river. Many Warsaw women, who had been captured by the enemy, daily made their escape, and swam across the Pra to the troops: their appearance from cruel treatment and starvation, was truly wretched. On Captain Blencarne's way to Cape Coast, he fell in with the King of Dinkera at Banson, and endeavoured to persuade that chief to accompany him to Cape Coast, but without effect, until he had satisfied him that the English would never deliver him or any of his family to the King of Ashantee. The King of Dinkera's distrust of the British arose from the cruel act of delivering over the old chief of Assin, Cudjoe Cheboo, to the Ashantees." p. 89, 90.

On the 10th of April, Capt. Blencarne was ordered out with his troops, by Major Chisholm, to form a camp at Affettue, twelve miles from Cape Coast. He was followed by the two Kings, Cudjoe Cheboo and Appea, who took up a military position at the village of Dompin. On the 25th of April, a skirmish ensued between the allies and the enemy, which though at one period favourable to the allies, ended in their destruction or flight. Among the fugitives, says our author, "was Appea, who

"Having been thus separated from his men, and not being heard of for several days after the others had reached the Cape, parties were sent out with bugles, and some of his own men with their horns, to sound in the direction it was presumed most likely for him to have sought safety, should he have been fortunate enough to escape the enemy. After the lapse of many days, and when all hopes of him were nearly abandoned, he was discovered in a most miserable and emaciated condition, crawling in the direction of the sound of one of the horns. He was brought to Cape Coast, where he died soon after of the small-pox;—thus fell the chief of the Adjumacoon country, whose fidelity remained unshaken to the last.

"The troops of Affettue, on hearing the firing, rushed to the assistance of the allies; but on ascertaining that the enemy were cutting paths in every direction towards Affettue, and that the allies had been defeated and dispersed: they, under these circumstances, found it necessary to fall back on Cape Coast. As the troops and allies were leaving Affettue in haste, at one end of the town, on their way to Cape Coast, the enemy were waiting for them, and nearly made Ensign Mac Kenzie and some of the European soldiers prisoners.—However, he escaped out of the window, and with some of his men, effected the retreat of the troops, and killed several of the enemy." p. 91, 92.

Preparations were soon made for an advance on the enemy; a force of about 6000 men, including regulars and militia, was collected; and it being reported that the King of Ashantee was rapidly advancing with 10,000 men to reenforce his army at Affettue, Major Chisholm began cutting paths to the enemy's position. In a discussion which ensued, concerning the battle-array, it seems that the imputed cowardice of the Fantees was triumphant:

"Several days elapsed before the allies had agreed who were to take the right, which position the Fantees insisted on occupying; but the others, knowing the cowardice of this tribe, and that the way to their country lay in that direction, objected in the strongest manner to this arrangement, and wished the Fantees to be placed on our left, as by this means they could not easily run away, having the Elmina people (friends of the Ashantees) and the sea on their left; but the Fantees would not yield, and at last succeeded in carrying their point by saying, that if they were not allowed to take the right, they would return home without fighting. This being settled, and the army told off in divisions, each commenced cutting their own way to the enemy, now about four miles off, through the thick prickly bushes." p. 92, 93.

On the 27th of April, Lieutenant-colonel Sutherland sailed from Sierra Leone with troops in the British ship *Driver*, having a commission from the acting governor, Mr. Hamilton, to assume the civil government of the Gold Coast. On the 19th of May, he proceeded with Major Chisholm to join the army, who were cutting paths to the enemy's encampment; but being unwilling to deprive Major C. of the credit of the command in the expected action, returned to the Castle to hasten the preparations, and to forward the necessary supplies.

The action commenced at one o'clock, P. M. of the 21st of May. The Ashantees after fighting bravely for five hours, retired with great loss,—while that on the side of the allies was comparatively small. Our author gives the following particulars:

"No officer was killed, and only one wounded, viz. Captain Hutchinson, of the Annamaboe militia, who received a ball through both wrists, while in the act of encouraging his men. The King of Dinkera, who was on the left flank, behaved with much gallantry, and followed the enemy into the town of Affettue. During the engagement, he sent along the line a bowl containing six Ashantee heads, which was carried on the head of one of his people, who ran with it to Major Chisholm by his chief's order, to show what he was doing. The Fantees, three thousand strong, as it was expected, ran off to their own country at the first volley without firing a shot." p. 96.

The allied army being distressed for water, retired to the nearest spot for obtaining it, intending to renew the engagement on the next day. But the whole of the auxiliary forces, except the King of Dinkera, and a few of the Cape Coast natives, dispersed themselves; and the troops, except a party of observation under Lieutenant Rogers, which was left at the Government Garden, were consequently ordered by Colonel Sutherland into the Castle. On the 28th of May, the Ashantees were joined at Affettue by the army under their King. It was said that part of his army was in the action, and that a strong party of the Elminas had also joined the enemy. Major Ricketts then says:

"After this they continued for some time without any movement. All the prisoners taken at this time agreed in stating that Osai Tootoo Quamina, King of Ashantee, had died at Coomassie at the commencement of hostilities, and that Accatoo Osai, his brother and successor, had left Ashantee, accompanied with all the warriors he could muster, and was determined to destroy Cape Coast, and drive the English out of the country. Soon after the arrival of the new King of Ashantee at Affettue, he sent a fetish or sanctified boy to our advanced post at the garden, to tell the governor of Cape Coast that the walls of the Castle were not high enough and should be made higher; and that he ought to land all the guns from the men of war, as he intended to throw every stone of the Castle into the sea." p. 97, 98.

The death of Osai Tootoo Quamina which our author rather alludes to asserts, in the extent of his influence, was an immense one. The influence of his abilities; a

already styled him, "the scourge of a considerable portion of Western Africa." Some weeks after the message just mentioned, the new King of Ashantee advanced, on the 21st of June, from Effettue, to a point not five miles distant from the Castle. When the approach of the enemy was reported, Colonel Sutherland ordered certain houses overlooking the ramparts of the Castle on the land side, to be pulled down. But the order was not executed: and on the 23d, when "Capt. Hutchinson threw out a signal from Smith's tower, that the enemy were advancing from the westward, *he* [who?] ordered four of these houses to be set on fire; but owing to a sudden increase of wind, the flames extended farther than was anticipated or intended: and notwithstanding every exertion, burnt the grass-thatched roofs, and the doors and windows, of nearly every house in the town. In consequence of the previous removal of goods into the Castle, the floors of the houses being chiefly composed of mud thickly plastered over strong laths, and the houses being built principally of swish or clay, not much property was destroyed." p. 100. On the 23d the enemy had advanced so near that they were distinctly seen in great force on the heights. The attack on Cape Coast, which was consequently expected, produced, of course, great agitation.

"The male inhabitants of the town were ordered to make all possible resistance. The women and children, amounting to nearly five thousand, most of whom had been driven in from their respective towns and villages as the enemy had advanced, and others from rooms adjacent to Cape Coast, now rushed into the Castle, and as only the wicket of the gate was left open, which admitted only one person at a time, the screaming of the children, the melancholy cries of the women squeezing for entrance, was beyond any thing that can be conceived. The seamen and marines from his majesty's ship *Victor*, and the merchant vessels in the roads, were landed to man the guns, and every other possible means used for defence." p. 99.

After retiring, on the 24th of June, to the Government Garden, the enemy remained there till the end of the month, laying waste the country, and destroying all the surrounding villages during the interval by strong parties detached for the purpose of devastation. The garrison at the Castle did not then exceed 360 men,—104 of whom were in the hospital, exclusive of a few artificers and militia, and a small unorganized native force, of but little account.

On the 4th of July, opportunely for the existing emergency, Sir John Philimore arrived in the British ship *Thetis*, from England, with troops and ammunition. On the 6th, the allied army was reenforced by about 5000 natives from Accra and elsewhere. On the 7th, the enemy "were seen in great force

"Defiling over a hill in several paths towards some heights which they had occupied.—Near to the left the King pitched his tent, and the bush having been cleared about the spot, his movements could be plainly observed with a glass. Some of his men wore the uniforms of our officers and men who had been killed, or taken prisoners at Assamacow, they also displayed the English, Dutch, and Danish flags, with others of their own making. We were at this moment very badly supplied with ball, and were obliged to take all the water pipes from the Castle, the lead from the tops of the merchants' houses, and all the pewter pots and pans that could be procured, the ships furnishing all the lead it was possible to spare, for the purpose of cutting up into slugs by the sailors, who were employed at this work for many days and nights both on board and on shore." p. 101.

On the 8th, the allied army, encouraged by the reenforcement which had arrived on the 6th, took a position on a commanding chain of heights opposite to the enemy. On Sunday, the 11th, a skirmish began, which became a general engagement, and the enemy retired. Great bravery was displayed on both sides. On the 12th and 13th the enemy made some inconsequential demonstrations. On the last named day, they practised the following deception:

"They still continued marching down the hills until dark, when numerous fires were observed in the valleys; but when day-light appeared, not one of them could be seen; and it afterwards appeared by the statement of some of the natives on our side, who had been taken prisoners at Assamacow, and had made their escape from the enemy after this action, that it

was a manoeuvre of the Ashantees to enable their women, wounded men, and carriers, to retreat unobserved; that they came down the hill on the side in our view, went through the bush to the other side, where they could not be seen by us, then ascended the hill, and came down again in front towards us." p. 103, 104.

Lieutenant-Colonel Grant, of the Royal African Corps, arrived from England on the 18th of July, with ammunition and a few troops. To this officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Sutherland resigned the command, and returned to England in the *Thetis*. On the 19th, the new commander took several prisoners from the enemy, who still remained in the Fantee country destroying the villages and provision grounds. At length

"They received intelligence that the Queen of Akim, who upon hearing of the defeat and death of Sir Charles Mac Carthy, had sent one hundred men as a body guard to Major Chisholm, was about to invade their capital. The King hastily proceeded thither, leaving many hundreds of his sick and wounded behind, who fell into the hands of the Fantees, by whom they were nearly all beheaded.

"When the Ashantees advanced from Effettue to the government garden, they sent out parties as far down as Annamaboe, which caused all the women and children of the different villages to seek protection at Cape Coast and Annamaboe fort. A famine, in consequence, soon ensued, which, in conjunction with the small-pox and dysentery, carried off great numbers. Many were seen dead and dying in the streets, when the women and children were pent up in the Castle, which they quitted on the arrival of the *Accras*. The scene was distressing; they were so crowded together that it was impossible to pass from one part of the yard to the other without walking upon them. The stench which they caused was horrible: it frequently rained, and a great deal of the filth and dirt created by them was washed into the tanks which contained the water used by the garrison. There is a large pond in the town, but the water is very unwholesome, and seldom or never used by Europeans. The officers and soldiers were also very short of provisions, having neither meat nor flour, and but little rice. Five or six Europeans, including now and then an officer, died daily, from the excessive fatigue they had undergone, and want of proper food. If a supply of provisions had not providentially arrived from Sierra Leone, the result must have been truly disastrous. Several vessels also laden with rice, were dispatched from England as soon as the state of famine to which the natives were reduced was known, and by this timely supply alone they were preserved from perishing, as the enemy had destroyed every thing, and they themselves suffered much from the want of provisions." p. 106, 107.

We now again meet with our old friend, the King of Dinkera,—and under melancholy circumstances. Having the misfortune to lose his sister by death, he meditated a tribute to her memory, which illustrates the pernicious power of superstition over even intelligent minds and benevolent hearts. May we not add, that it illustrates too, the obligation which the citizens of christian communities are under, to labour in diffusing the light of religion and knowledge, where it is so much needed?

"The principal object of the advance of the Ashantee army on the 21st of June so near to Cape Coast, was to get Cheboo, King of Dinkera, into their power. He was in consequence prevailed upon, with his sister, who had accompanied him from his country, to take up his quarters inside the castle, where, not long after, the latter died, and was buried in a spot of ground which he selected on the top of a hill, not far from the town. A short time after Cheboo was observed by some native soldiers of the African corps, who were on picket close by, ascending the hill accompanied by a female: they in consequence watched their actions, knowing the custom of the inland tribes of sacrificing human beings over the grave, and that such practice was prohibited by the government of Cape Coast. They saw him approach the place where the remains of his relative had been interred, after which he bemoaned her loss, and shed tears to her memory, and was about to put the woman to death, who appeared perfectly resigned; when his intention was arrested by the soldiers, who escorted him back in company with the female to the Castle; and on being asked his reason for this conduct, replied in a dejected tone, that the woman had been for a long time a faithful servant to his sister, who was very fond of her, and that she would be angry with him if he did not send her handmaid to attend upon her in the other world. The poor creature was kept for security in a room in the guard-house, until it was certain that Cheboo would not kill her." p. 107, 108.

Major Ricketts then relates a fiend-like act, committed by the natives of Elmina, a Dutch settlement; and an expedient, suggested by Lieutenant-Colonel Grant, which if adopted would, our author is certain, have put an end to the Ashantee war. From his statement, it would seem, that the proposi-

tion of Colonel Grant was rejected by the Dutch governor, for a very insufficient reason. We give Major Ricketts' words:

"After the action of the 11th of July, as some of the Commenda women and children were returning through Elmina to their homes, which had also been destroyed by the enemy, they were seized and beheaded by the natives of the town. Lieutenant-Colonel Grant, on hearing of this atrocity, wrote to Mr. Last, the governor of that place, on the subject; who replied that he had not sufficient means to control the ferocity of the people. Commodore Bullen being at anchor in Cape Coast roads at the same time, Lieutenant-Colonel Grant requested of him to allow one of the squadron to convey Brigade-Major Ricketts and Lieutenant A. C. Atchison to Elmina, for the purpose of offering Major Last the assistance of troops from Cape Coast Castle. The Victor, Captain Woolcomb, was consequently appointed to convey those officers to Elmina. Major Last appeared thankful for the offer, and every arrangement was made, and the time fixed for the reception of the troops, at that place; but on the return of the officers to Cape Coast, Lieutenant-Colonel Grant received a letter from Major Last, stating that the natives of Elmina were determined not to allow any English soldiers to be landed there, which terminated the business. Had this object been effected, it would no doubt have put an immediate end to the war with the Ashantees, who obtained all their supplies from thence, and who were encouraged by the natives to persist in hostilities. Had the Elminas followed the example of the Danes, the Ashantees never would have come down to the coast in such a hostile manner." p. 109, 110.

(To be continued.)

FROM LIBERIA.

The arrival of the schooner Edgar at New York, from the coast of Africa, has enabled the editor of the Commercial to furnish intelligence from Liberia to the 24th of April. Within two months previous to the publication of the Liberia Herald of that date, there had been entries into the port of Monrovia, of twenty-five vessels—of which one was a ship, eight were brigs, fifteen schooners, and one a sloop. They were from Boston, Salem, New York and Norfolk, in the United States; Liverpool, in England; St. Thomas, in the West Indies; France, Cape De Verds, Grand Bassa, and the Leeward and Windward Coasts. These are testimonials which it would be difficult to controvert, of the prosperity of the Colony. It indicates a greater extent of commercial business than the city of New York could boast of in nearly and perhaps more than half a century after its settlement.

In adverting to the erection of two or three warehouses on Water Street, in Monrovia, the Herald says,—“The great rise of property in this part of the town would astonish many across the Atlantic.”

An annual meeting of the Baptist Missionary Society was held on the 15th of April, a collection was taken up and measures adopted, to engage, forthwith, a suitable person to teach and preach among the surrounding natives. A sermon was preached on the occasion by the Rev. Mr. Waring.

Much gratitude and sensibility were manifested, on receiving intelligence that Frederick Sheldon, Esq. of this city, had placed the sum of \$2000 at the disposal of the Board of Managers of the Colonization Society, towards forming a fund for the support of a High School in that Colony, “Mr. Sheldon's donation,” says the Herald, “is a noble foundation on which to build, and long may he live to witness ‘The Sheldon High School of Liberia, in full operation.’”

Extract of a letter from Dr. Meadlin to a Gentleman in Philadelphia, dated Liberia, March 7, 1833.

DEAR SIR—I am still in this land of probation, labouring in the cause of African colonization, and am happy to find that my efforts have not been entirely unsuccessful. 'Tis true the materials to be operated upon have not been

of the best kind, and to this cause our slim progress is mainly attributed.— Could we have a greater proportion of intelligent and enterprising people of colour sent out, every thing would soon assume a very different appearance; and our agriculture, which is now in a languishing condition, would advance *pari passu* with our commercial prosperity.

"Your friend, the Rev. J. B. Pinney, is still here and in excellent health; how long he will continue so I cannot say; the fever must and will have him ere many days have elapsed. It was his intention to have left this immediately for the interior, but yielding to the solicitations of Dr. Hall and myself, he has consented to remain some time longer, in order to undergo the severe process of acclimation. He is, I think, well calculated for the work he has undertaken—perhaps a little too confiding in the integrity of our natives; this, however, a little intercourse will soon correct; as those on the coast have just so much of civilization as to become the most accomplished rogues the world can produce.

It was my intention to visit the United States this spring, but circumstances have compelled me to defer my departure for at least twelve months, when, should my life be spared, I trust to have the pleasure of once more enjoying the society of yourself and family. You will, with this, receive a letter from Mr. Pinney, who will give you the result of his observations."

INTELLIGENCE.

REPORTS OF AGENTS.

Our indefatigable Agent in England, Mr. ELLIOTT CRESSON, has furnished us with intelligence, under dates of March 24, and April 15.

Before he left Glasgow, a Ladies' Committee was formed, which will have the aid of our zealous friend, Mr. D. Nasmith. The Anti-Slavery Society had been unusually illiberal in their recent assaults on the Colonization Society, descending even to impute personal motives of an unworthy character to Mr. Cresson, than whom a more zealous and disinterested philanthropist does not live. In reference to his mission, this gentleman says:

"D. N. began by obtaining one annual subscriber of 3 guineas, and had no fears of securing £40 yearly, the sum I thought adequate. A judicious effort in the outset, may lead to more important consequences; as several of the ladies are zealous and able. On my arrival here, I found a letter from one of Stuart's quondam supporters at Belfast; by which it appears that my mission there has been useful. He says that at the opposition meeting, held after my departure, "Stuart spoke three hours and a half; a more complete failure I never witnessed, and this his friends and allies felt. I have no doubt the friends of Liberia were confirmed in their favourable impressions, and that many waverers ceased to doubt. I regret that he had not been permitted to speak at my meeting, as it was evi-

dent he is quite unequal to the task he has undertaken. It would be useless for me to attempt a description of his unconnected speech; but having failed in getting a view of T. Clarkson's letter, he endeavoured to extort it from me at the meeting; but he laid himself so low, that I needed not to expend this paper bullet on the occasion. The charge of T. C. having changed his opinions having failed, he praised Garrison, and represented the former as far advanced in years, and failing in intellect!!"

In regard to Robert McDowell, Mr. Cresson says:

"The Sol. Gen. Cockburn gives the highest assurance of his talents, probity, and great moral worth. Robert McDowell is a light mulatto of 20; has gone out three voyages as surgeon; *paying between each for the completion of his medical education from his wages*, and has been studying for nearly seven years. I have agreed to give him for two years \$250; pay to commence on his arrival; if you deem more, just, I shall be glad; but connected with the new settlement, his letters to Scotland, detailing the progress of an experiment so much their own (and he writes extremely well) will overturn all the machinations of our enemies by the living testimony of a Scotsman. He is to remain here three months to acquire the lithographic art, that he may embellish a *History of Africa*, written and printed on the spot, with views and plates; the stuffing and preservation of birds, &c. to illustrate its natural history, and in short prepare him for greater usefulness. I deem it a most happy incident, and trust that you will think with me. If you, however, deem his services more valuable in coming ~~from~~ by America, and going out in charge of an expedition,

write immediately, care of H. Cockburn, Sol. Gen. Hamburg, and I have little doubt but that he can get a passage as surgeon of a passenger ship to the United States, and arrange with you at Washington City on his future plans.

"Edina has brought forth to-day a subscription of 10 guineas from John Padmore, a coloured man. Edina has been sought as the future home of a most respectable negro, who, with his family, will go out; and Edina has, during the four days I have been here, secured us a Ladies Auxiliary, with some of the first ladies here on its roll; and a powerful address is already prepared for circulation by Mrs. Lundie, one of its Secretaries, who has also handed me an excellent article from one of the leading magazines, on the same subject. I presume you will decide on its occupying part of the Cape Mount session; but if you can close the mouth of the Gallinas in this manner, against the slave trade, so much the better. Indeed, if my health would justify it, I would rejoice to head an expedition to do that very thing—peaceably if I could. No sacrifice is too great; effect that, and gainsayers are forever silenced, and our friend Lord Jeffrey's idea of a government grant, would become almost a matter of just recompense. If Sierra Leone formed our northern boundary, we could, with such aid, carry on our operations on a magnificent scale, without outfit great enough for all our emigrants, and make it indeed the 'Empire of Liberia.' Nowadays, while we are poor, we must be content with great economy."

The following suggestion deserves consideration:

"Our flag does *not* cover the trade, and no administration dare grant the right of search, so odious is it in America; that of France *does*, to an awful extent; and if the trade was declared by our three powers, *piracy*, and search made under her flag, the trade must cease in a few months. Independent of the vast boon to humanity thus secured, Britain no longer needing Sierra Leone as a depot for recaptured Africans, would be more glad to save the cost of it, and therefore more likely to give us a good sum towards its occupation and extension."

Under date of March 27, Mr. Cresson says:

"Just returned from the Ladies second meeting. It organised with Lady Carnegie for Patroness; Mrs. Lundie, (the Biographer of Bruin), and Miss Rose, Secretaries. The day being very stormy, only a few attended; they handed over \$30 to our new Treasurer, Mrs. Simpson. To-morrow the public meeting occurs. I much fear from the wish expressed by our Branches that you would furnish them with the means of making friends and defeating enemies, that my requests on that head have been neglected."

Under date of April 15, Mr. Cresson writes from Newcastle of Tyne, having returned to England after an absence of four months. This interval had been diligently employed by

the enemies of colonization in attempts to excite prejudices against the cause; and Mr. Cresson found its prospects there less encouraging than he had left them.

In reference to a letter from the Secretary of this Society, Mr. Cresson says:

"The one point introduced, that of selecting a Baptist minister, I have immediately communicated to the Rev. E. Clarke, together with a copy of our friend Rev. O. B. Brown's letter, and beg his acceptance of my best thanks for its contents; I have requested E. C. to publish it in their Magazine; and, indeed, where any generous feeling exists, such letters must do good. The Anti-Slavery question is about to be settled, and when they have no longer their own measures to carry, they will probably permit others to enjoy their own opinions unmolested: then it will be, that if strong evidences of the union of all good men in our behalf *at home* are given, they will operate on the really benevolent abroad. Thus Bishop Meade's letter has had in very many instances, a happy effect, among churchmen especially. I hope he received my letter of thanks for it."

We subjoin the following extracts:

"The two Dumfries papers lately sent will speak of my visit there. At Carlisle, I found much prejudice, but operated on some of the first and most influential citizens, so that we may hope for some effects from my small meeting. My visit to that great and good man, Douglas, of Cavers, was very pleasing as well as useful. I twice addressed his large tenantry, and I think more deeply enlisted his sympathies. Indeed from the manner in which he spoke of his exhausted treasury (as I find his boundless munificence has of late exceeded his income), I have but little doubt that he would have added to his already munificent gift of £200.

"I observe your care in offering premiums, but would ask if those on coffee and sugar are not still more desirable?—on the one hand, affording labour to the emigrant and native, and on the other, attracting skill and capital to the Colony, and might probably eventuate in the formation of Companies for the purpose—an idea I once seriously intended among a circle of my friends in Philadelphia, and was only deferred by accepting this mission. Such premiums might, in the South, attract free people, who are rich; and our negro 10 guinea subscriber at Edinburg (John Padmore), thinks some of his Barbadoes friends of large property will embrace the offer of 500 acres for a sugar estate.

"You speak too of a premium for Hogs.—But let me ask, is not the universal experience *against* the use of pork in hot climates? I wish you would coax an export of coffee, oranges, lemons and limes; yams also; in short, any thing which will encourage agriculture, and keep the subject *before the eyes* and on the *palates* of our people.

"The national questions before put, I wish answered, as I wish to make them useful on being in London, and with the ministry, and preparatory to going over to Paris."

Rev. G. C. LIGHT writes under date of

CYNTHIANA, Ky. June 6, 1833.

DEAR SIR:—The Kentucky Colonization Society have resolved on sending another expedition to Liberia this fall, to meet at Louisville, the first Monday in November next; and have directed me to collect emigrants, and devise ways and means to accomplish the object. I have lately visited the western end of the State, commonly called the Green River country, and find our cause will succeed well in that quarter. I obtained say thirteen emigrants, whose names I registered, and who hold themselves in readiness to go by the time appointed. Major Bibb, of Russellville, who sent 32 last fall, also contemplates sending several others; he has yet upwards of 40 to whom he tenders freedom, on the condition that they will go to Liberia. In Louisville, a number of free people of colour have determined on going.

AUXILIARY SOCIETIES.

In our April number, we requested the Secretary of each Auxiliary Society within the United States, to furnish us as speedily as possible with a list of its officers and members, stating at the same time, the urgent reasons which had prompted the request.—Hitherto, we have not been favoured with the desired information, except from the Georgetown, (D. C.) and from the Israel Township (O.) Auxiliaries. The names of the officers of the former were published in our June number, (See Af. Repository, Vol. 9, p. 123,); and we now subjoin similar information concerning the latter, extracted from a letter from its Secretary, under date of June 14, 1833.

"In compliance with your request, published in the Repository, I hereby give you information respecting the officers and members of the Auxiliary Colonization Society of Israel Township. The officers are as follows:

"*President*,—Rev. Alexander Porter; *Vice-President*,—Rev. Gavin McMillan; *Secretary*,—John Caldwell; *Treasurer*,—William Ramsay; *Managers*,—Thomas Madill, Senr., Dr. Alexander Porter, Dr. George Brown, Ebenezer Elliott, John Patterson.

"The number of members at present, as near as I can ascertain, is one hundred and fifty-six."

We again respectfully solicit the information before requested, from all the Auxiliaries in the Union, as it is a subject of some importance. The statements desired, will be still more gratifying, should they contain the names of the *members*, as well as of the *officers and managers* of each So-

ciety. It is our purpose, as soon as we may be furnished with the facts, to publish a complete and amended list of the officers, &c. of each Auxiliary Colonization Society in the United States.

At a meeting of ladies held on the 27th of March, 1833, in EDINBURGH (Scotland), with a view to establish a correspondence with American ladies who take an interest in the American Colonization Society, it was stated that the meeting were moved to this measure,

"By the hope of attaining the whole, or the principal part of the following objects:

I.—THE EXTENSION OF CHRISTIAN INTER-

COURSE.

"Every movement which enlarges Christian sympathy carries in its bosom a double blessing: it blesses the giver and the receiver; and if, haply, these parties meet in a simultaneous effort to convey relief to a third, the blessing is more than doubled: it is reflected back in many forms on all concerned.

"In this view, the principles of true philanthropy, and of sound patriotism, encourage us to seek an intercourse with those females in the United States, who commend themselves to our esteem, and invite our imitation, by their affectionate exertions on behalf of the Negro, who but recently might too justly be said to 'have none to help him.' There are not in the world, women from whom we can expect to meet so true a response to our sentiments and principles, as from the intelligent females of the United States; and there is no cause in which we can more cordially join. Therefore, confiding in the sympathy of Christian sisters, we address ourselves to the female supporters of the Colonization Society. With them we would unite our prayers, that even through this feeble instrumentality, 'Ethiopia may stretch out her hands to God.'

"Moreover, we owe to America a debt, in the matter of her negro population, which all our efforts will not be able to discharge. It was from our country that she received at first the baleful boon of Slavery. In the case of Pennsylvania, she received it most reluctantly, groaned under it while it endured, and at last it formed one of the most prominent reasons for casting off her allegiance to the mother country, and she forced her way to independence, that she might rid herself of this crime. Virginia, Maryland, the Carolinas, and Georgia, were alike averse to slave-holding, and one or more of these States made powerful remonstrances to the British throne, which were not successful.

"To Africa, also, we owe a debt, which no aspirations, no exertions, no sacrifices on our part, will be sufficient to cancel. The tenants of her wilderness have been in turn incited to barbarity, and made subjects of cruelty by Britons. If they have trusted a white man, they have been betrayed. If they have heard

the name of our God, it was in profanation and blasphemy. If their benighted minds were ever led to a comparison between the religion of the white and black man, it was to prefer their own cruel superstitions and puerile ceremonies to the light of that religion which Britons disowned.

"We are called upon, therefore, to be exceedingly glad that America has at last planted the tree of Christian Liberty on the promontory of Liberia. We are called upon to cheer her in her enterprise, not of benevolence only, but of restitution. We are called upon to combine our prayers, our hopes, our efforts, with hers, and to do what we can to plant our tree also on that injured shore.—And, if we obey this call, we shall, in return, acquire for ourselves Christian friends in America, who while they add to our interest in this perishing life, will swell our expectations of that glorious and blessed assembly in the life that is to come, where, through redeeming mercy, we may hope to meet them face to face.

"II.—THE PROMOTION OF A GENERAL USEFUL INFLUENCE ON AFRICA, BY MEANS OF FEMALE EXERTION.

"While it belongs to the male part of a population to determine the political institutions of a country, it falls chiefly into the hands of the female to provide, by early education and domestic training, for giving those institutions permanence. We feel that we do not step out of our sphere while we make an effort to promote the colonization of Africa, and the liberation of negroes. Slavery is the bitter cup, drained alike by both sexes, and from various causes it falls often more heavily on the female than on the male. The gains of slave holding, and thus the injuries to Africa, have been largely participated by females; and, therefore, are females called upon to redress its wrongs.

"It seems to us that these objects may be promoted in some one of the following ways:

"1. Were we to raise but £8, we could convey one negro to Liberia, so economical are the arrangements of the Colonization Society. We should thus have the happiness to know that one fellow-creature is removed from the scene of his bondage and degradation, to a country, where, placed among his equals, he may enjoy cultivation and prosperity. And who shall compute the amount of good to be achieved by sending one negro to Liberia? Let us gather means of calculation from the example of C. M. Waring, once a slave in the United States, now a minister of the gospel of peace in Monrovia. He was made the honoured instrument, the year before last, of adding one hundred members to the church. Not members who make an outward profession only, but those who, he trusts and believes, have imbibed the religion of the heart. If we follow this hundred into the duties and relations of life, the hundred may swell to thousands, and thus the settlement of one individual be the instrument of influencing the moral character of a nation.

"2. But, instead of £8, could we raise £800, Scotland might be the happy instrument of forming another settlement, at the cost of another year, which would secure

another portion of that long desolated coast from the barbarism of the black man and the treachery of the white, and furnish another point of attraction to the children of the wilderness.

"AN EDINA, under the shadow of Liberia, protected by her Governor, adopting her laws, cheered by her example, is a noble project, worthy of those on whose behalf it is set on foot, and adding to the happiness of those who shall see it accomplished.

"At this juncture all hearts swell with expectation that a few weeks will unfold to us a plan by which the shackles shall be broken from our own slaves, so that no British colony shall bear on its soil a bondman. We have therefore a strong domestic motive for forming a settlement on the African shores, which may ultimately furnish a key to open an entrance for West Indian negroes, who have, for thirty years, been in a state of suffering and banishment. And though it is not probable that those born in the West Indies may wish to emigrate, yet if there be a few, torn from Africa in early life, who do, it is the part of those who have wronged them, to assist them, and it is delightful to anticipate the opening of a settlement, around which they may find a home.

"So promising does this opening appear, that already, two well educated men of colour in this country, have offered themselves as candidates for a place in the new settlement; and one young medical man, of good talents and religious sentiments, proposes setting out to establish himself for the present in Liberia. He will be ready to remove to Edina as soon as he shall be required; and promises to be a very efficient member of such a Society.

"3. Should we fail in establishing a settlement, (an idea which we most reluctantly suggest,) still another form of usefulness presents itself, namely, the establishment of a School within the already settled country, which might also bear the name of Edina.—Or, should we succeed, it will become our duty to extend our care to the mental and moral culture of the persons whom we have been the means of transporting to Africa; and thus, for a short period at least, we may be called upon, from year to year, to provide for the maintenance of religious education in our own settlement.

"These, with other practicable objects, present themselves to us as so important, that, seeking the protection of the Divine blessing, we have resolved to form ourselves into a Society, bearing the name of the 'Ladies Liberia Society.'

The foregoing luminous paper has been transmitted to the Secretary of the American Colonization Society by Mrs. Mary G. Lundie, Secretary of the 'Ladies Liberia Society.' In a letter from that lady, written in April last, and accompanying the paper, she says:

"Mr. Cresson has obtained upwards of £500 in Scotland. This is more than half of what is required for a new settlement; and some of us have enthusiasm enough on the subject, to

hope that the settlement once begun, the sum would be made up.

"Our official persons are not regularly fixed yet; but it may be satisfactory to you to hear the names of some of them.

"*President.*—LADY CARNEGIE; a lady long known in every good work.

"*Vice-Presidents.*—LADY GREY, sister-in-law of the Premier, who has furnished many a ship with Bibles, and many a missionary with school books, &c.; MRS. FLETCHER, a lady known and admired by all Americans who have visited Scotland.

"*Secretary.*—MARY G. LUNDIE."

The Louisville (Ky.) Female Association, for promoting the education of Females in Liberia, have made their First Annual Report, in the following words:

"In presenting the first annual report of 'The Louisville Female Association for promoting the education of Females in Liberia,' it has been deemed proper to give a history of its commencement, and the motives which induced a few individuals to persevere through many discouragements and obstacles in its organization. A Female Colonization Society has been in existence for some time in Richmond, Va., but during the two past years the attention and sympathy of its members have been awakened by the frequent appeals which have been made in behalf of their benighted sisters in Africa, and they have been making an effort to send them the means of instruction, and thereby to elevate them from that degraded condition in which ignorance and superstition must ever hold them.

"Feeling assured that freedom and independence will render their condition more deplorable, unless they are blessed with the light of truth and the liberty of the gospel, that Society determined, with the blessing of God, to establish a female free school in Liberia. Finding that they were unable of themselves to prosecute their philanthropic undertaking, they resolved to solicit aid, and made an appeal, about eighteen months since, through their Secretary, to the ladies of Louisville. Several unsuccessful attempts were made at that time to procure a meeting, but it was not effected till the 17th of April, 1832, when the *Louisville Female Association* was organized, and passed a resolution to become auxiliary to the Richmond and Manchester Society, throwing all the responsibility upon them, and promising to aid only in pecuniary matters. This being the case, your Secretary has little more to report of the past year's transactions, than the number of subscribers and the amount of collections. There have been four meetings of the Board and one of the Society during the year. There are on the list seventy subscribers, and the Treasurer's book shows the receipt of seventy dollars, and the expenditure of one dollar twenty-five cents, leaving in the Treasury sixty-eight dollars seventy-five cents. It is sincerely hoped that the last annual report of the Richmond and Manchester Society will stimulate the members of this association to greater exertion, and that our next report will be more encouraging."

The Annual meeting of the *Female Colonization Society of Richmond and Manchester*, was held in the school-room of the 1st Presbyterian Church, on Monday, December 24th, 1832.

The Managers of this interesting institution have made their Fourth Annual Report, from which we extract the following passages:

"We have been amassing and reserving our funds for the support of a female free school in the Colony, for the purpose of supplying the lamentable deficiency which exists there in this department of education.

"The funds have not yet been applied, because our efforts to obtain a competent teacher have proved unsuccessful. At a meeting of the board on the fourth of September, it was resolved to invite a coloured woman, residing in Princeton, N. J. to come to Richmond, not only with a view of qualifying herself for the station, but also to prepare her for the change of climate to which a removal to Liberia would subject her.

"It was subsequently ascertained that it was unlawful to introduce a coloured person from another State into this Commonwealth, and though it is not probable that any legal prosecution would be incurred, it would be inexpedient to expose the Society to the odium and invidious remarks which might be occasioned by such a measure; it was therefore abandoned.

"It is known to most of the members of the Society, that it has long been one of the favourite plans of the friends of Liberia, to establish there, a high school, which might act as a lever to raise the present low standard of education; and perhaps eventually be made the foundation of a Collegiate Institution.—The Secretary of this Society recently wrote Mr. Gurley, Cor. Secretary, to obtain his advice respecting the propriety and expediency of our supporting a female teacher in that school when it should be established. In answer to that communication, he states that the school contemplated is intended for the education of young men, and as the object of our society is female education, it was deemed expedient that this plan should be dropped.

"It will appear that our efforts have not been in vain, when it is made known that the funds in the hands of the Treasurer, and at the disposal of the Society, amount to \$401 07 3-4.

"As to the general interest of the Colony, it is not necessary to enter into detail. It is known to the members of this Society, that the Colonization Society is rapidly taking deeper root, and extending wider its branches in the affections and patronage of the American people. Every report which we obtain from Liberia, tends to strengthen the confidence of the friends of the colonization cause, and to rebuke the indifference and opposition of those who stand aloof. The Managers of the American Colonization Society are extending their operations, and every ship which is fitted out with emigrants from the different parts of the

United States, must, as it floats away towards the coast of Africa, leave behind it more who will long to go, than were to be found before it began to receive on board its passengers.

"It deserves to be mentioned that we have an example of the discretion and enterprise of the free people of colour in these United States, in the mission of two of their number from Natchez, for the express purpose of examining the condition of the Colony, and of reporting on the encouragement which it presents to emigrants. And it is an auspicious circumstance that they have returned, confirming every favourable statement which has been made by others, and testifying their sincerity, by entering immediately upon arrangements to remove there with their families for a permanent residence.—This cause must progress. The smiles of God are upon it. His kind Providence has evidently fostered it."

Extract of a letter, dated *Trumansburg, Tompkins co. N. Y. March 14, 1833*; from JAMES McLALLEN, Secretary of the Ulysses Colonization Society, to the Publisher of the African Repository.

"The different religious societies of this village have united in forming a town Colonization Society, auxiliary to the Tompkins co. Colonization Society. Last year we raised thirty dollars, and the year before, twenty-five dollars; which sums have been paid over to the County Society."

PENNSYLVANIA COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

A public meeting of the PENNSYLVANIA COLONIZATION SOCIETY, was held on Monday evening, the 24th ult. at the Musical Fund Hall.

The President took the Chair at a few minutes past 8 o'clock.

The meeting was then opened with prayer by the Right Rev. Bishop White, the Senior Vice President of the Society.

The Rev. R. R. Gurley, Secretary of the American Colonization Society, addressed the Chair, and offered the following Resolution, which was seconded by the Rev. Dr. Brantly:—"That in the judgment of this meeting, the object of the American Colonization Society, viewed in its benevolent aspect towards the whole coloured race, merits the liberal support of the American people."—Adopted.

Robert S. Finley, Esq. the Agent of the New York Colonization Society, addressed the Chair, and moved as follows:

Resolved, "That this meeting feels entire confidence in the humanity and philanthropy of the friends of African Colonization in the Southern States; that they promote this scheme not solely to improve the condition of free men of colour and of the natives of Africa, but with a view to open the way, and offer powerful inducements to effect a safe, gradual, voluntary and entire abolition of slavery."—This Resolution was seconded by Dr. John Bell, and adopted.

The Rev. John Breckenridge presented and supported the following Resolution, which was seconded by Dr. Hodge.—"That in the opinion of this meeting, Liberia and its vi-

cinity offers a wide and most promising field for Christian effort, and that most high and holy considerations urge American Christians to prepare and send forth Teachers and Missionaries, and to do vastly more than has yet been done for the cause of Education and Religion in Africa."—Adopted.

Dr. John K. Mitchell addressed the Chair, and offered the following Resolution, which was seconded by Captain William C. Sherman.—"That a subscription be now opened to aid the funds of the American Colonization Society."—Adopted.

Joseph McIlvaine, Esq. the Recorder of the city, moved as follows:

Resolved, "That it be recommended to the Board of Managers of the American Colonization Society, to call a general convention of the friends of the Society at as early a period as possible, to consider and adopt measures to promote the interests of the Institution," and after having supported the Resolution by an address, it was seconded by J. J. Barclay, Esq. and adopted.

On motion of the Rev. R. R. Gurley, seconded by George W. Blight, Esq. it was

Resolved, "That a Committee of five be appointed to increase the subscription opened this evening, and also to publish an address inviting the churches in this city and State to take up collections for the Society on the 4th of July, or on some Lord's day near to it."—Adopted.

The President appointed on this Committee, Rev. W. T. Brantley, D. D., Gerard Ralston, Hart Grandson, George W. Blight, and John K. Mitchell, M. D.

Alderman Binns presented the following Resolution, which was seconded by Joseph McIlvaine, Esq.—"Whereas knowledge is power, and the dissemination of useful knowledge is the extension of wholesome power; and whereas "the African Repository," published by order of the Managers of the American Colonization Society, at the price of two dollars a year, publishes every month a mass of facts, information and argument relative to the actual condition and prospects of the coloured people, which is eminently calculated to enlighten the public mind as to the purity of motive, soundness of principle and exemplary objects of the Colonization Society:—And whereas such a publication powerfully tends to increase the friends and funds, and consequently the means of usefulness of the Society:—And whereas, this meeting observe with some surprise and regret that although the publishers of this interesting and useful periodical have agents appointed in a majority of the States, yet have they no published agent in, or for the State of Pennsylvania—a State proudly distinguished by a sincere disposition and an ardent desire to improve the condition of the coloured people:—wherefore,

Resolved, That the Managers of the American Colonization Society be, and they are hereby respectfully requested to appoint an agent, or agents, for the African Repository in Pennsylvania.

Resolved, That the African Repository, a work of merit, conducted with industry and talent, sold at a cheap price, and the profits of which are faithfully devoted to the promotion

of one of the best of causes, be and it hereby is, strenuously recommended to the patronage of all who take an interest, and who do not, in the amelioration of the condition of the coloured people, and in diffusing over the home of their fathers, benighted Africa, the bright and shining light, and the precious and glad tidings of the gospel, with all its attendant hopes and blessings.—Adopted.

On motion of Joseph McIlvaine, Esq. seconded by J. J. Barclay, Esq. it was

Resolved, "That the proceedings of this meeting be published in all the papers of the city."—Adjourned.

THOS. P. COPE, *President*.

B. GERHARD, *Secretary*.

VERMONT COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

To all Ministers of the Gospel, of every denomination, in the State of Vermont.

Agreeably to a vote of the Managers of the VERMONT COLONIZATION SOCIETY, your attention is requested to a statement of facts in relation to the American Colonization Society, and the Colony they have planted in Liberia.

From the last report of that Society, it appears that during the preceding year the territory of the Colony has been enlarged, and the number of its inhabitants increased by the accession of about eight hundred emigrants from the United States, of whom two hundred and forty-seven were slaves, manumitted for the purpose of their being colonized;—That the agricultural and commercial interests of the Colony are rapidly advancing, and new avenues for communication and trade have been formed with the tribes of the interior;—That health has generally been enjoyed, and manifest improvement made in the state of the schools;—That a high school, or seminary, in Liberia, is contemplated by the Managers, for which donations to the amount of \$2,400 have already been received;—That the relations of the Colony with the native tribes are of the most friendly character;—That the natives are continually inviting settlements from the Colony along the coast, for a distance of about one hundred and forty miles, and that means are only wanting to enable them to occupy any portion of the coast to that extent;—That the Colony is now prepared to receive a much larger number annually than the Society have hitherto had the means of colonizing, and that were such means furnished, thousands might be introduced in a single year;—That in Liberia, the moral and religious interests of the Colony are appreciated by the inhabitants;—That open immoralities are rare, —that the Sabbath is strictly observed, and public worship attended by nearly the whole community with regularity and decorum,—and that during the year three churches have been erected;—That the re-captured Africans, thirsting for knowledge, and especially religious knowledge, some of whom have already professed Christianity, are contented and independent, and especially improving in intelligence and respectability;—That during the year the strength of the Society has been much increased in this country, notwithstanding the

opposition with which it has been assailed;—Societies are increasing in numbers and activity;—donations and bequests of individuals afford cheering evidence that the cause of Colonization is taking a stronger hold of the affections of the benevolent;—the State Legislatures are beginning to patronize it by liberal appropriations, and several thousand dollars have been received from benevolent persons in England. The African Repository of February last states, however, that the pecuniary wants of the Society were never more pressing than at present.

In conveying nearly 800 persons to Liberia during the last year, the Managers expended all their means, and in addition, contracted debts, which are yet to be discharged. With sufficient funds, the Society would transport several thousand persons to Liberia during the present year. Many humane masters are waiting such a conveyance, that they may liberate their slaves.

In view of these facts, and many others, which it is presumed are within your knowledge, and in full confidence of the benevolent design of the Society, and its ultimate success in the establishment of a line of colonies, of free, intelligent, and virtuous communities, around Western Africa, and thus destroying the slave-trade, and redeeming multitudes of colored persons, with their posterity, from hopeless bondage, and contributing largely not only to the extermination of slavery in our own country, but to the extension of the blessings of civilization and Christianity over the whole continent of Africa:—The Managers of the Vermont Colonization Society, taking this view of this interesting subject, request you—and each of you, Rev. gentlemen, to bring the subject before your respective congregations, on some Sabbath near the 4th of July, and preach on the same, if convenient, and take up a collection for the benefit of the Society.

All collections and donations may be forwarded to DANIEL BALDWIN, Esq. of Montpelier, Treasurer of the Vermont Colonization Society, by the members of the General Assembly, in October next, or sooner, if convenient.

ELIJAH PAINE,

President of the Vermont Col. Society.

Williamston, May 9, 1833.

The foregoing circular address has been sent to all the Ministers of the Gospel of each denomination of Christians in the State of Vt. If from any circumstance any Minister should not receive a copy, he is respectfully requested to ask of his congregation a contribution. And all Editors of public Journals in the State who are friendly to the cause, will confer a favor by giving the foregoing address, together with this note, one insertion in their respective papers.

E. P.

VIRGINIA COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

At a called meeting of the Managers of the Virginia State Colonization Society, held at the City Hall in Richmond, on Monday evening the 17th of June, the Hon. Chief Justice MARSHALL, President of the Society in the Chair, the following Preamble and Resolution were unanimously adopted:—

The Board being informed that the Parent Society is at present much pressed for the want of funds, and desiring to receive the aid of this Society,

On motion, *Resolved*, That DAVID I. BURR, FLEMING JAMES, and ROBERT G. SCOTT, be a Committee to draw up and circulate an address, urging the special action of our Auxiliary Societies, and also requesting the attention of Clergymen of all denominations, to attend to taking up collections on the 4th of July next, or on the Sabbath previous or subsequent thereto, and forward all sums collected to BENJAMIN BRAND, our Treasurer, or to the Parent Society, as may be most convenient.

The undersigned, the Committee appointed under the foregoing Resolution, believing that the scheme of African Colonization has been so frequently and ably discussed, that it is now, in regard to its design and operation well known and generally appreciated, do not therefore deem it necessary to enter upon an elaborate discussion of all the great interests it involves, and which it doubtless will, under proper management, ultimately effect.

The end it proposes has become the desire of the humane—the prayer of the christian, and the hope of the patriot. The practicability of the scheme, consistently with the tranquility of our domestic economy, and the health, prosperity, and happiness of the Colonists in Liberia, is demonstrated not only to the entire satisfaction of its original friends and advocates, but to the great gratification of multitudes of others, some of whom withheld their aid, in the infancy of the Institution, from political considerations, and others from motives of humanity to the blacks.

The unprecedented success of the experiment in its enlightening and ennobling effects upon the emigrant blacks, produced during the past year an extraordinary favorable excitement among these people in this, and other Southern States. In consequence of this, almost unlooked for, change in the opinions and desires of the free colored people, the Managers of the Parent Society at Washington, in meeting the very numerous applications for the means of emigrating to the Colony, have entirely exhausted their Treasury, and are now without the means of further action in this truly great and beneficent cause. Indeed, they are in debt. Their main and almost only dependence to enable them to meet the demands upon them, and to prosecute the great work which they have so *manfully* and *nobly* sustained up to the present moment, and upon the ultimate success of which depend so many vital interests, is the liberality of the people—the great source of all power under our happy Constitution.

The political interests intimately and essentially involved in the final success of the scheme of African Colonization, are generally well understood, and are in themselves of sufficient importance to fill the amplest mind and warm the coldest heart. The undersigned do not deem it necessary to dwell upon this view of the subject: it is so plain that a "way-faring man may understand it, and he that runneth may read" it.

There is, however, one feature in African

Colonization, which they cannot in justice to themselves and the religious public, pass silently over.—It is its *missionary character*.—In appealing, therefore, to the ministers of our holy religion, of all denominations, in behalf of Colonization, they feel that they are appealing in behalf of that very religion itself, whose long desired spread in Africa, where a climate unfriendly to the white man prohibits his entrance as its *permanent* missionary—is *only* to be accomplished by the success of the great plan, which is to restore to the land of their ancestors, imbued with the spirit of christianity, and with a practical knowledge of its effects, and with a desire of extending its benefits, that *unfortunate race*, which the avarice of our predecessors transported to our shores.

In this view of the subject, the undersigned most earnestly commend it to the special notice of all ministers of the gospel of all denominations. The undersigned will not trust themselves to enlarge upon this theme—it more properly belongs to those to whom this address is made. It is their peculiar province to point out and explain the movements of that great mysterious Being, "who plants his footsteps in the sea and rides upon the storm,"—whose kindness and mercy are over all the works of his hands, and whose purposes of benevolence in regard to all men must and will be fulfilled.

No occasion can be esteemed more proper, for all who desire the success of Colonization, to make contributions to its aid, than on that day, so signal in the annals of our beloved country, and the celebration of which is now so near at hand.

To unite with the rites of our national jubilee, yearly advances for our distant and infant Colony; to bear in recollection the holy struggle now making to restore to the land of their forefathers a degraded and hopeless population, and to civilize and christianize a new continent, while our own loved land is relieved from its heaviest curse, must add beyond estimation to the feeling of devotion which every American citizen now entertains for that sacred day which made him a freeman.

Influenced by these considerations, we most respectfully and earnestly entreat you, upon the approaching anniversary of American Independence, or the Sabbath succeeding or preceding the same, to call upon all who feel an interest in the success of our Society, to assist its progress, by all reasonable contributions.

All funds that may be collected, you are earnestly requested to forward with as little delay as possible, to BENJAMIN BRAND, Treasurer of the Virginia State Colonization Society at Richmond, or if more convenient, to the Treasurer of the American Colonization Society at Washington.

DAVID I. BURR,
FLEMING JAMES, } Committee.
ROBERT G. SCOTT.

Richmond, June 20th, 1833.

From the Baptist Tract Magazine, June, 1833.
DONATION FOR LIBERIA.

Through the hands of Brother Phoenix, we have received from the First African Church,

Savannah, Ga. \$8 50 to be applied to the distribution of tracts in Liberia. This donation is not only very acceptable to us, but will be highly gratifying to those for whom it is intended. By a letter from Rev. C. M. Waring, of Monrovia, published in the Tract Magazine for September, 1832, it will be seen that tracts are there greatly wanted, and gladly received. That infant nation should be furnished with the means of religious knowledge, that when they become a mighty people, they may also be a people of righteousness.

A few days before the reception of the above named contribution, a parcel of tracts was sent to Liberia, and by the next opportunity, we shall forward an additional supply.

Will not the church who remitted this donation, and other African churches, make an *annual collection* for the purpose of sending tracts to their coloured brethren in Liberia, and thus aid in the great work of preaching the gospel to the whole of Africa? Such an expression of regard and kindness, would secure the grateful affection of the colonists, and unite them and their brethren in this country in the strongest Christian bonds.

COLONIZATION MEETINGS.

Many interesting meetings have been held, since the issue of our last number, in various parts of the Union, in aid of the American Colonization Society. As our limits preclude a minute account of the proceedings on these occasions, our readers must, for the present at least, be contented with the following brief notices:

On the 19th of June a meeting was held at the Masonic Hall, New York, by the friends of the Colonization Society.

Colonization Meeting.—An interesting meeting was held at the Masonic Hall, New York, by the friends of the Colonization Society. Mr. Gurley, Secretary of the Society, addressed the meeting at length on its principles, history, &c.; after which the Rev. Dr. Spring moved the following Resolution:

Resolved, That in the opinion of this meeting, the American Colonization Society is founded upon just, patriotic and christian principles; is benevolent in its tendencies, and glorious in its aspect and promise of good toward the whole African race.

Dr. S. was followed by S. L. Knapp, Esq. Mr. Washington Davis, a citizen of Liberia, addressed the meeting. In reply to the assertion that colonization does no good, he mentioned the fact that in 1820 the river Mesurado was lined with slave factories. The Colony had broken them up. He had himself been engaged in two expeditions against the slavers, in which 200 captives were set free; who are now valuable, industrious, and in many instances, pious citizens of the Colony. This statement was hissed by some of the colored men—an evidence of *that* love of freedom and *those* feelings of humanity, which

the Anti-Colonizationists excite among the blacks. Before taking his seat, Mr. Davis turned to his colored brethren and exclaimed: "Because I vindicate the Colonization Society, I am denounced as a spy and a traitor to the race. What do you see in me that looks like a spy or a traitor to the race?" (Applause from the audience, with hisses from the blacks.)

At the close of the meeting a collection was taken up, amounting to \$1,158.

On the 20th of June a Colonization meeting was held at Princeton, N. J., a village long renowned for its rich and regular contributions to literature and religion.

Messrs. Gurley and Finley spoke. The Rev. Drs. Miller and Alexander, and Profrs. Dod and Maclean, took part in the exercises. Captain Robert F. Stockton, of the U. States Navy, the President of the New Jersey Society, is the Chairman of a Committee appointed to solicit subscriptions.

THE COLONIZATION CAUSE IN THE THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY AT PRINCETON, N. J.

We take peculiar pleasure in publishing the subjoined Resolutions in favour of Colonization, which have been forwarded to us by the respectable Chairman of the meeting which passed them. It will gratify the friends of the Society every where, to find that it has acquired able co-operation at PRINCETON, that famous and time-honoured seat of learning and piety.

At a general meeting of the students of the Theological Seminary in Princeton, N. J. held on Monday, June 24, 1833, the following Resolutions were unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That in the deliberate opinion of the students of this Seminary, the plan of colonizing, with their own consent, the free people of colour of this country, on the Western coast of Africa, is an enterprise worthy of the prayers, the efforts, and the cordial patronage of every christian and patriot; and viewing it as such,

Resolved, That with the blessing of God, we will, during the ensuing year, use all laudable efforts to enlist public sentiment in behalf of this enterprise, and to secure funds to aid the American Colonization Society, in sending out such emigrants as may be prepared to go.

Resolved, That the proceedings of this meeting be signed by its Chairman and Secretary, and published under their direction.

(Signed) TRYON EDWARDS.
JAMES CLARK, Secretary.

BOSTON DEBATE ON COLONIZATION.

A public debate took place at Boston, on the successive evenings of May 30 and 31, upon the prominent topics of difference between the Colonization and immediate ab-

lition Societies. It was carried on by R. S. Finley, Esq. and Professor Wright of the Western Reserve College, Ohio—the former advocating the colonization of the blacks in Africa, and the latter the immediate abolition of slavery at home. We are indebted to our Boston friend, (says the New York Commercial Advertiser) and correspondent for the following account of the result.

Boston, June 1st, 1833.

I suppose you will feel some interest in the result of the Colonization and Abolition debate between Messrs. Finley and Wright. I can tell you, in one word, that it went off grandly for the cause, and will unquestionably be the instrument of much benefit to us, and credit to Mr. Finley. With the exception of here and there a hasty expression by either debater, evidently struck out in the heat of contest, the whole affair was conducted in the most gentlemanly style. The Church was crowded on both occasions—Thursday and Friday—and the audience was highly respectable and attentive.

I say it has done good, not judging from my own feelings merely, but from what I see and hear. The impression was plain as the daylight. One of our most respectable city officers who heard the first debate, said to me "I went an impartial hearer. I knew nor cared nothing about the subject before; but I came away a different man. I shall join the Society forthwith." Several distinguished gentlemen have come forward to make themselves life-members.

[Correspondence of the N. Y. Observer.]

Boston, June 5, 1833.

The last week was one of profound and well-sustained interest to the Christian community of Boston. The Prison Discipline cause, the Tract cause, the Education cause, the Sabbath school system, the Missionary enterprise, were probably never presented to the public in so interesting a manner. But there was one cause, which if it did not swallow up the others, stood out in bold and prominent relief—the Colonization. The most intense interest was given to it from the fact that a public discussion was held on two successive days between Professor Wright of Ohio, and R. S. Finley, Esq., Agent of the New York Colonization Society, to which he was challenged or "invited" by Prof. W.—The most judicious and ardent friends of Colonization do not approve of these public debates as a general practice, while their opponents seem to seek every opportunity to draw the former into them. The respectable character of Prof. W. induced Messrs. Finley and Danforth, both of whom were bravely challenged by him to take some notice of it, which was done in a kind and respectful manner; and as one was deemed amply sufficient to take care of the cause, Mr. F. having been first named in the call, and having had an extensive personal acquaintance with slavery, was detailed for the work. And

well did the combatants fight themselves. They exhibited uniform kindness and courtesy towards each other, as professors of the same religion should do. They were deeply earnest in their respective causes. But the moral excellence, the practical energy, and the certain effects of the Colonization system on slavery, were so clearly set in contrast with the merely abstract doctrines of the Anti-Colonizationists, that even the ability of Prof. W. did not avail, and it is generally agreed that a powerful impulse has been given to the Colonization cause, which years of "anti-slavery" labor cannot roll back. A great many clergymen were present, as well as others.

[From the New York Observer, June 15.]

EMANCIPATION OF ONE HUNDRED SLAVES!

It gives us much pleasure to announce, that the students in the Theological Seminary at Andover, have pledged themselves to raise, with the blessing of God, within six months, a sum sufficient to effect the emancipation of one hundred slaves in Kentucky. We have received the following communication on this subject from R. S. Finley, Esq. the Agent of the American Colonization Society in this city:—

Office of the Colonization Society,

New York, June 10, 1833.

To the Editors of the N. Y. Observer.

On the 2d inst. Charles Tappan, Esq. of Boston, a zealous and enlightened friend, and liberal patron of the Colonization Society, did me the favor to take me in his chaise from Boston to Andover, to which place I had been previously invited to confer with the students of the Theological Seminary, in the last mentioned place, as to the best means of advancing the interests of the Colonization Society. On the 5th of June, before I left the place, the following testimonial of their approbation of the objects of the Society was handed to me by one of the students:

"At a meeting of the students of the Theological Seminary in Andover, held on the 4th of June, 1833, the following preamble and resolution were adopted:

Whereas we have been assured by Robert S. Finley, Esq. who has travelled extensively in Kentucky, as an Agent of the American Colonization Society, that for every \$30 which we may obtain for that purpose, one slave, of good character, may be voluntarily emancipated in Kentucky and sent to Liberia:

Resolved, That we pledge ourselves, with the blessing of God, to raise a sufficient sum of money, within six months from this time, to effect the emancipation and removal to Liberia, of at least one hundred slaves in Kentucky.

(Signed)

MILO P. JEWETT."

The gentleman who handed me the above preamble and resolution, informed me that they passed with only two opposing votes, and that they came from members of the Anti-Slavery Society. I am, Sir, very respectfully,
Yours,
R. S. FINLEY.

[From the Winchester Virginian.]

LETTER FROM A COLONIST.

The accounts of prosperity attending the Colony of Liberia have been so imposing through the letters that have been received from that place, that doubts of their authenticity have existed in the minds of some of our coloured population. An emigrant from Loudon county agreed before he left, on a plan by which no false epistle could be palmed off as his; this was to mention certain facts selected by himself and his brother, and to place them in the postscript of his letter. The letter itself has been handed us, and is published below. It speaks for itself. The annual appropriations by the State will give a new impulse to the operations of the Col. Society.

Monrovia, Liberia, March 1, 1833.

DEAR BROTHER BENJAMIN:—We have arrived safely at Liberia—myself and all my family. On the passage we had no sea-sickness, and as yet the fever of the country has not attacked us. It usually comes on in from two to six weeks after arrival, some die, others have it slightly—the event, as to me and mine, I leave with God.—Hitherto I am much pleased, and am perfectly satisfied with the present circumstances of things. I believe an industrious man can live here easier than in the United States, and as yet I am so agreeably disappointed with the country, that I have no desire to return to the United States to live there. I wish very much that you were here with me. I feel that I am in a land of great privileges and freedom. Last Sabbath I preached three times in Baptist churches. There are here Methodists, Presbyterians and Baptists—all zealous and active in the good cause.

The productions of the country are numerous—oranges, limes, indigo, plantain, &c. are all plenty. I have sat at tables where fowls, and fish, and hams, and beef, were all served up as good as we have in the United States. I have drawn a town lot, and am living in a hired house until I get one built on it.

There is a great demand here for stone-masons. I am now, though I have been here only one week, engaged on a house at \$3 50 per perch, to be paid in cash; the price sometimes is \$4 50. Tell my old friend Joseph Sanford, if he were here he could find ready employment. I have found large store-houses and others built of stone, as we have in the United States, and some rich people living in style as in any other country.

I find a great many natives here. Their dress is nothing but a handkerchief around the loins—all the rest of the body naked, both men and women; the latter do not frequent the town. b d to be seen.

Capt. Hitchcock
the kindest man

he deserves my highest gratitude. I wish you might come out with him.

Your most affectionate brother,

REUBEN MOSS.

P. S. I will now give the sign which I was to give you that you may know this letter is from me. It was to mention the accidents. The first was your getting your leg caught under a tree, the second was my falling off the horse and having my hand split open by an axe. R. M.

POSTSCRIPT.

MR. CRESSON'S AGENCY.

In the Hull Rockingham, &c. Gazette, edited by Mr. Lee, of May 11th and 18th, received just as this number was going to press, we find some interesting notices of Mr. CRESSON's proceedings. That paper, under the former date, has the following article:

"Liberia.—We refer to another page for a most interesting discussion on this new and rising Colony. Mr. Cresson, the Agent for it and advocate of it, is at present in this town, on his return from a tour in the north of England. The opposition he has met with has been fierce and pertinacious, but we are happy to say not very successful. He purposes, as will be seen by an advertisement, to address the people of Hull, once more, before his departure to his native land, and has appointed Tuesday evening, at 7 o'clock, in the Mechanics' Institute, for that purpose. The Colony, by all accounts, is answering the benevolent purposes of its founders. Mr. C. will lay before his hearers the latest information respecting it, and refute the objections made to it."

The discussion referred to in this article took place at Scarbro', in consequence of a challenge which Mr. GEORGE IMPEY of Whitby had sent to Mr. CRESSON to meet him in public disputation on the subject of the American Colonization Society.

Mr. IMPEY's arguments seem to have been derived chiefly from Mr. W. L. Garrison's common-place book of objections to the Society. In opposition to the authority of this "distinguished philanthropist", Mr. Cresson adduced that of Dr. Finley, Bishop White, the Friends of Carolina Yearly Meeting, who had sent 10 to the Society and pledged re on certain conditions—own, the head of the Baptist in Kentucky; Rev. G. Col, formerly Hu who d g out null to rica, at wno G. erence

was but one voice as to the advantages of the Colonization Society. Mr. C. also referred to the opinions of the Society as expressed in its publications and through its authorized agents.

In reply to the authority of certain prominent individuals, alleged by Mr. IMPEY to coincide in his views, Mr. CRESSON mentioned, in addition to the distinguished friends of the Colonization Society whom he had before named, Gen. R. G. Harper, Judge Washington, and Bishop Meade. He denied Mr. Garrison's competency as a witness, referring to some judicial proceedings against him in this country, and to his falsifications of the African Repository. After some *argumenta ad hominem*, drawn from the history of the British Anti-Slavery Society, Mr. C. alluded to the persecution which he had met with from certain quarters in England, and succinctly expounded the tendency of the Colonization scheme to meliorate the condition of the coloured population.

In the course of the debate, Mr. C. triumphantly rode over a host of objections, resting on references to certain passages in the African Repository, on the debate in the Virginia legislature, growing out of Nat Turner's insurrectionary attempt, &c. &c. After making a pertinent and satisfactory statement concerning the climate of Liberia, Mr. C., says the Editor of the Rockingham,

"Defended the conduct of the Society in the encouragement given to females to emigrate, because, though they sent families when they could, the feeling of enterprise was such, that there were far more men than women applied, and he appealed to the company whether it was not wise to do all they could to promote christian marriages rather than allow them to form connexions with heathens, and thus haply throw their christianity away. As to compulsion they had had no less than 2,500 applicants on the books at once, and Bishop Meade was distressed because they could not raise funds to satisfy their wishes. Mr. C. contended that, in the general operations of the Society, they were doing *all in their power* to lighten the burdens of the coloured people, and to raise them in the scale of mankind; and, because they could not do more, they were taunted with *selfishness, cruelty, and injustice*. Might God, in his mercy, grant a thousand fold of such motives and of such results. If they were actuated by selfish motives, they would sell the

£60 or £80 a-head, and

up gratuitously to be

[Here Mr. Impey observed,

ket.] No market, said Mr. C.—No market. He had received when at Belfast, a Baltimore paper, of which he was so astounded, he committed it to the flames; but, had he known that he should be told that there was no market for the slaves, he would have sold it as fine gold. In that very paper a man advertises—T—of—will give the best market price for slaves, and in the same paper. Woolfolk, of Raleigh, will give a better price for slaves than any one else; and yet we are to be told there is no market. He had before stated at the meeting, and he now repeated it here, that the operations of this Society, a feeling of benevolence produced, "broad as their lakes, as their forests, and irresistible as the cataract of Niagara."

The testimony was given to the respectability of the characters of Mr. Cresson and Mr. Innes. After some further remarks from Mr. Impey, Mr. Cresson, and Mr. John Rowntree the Rev. G. B. Kidd said the African Colonization Society was blamed because it differed from the Anti-Slavery Societies, and did not interfere on the subject of slavery—this was the case with Missionary Societies. The members were instructed in going to slave states, not to interfere in the question of slavery; and were the Missionary Societies blamed because they did not do more? So was not the Colonization Society to be blamed because it was not an Anti-Slavery Society, for as Missionary Societies had been instrumental in producing an effect which had perhaps done more to promote the cause of emancipation than any thing else, so was the Anti-Colonization Society indirectly producing a similar effect in America. He said the years ago paid considerable attention to the subject of Colonization, and had approved it. The objection that was made against the free and intelligent going to Liberia was analogous to what might be advanced against forming new colonies from the ranks of our own peasantry, if enterprising moral and religious (and such only are the proper materials for beginning a Colony.)—Such men, it might be said, are wanted to improve the home population, and would be sure of a living here; but the very effect to prepare such characters for colonists would have an effect on the character of those who remained; where one was removed three would be left behind. In commercial language the increased demand would produce an increased supply.—Mr. K. expressed his approbation of the Society, and said that his convictions in its favor since the discussion, were ten-fold stronger."

Some remarks in favor of the Colonization Society were made by Mr. Isaac Stickney, and by Mr. Richard Morrison in reply to Mr. Kidd. Mr. Rowntree replied.

"It is a copy of original documents, and is important to form the American coming forward to get.

"Rev. B. Evans expressed his satisfaction that no one had seconded Mr. R.'s motion.—He said he had thought long on the subject; he was at first delighted when he heard of the plan, and intimated to Mr. C. his willingness to do all he could to promote its object. He afterwards saw Stuart's book, and examined it. He found quotations from *speeches* given in as parts of their *reports*, and this made him very suspicious as to the charges that were advanced. He had also read Garrison's book, and he found a quotation from it in the Eclectic Review, a reference to a No. and page of the African Repository, where he could find neither the words nor the sentiments; and he must confess, when he saw a man had not the moral honesty to quote correctly, he could not value his evidence highly.—He could not consider that *evidence*, where one sentence was taken from page —, and another from page —, and both were united together for the purpose of putting a different construction on the sentiments, to what was intended. Mr. E. stated that his sentiments had not been changed; he approved of the Colonization Society; they admitted the existence of a deeply rooted prejudice, but they had not created it, and it was unfair to brand them with what they could not subdue. He hated slavery as strongly as any man; and did he think for a moment that this Society would have a tendency to support it, he should be the very last man to join in its ranks. He did not think it would, and therefore moved

"That this meeting sees no reason to suppose that the efforts of the American Colonization Society have a tendency to perpetuate slavery; and is of opinion that it is well calculated to confer immense blessings on Africa, by civilizing and christianizing it."

"Mr. J. B. Baker could not find words more appropriate to express his own sentiments than those used by the gentleman who preceded him, and had great pleasure in seconding the motion.

"The Chairman then put the motion, when there was a large majority of hands held up in its favour.

"Mr. John Willis expressed his satisfaction with the explanation Mr. C. had given, and said that all institutions had met with opposition at their origin.

"Here Mr. Impey, who had made a *personal* charge against Mr. Cresson, begged leave to retract it, stating that it was done under circumstances of irritation, and that he was satisfied of Mr. C.'s integrity of motive.—Mr. C. accepted the offer, and gave his hand in token of cordiality.

"Mr. J. B. Baker said, "As there had not been parties wanting to impugn the motives, and asperse the character of Elliott Cresson, as the Agent of the Colonization Society, and that in language not the most becoming, he begged to move 'That this meeting is of opinion that the exertions of Elliott Cresson on behalf of the Colonization Society spring from pure, disinterested, and benevolent motives.' " This was seconded by the Rev. J. Skelton, and carried unanimously.

"Mr. Cresson returned
gretted all could t
might have been c

expression; but when it was recollected that he had been ever since he came to this country for 24½ months engaged in guerilla warfare, a stranger in a strange land, his character assailed, and often not received either with kindness or courtesy, he was he hoped entitled to some indulgence, and he should ever retain a most grateful recollection of the kindness with which he had been received at Scarbro', both on this and a former occasion, and which was so different to what he had experienced at some other places. He wished the subject to be *thoroughly investigated*, under the belief that it would tend most powerfully to strengthen the attachment of its friends, and subdue the unfounded hostility of the enemies of the Society."

The journal already referred to contains, under date of May 18, the following editorial article:

"*Liberia*.—On Tuesday evening last, Mr. CRESSON, in the Hall of the Mechanics' Institute, addressed a respectable assembly on the rise, progress, and present state of this colony. Mr. Bromby, Vicar of the Holy Trinity Church, presided on the occasion. The principal facts he stated will be found embodied in a letter inserted in another page, and therefore not to be repeated here. He was heard with great attention, and appeared to have made a most favorable impression. At the conclusion of his address, the Rev. G. LEE moved a resolution of thanks to Mr. Cresson for the information he had communicated, expressing his own firm conviction that the Colony was founded on good principles, and must eventually have a favorable influence both in America and Africa, especially in Africa, where its evident tendency was to destroy all traffic on man. Mr. BOWDEN seconded the motion, bearing testimony to the integrity, zeal, and disinterestedness of Mr. Cresson, who had, at his own expense, undertaken the duty of missionary to this country. Previously to the resolution being put to the vote, Mr. E. BUCKTON, in reference to some objections to the scheme, put two or three questions to Mr. Cresson, to which that gentleman answered very satisfactorily, showing that he had experienced most unmerited persecution, and that the Colony had already effected great good. The motion was then carried unanimously."

The letter referred to in the just copied, is addressed of the Rockingham, written by 1 and dated Beverley, May 9, 1 .— It presents a brief but view of the motives and Colonization Society, and of the madversions which it has he tune to receive. The real of next number of the pory v have an opportunity of excel : letter. At pr it we y tice it ther by adverting the ichoir

THE
AFRICAN REPOSITORY,
AND
COLONIAL JOURNAL.

VOL. IX.]

AUGUST, 1833.

[No. 6.

REVIEW.

Narrative of the Ashantee War; with a view of the present state of the Colony of Sierra Leone. By Major RICKETTS, late of the Royal African Colonial Corps. 8vo. pp. 221: London; W. Simpkin and R. Marshall. 1833.

(CONCLUDED FROM PAGE 144.)

MAJOR RICKETTS, with whose faculty of going backwards in his narrative, the reader is probably familiar by this time, seems now, acting on the principle that "the reverse of wrong is right;" disposed to compensate his sins of retrogression, by leaping forward at an unconscionable rate. We are suddenly precipitated from July to September, and informed of Lieutenant Scott's death, of yellow fever, on the 12th of that month; an event deserving of commemoration, as that officer had been both vigilant and efficient during the contest with the Ashantees. On the 17th of October, the colony and the natives sustained a great loss in the death of Lieutenant-Colonel Chisholm, who had served on the coast in various military capacities from the year 1809, discharging his duties with assiduity, and conciliating the natives by his beneficent conduct. His health had been bad for a considerable time; and he was on the point of returning to Europe when death terminated his useful career.

Major-General Turner, the successor of governor Mac Carthy, arrived at Cape Coast about the end of March, 1825, with European soldiers of the Royal African Corps, whom he had brought from England, and 200 men, of the 2nd West India Regiment from Sierra Leone. He issued the following proclamation:

"By his excellency Major-General Turner, C. B. Captain-general and commander-in-chief of the British Settlements on the Western coast of Africa:

"Charles Turner to the people of Cape Coast, to the people of the other British settlements on the Gold Coast, and to the surrounding nations, friends and allies of England: The King of the Ashantees has, by the assistance of the Elmina people, waged a cruel and unjust war against you and us: he has suffered for his crimes and rashness, and Elmina is only suffered to stand because the King of the Dutch and the King of England, my master, are at peace; but I have represented their conduct, and their fate will depend on the orders I may receive. You have all stood forward in defence of your rights, and I thank you in the name of the King my master. England does not wish for any wars: she wishes the natives of Africa to be free, happy and rich; she wishes for nothing in this country but lawful trade and commerce. If the King of Ashantee will content himself with governing his own nation and his own people, and does not stop the trade of the interior with the coast, or attempt to oppress his neighbours, let him say so to me, and I will make a treaty with him on these

terms; but I will not make peace with him on any other terms, nor until he gives up every claim to tribute or subjection from the surrounding nations.

"Given at Cape Coast this 2nd day of April, 1825, by his excellency the Governor, WILLIAM WILLIAMS, Acting Colonial Secretary.

"God save the King." p. 113—114.

Governor Turner had been on the Coast but fifteen months, when he died at Sierra Leone, March 7, 1826. He was succeeded by Major-General Sir Neil Campbell, who arrived at Sierra Leone on the 22d of August. It seems that our author had gone to England for the benefit of his health, after having served constantly for seven years in Africa but was induced by promises of promotion to return thither with Sir Neil Campbell.

The new governor arrived in Cape Coast roads September 19, 1826, when he learnt that a battle with the Ashantis had taken place,—Lieutenant-Colonel Purdon commanding in chief the allied army. We proceed in the words of our author:

"The spot where the battle was fought is a plain with small clumps of trees and under-wood at intervals, about twenty-four miles north-east of British Accra, and nearly four miles south from a village called Dodowah, by which the natives distinguish the action. The King of Ashantee had pitched his tent there that morning. It was expected by every person who was acquainted with the Ashantee customs, that they would attack our lines on Monday, that being their prosperous day; accordingly some scouts brought intelligence about eight o'clock in the morning, that the enemy were in motion, and the King's drum was distinctly heard beating the war march. Our line was in consequence formed with all possible expedition, extending about four miles east and west, which made a very picturesque appearance, from the various dresses and numerous flags, British, Danish, and Dutch, which waved in the air. Our men were decorated with large sea-shells suspended from their necks and shoulders before and behind, or were decked with a stripe of white calico to distinguish them from the enemy. Many of them fought with the cloth hanging from the barrels of their muskets, which added to the novelty and singularity of the scene.

"A dispute had taken place for several days previously among the Kings of Akimboo and Dinkera and the Queen of Akim, who should attack the King of Ashantee hand to hand; it was at last agreed, that the former should take up a position on our extreme right, and the two latter on our extreme left; but they were perhaps fortunately disappointed in this arrangement, as it was afterwards known that the King of Ashantee had received intelligence that there were white men in the camp, and in the centre, he therefore selected that position to gain more honour." p. 116—117.

Then follows an account of the disposition of the troops for battle. The battle itself was distinguished by acts of atrocious cruelty, as will appear from the subjoined recital:

"No prisoners were taken by the natives, but they fell they were put to death: happy were they whose sufferings were short; in vain the gentlemen implored them to hold their hand, or at least to kill them out of the way. They were ripped up and cut across the belly, when plunging their hands in, they took out the liver, and the blood on the ground as a libation to the good fortune of the cause. Some of our men saw their own friends weltering in their blood, would give them a blow on the head to put an end to their misery. In many instances they dragged each other by the hair of the head, and wrestled and cut one another in pieces; and fortunate was he whose sword found out the vital part in his foe during the deadly grapple, though he was himself laid low by the same means. So hard were the enemy pressed, that a captain of consequence blew himself up, nearly involving some of his own men in destruction.

"The number of the slain on the part of the enemy was very great; but as none were allowed to leave the field, and no spare hands, like the people of the native chiefs, they were known to be a great loss. It was also ascertained that the Ashantees were getting between the centre and the left, and that the fact, as one party from the Dutch town, who supported the right of the Cape Coast, had given way and the enemy had rushed into their place. Besides this, the Danish natives, with their caboceers at their head, had fled early in the action, and the Swedish banners of Denmark were seen safely flying in the rear. The centre was now obliged to fall back and relinquish every advantage, sustaining a galling fire in flank, and closely pressed with the mass of the enemy, who evidently were making a bold push to seize or bring down the British. Captain Rogers, who was advancing with a small piece of artillery, would have been cut off, had he not very promptly distinguished them as the enemy. Colonel Purdon advanced with the reserve, and the Ashantees, when thrown, the train of fire, the explosion and the smoke to suppose that

they were thunder and lightning, called *snowman* in Fantee, by which name they are now known among the natives.

"Another party of Ashantees having attacked the left of King Cheboo of Dinkera, the Winnebago fled at the first fire, nor halted till they reached Accra; but a few rounds of grape shot, thrown over the heads of our people, restored the battle there also, Cheboo being already in advance with part of his people driving back his opponents. On the right, the battle was not for a moment doubtful; the king of Akimboo drove all before him, and penetrating to the king of Ashantee's camp, took them in flank; his path was marked by the column of smoke that rose in front, the short grass being dry, from our forces having bivouacked at the roots of the trees for two nights, together with extreme heat, caused it to take fire; the explosions of some Ashantee captains, who at intervals blew themselves up in despair, which was known by the smoke that arose over the trees; the shouts and groans of the combatants, with the burning grass, and the battle raging all around, formed no bad idea of the infernal regions. Fancy may indeed imagine, but it cannot describe such a scene of havoc and destruction, more resembling the wild fiction of an oriental tale, than one of absolute reality. The Danish natives who had fled at nearly the first onset, now perceiving the enemy to be repulsed by the rockets and grape shot, advanced, and taking possession of the plunder, which was immense, deliberately walked off the field; they sent to request more ammunition, saying they had only received twenty rounds each from their own government; and when upbraided with their bad conduct, they said it was against their fetish to fire on a Monday. About one o'clock, the heads of the Ashantee chiefs began to be brought in. Several of the blood royal and principal captains were known by the residents; when the deaths of any of them were reported to the king, he offered up human sacrifices to their manes in the heat of the battle." p. 118—122.

As the reader has before seen, one of the trophies gained by the allied army was a head supposed to be that of the brave and ill-fated Mac Carthy.

"The whole of the Ashantee camp," proceeds Major Ricketts,

"Was taken, together with their baggage and gold; the amount of the latter was said to be very considerable, but the whites never could ascertain what the natives obtained. Towards the end of the day, a great many slaves or prisoners were taken by the natives, who subsequently sold them to slave vessels to leeward of Accra, being satiated with the multitudes they had killed, in the early part of the fight, and until it was dark, parties were coming in with plunder from every quarter. The troops lay on their arms all night, as it was not known but that the King, with his surviving friends, might make an attack upon us in despair, having been seen in front, wandering over the scene of his blighted ambition. Through the night, at intervals, some of our native allied chiefs struck their drums to some recitations, which were repeated along the line, and as they died away, had a most pleasing effect, but were generally succeeded by deep wailings and lamentations from the glades, in front of our position, apparently from some unhappy Ashantee women looking for their friends among the fallen.

"The loss of chiefs on our part was but small; Mr. Richter was wounded in the thigh early in the action, and obliged to leave the field, but his men did not follow the flying portion of their countrymen. Narboah, the captain-general of the Akimboos, the chief captain of the Queen of Akim, and Quashie Amonquah, chief of Esseeccoomah, were the only persons of rank that we lost. The latter was regretted by every one, as several of the natives were always accusing him of treachery, and he was determined to show in the day of battle his sincerity, he therefore made a bold attempt to seize the King's person, and to take him dead or alive, and even had his hand on the royal basket to pull him down, when he was shot in the neck and secured. The King upbraided him for his treachery, and ordered him to follow, which he refused; order was then given to decapitate him; a party of Cheboos attacked the King, but Amonquah was already killed, and his head, if they have preserved it, is the only trophy which they can exhibit. His brother, Abaggy, was wounded in the thigh, or, as he says, "he would have made the King pay dear for his brother's head," which none doubted.

"The number of our forces, from the best information, amounted to eleven thousand; three hundred and eighty with muskets; that of the enemy was estimated at ten thousand, and much of the fighting was with the knife. We calculated our loss at about eight hundred killed and one thousand slightly wounded. The enemy it is supposed must have lost full five thousand men: a great many of their chief men were killed, whose names were familiar to African readers." 122—124.

Among the prisoners were Oroosoe Doome, the last Ashantee resident at Cape Coast in 1818; Oroosoe Ansan, the boy King of Enclensah, beyond Ashantee; and the King of Ashantee's Crabah, a female dedicated to the sooman, fetish, one of his wives, one of his occras, or page, a male dedicated to the sooman Enteyquah's wife, Otil, King's linguist, and one of the Accras of the King of Bewobin.

It seems that the native chiefs, instead of going in pursuit of the fugitive

King, returned with their people to Accra. Major Ricketts is of opinion that had the Ashantees delayed the battle a few weeks, the coalition would have fallen to pieces. "To show," he remarks, "what contrivances and resources this singular people have, it may be mentioned that in the "wallets" of some who fell, were found the Pangolin* or ant eater, scorched for food, while instead of shot among other things were found cowrie shells loaded with lead." p. 126—127.

After remarking that it was singular to see some of the natives under the Dutch flag fighting by the side of the allies, while had the latter been at Elmina, the former would have been found in the opposing ranks, as some of them were at Affettue, our author gives the following notice of a martial lady, who figured on the occasion:

"The Queen of Akim, who evinced much activity in the war, is about five feet three inches in height, with an infantine look; her voice is soft, evidently modulated to interest her audience, but cracked as a singer would express it, from constant use. She is an excellent beggar for munitions of war and distilled waters: just before the attack she went along the line with a massive necklace of leaden bullets, and in her hand a gold enamelled cutlass, and she was afterwards in the hottest part of the action. To some of the gentlemen who called on her the day before, she said among other things, "Osai has driven me from my country because he thought me weak, but though I am a woman, I have the heart of a man." " p. 128.

The important and memorable battle of Dodowah, was fought on the 7th of August, 1826.

On the 21st of September, Sir Neil Campbell disembarked at Cape Coast, and Lieutenant-Colonel Purdon having obtained leave to return to England, our author was appointed by the governor to the military and civil command of the Gold Coast. Immediately after the governor landed, he received some of the principal personages among the natives, and congratulated them on the recent victory. On the 26th, the following chiefs, at the request of the governor, who had despatched messengers for them, assembled in the hall at Cape Coast Castle, viz. Cudjoe Cheboo, King of Dinkera; Awoosoooco, King of Tueful; Ahmonee, and Baffoe, chiefs of Annamaboe; Adookoo, King of Fantee; Kings and head men of Cape Coast. The governor, after thanking them in the name of the King of England for their bravery in the battle, said that as the King of the Ashantees was now so humbled, it would be the best time to inform him that peace might be granted to him, on his soliciting for it, and giving security for his peaceable conduct in future to the King of England and all the allies. To such a message, they objected on the ground that the King of Ashantee would regard it as an evidence of submission; and asked for a delay of twelve months, predicting that in that time the Ashantees would themselves ask for peace. The governor refusing the delay, as being contrary to the orders of the King of England, they declined making any promise unless all the allies were consulted. They were reminded that the distance of the others, viz. the Queen of Akim, the King of Aquamboe, and the chief of Aquapim, rendered an immediate conference with them impossible, but that messengers had been sent to Captain Hingston to assemble them at Accra. The Kings and chiefs continuing obstinate, the governor at length apprised them that his orders to make peace were peremptory, and must be obeyed without any stipulation in their favour, if they would not consent to send to the King of Ashantee. He then gave them some presents, in compliment to their valour. The incidents immediately following, we give in our author's words:

"The Kings and chiefs still remaining in Cape Coast, the governor resolved to send a few presents by the most direct road to Coomassie. The King of Cape Coast was directed to select three intelligent men, one of whom could write, to proceed openly with a paper containing what he wished to say to the King of Ashantee. The Kings of Dinkera, Tueful, Warsaw, Fantee, and the chiefs of the Assin country, were also directed to send a few per-

* "The Pangolin is a native of the torrid climates of Africa, is in—being carnivorous, since it has no teeth, but lives entirely on insects." it.

sons as an escort, but which they refused. It was reported that the Kings of Dinkera and Tueful had said, that if the mission met with any harm, it would be their own fault in quitting Cape Coast; by this it was supposed that they wished to intimidate them from undertaking it. His excellency upon hearing of this, sent for the King of Dinkera, but he did not attend; not from any disrespect to the governor as it afterwards appeared, but from fear that he might be detained a prisoner in the Castle, and be delivered up to the Ashantees in order to obtain peace. The governor then sent for a few of their people, and directed them to inform the Kings of Dinkera and Tueful, that in one hour they and every one of their followers should leave the town, for their disrespect to him on this occasion; the projected mission to the Ashantees was in consequence abandoned. On the 10th of October the governor proceeded to Accra, but the chiefs who were expected did not assemble, being under Danish influence.

"Sir Neil Campbell returned to Cape Coast on the 19th. On the day of his departure from Accra, Cudjoe Cheboo, the King of Dinkera, sent two messengers to request his forgiveness: they were received by the King of Cape Coast, but he did not, as was customary, acquaint the commandant of their arrival, but informed them of the governor's departure, and said that on his return he would send to acquaint him of it, which he did accordingly, but not as from the governor. His excellency sailed on the 15th of November for Sierra Leone. On the 15th of January messengers arrived at Cape Coast from the Assins to Caboceer Bynie, acquainting him that some people from Adansay, a place adjoining the Ashantee country, and a day's journey from Coomassie, where the Assins had resided since they deserted from the Ashantees, requesting of him to ask the commandant to find some person to be present with those expected from the different allied chiefs, for the purpose of hearing what they had to propose.

"The commandant told the Assin messengers to inform their chiefs that he was obliged to them for their proposed interview, but that he could not, as commandant of the British forces, condescend to send any persons to meet messengers from the chiefs alluded to, and that Cape Coast was the proper place for the people from Adansay to deliver their proposals; but that he had not any objection to the King and caboceers of Cape Coast sending two or three men to be present, when the people from Adansay might state their object. Two men from the chiefs were accordingly sent, and after staying in that country a considerable time, they returned to Cape Coast, and said that the people from Adansay did not wish to come to Cape Coast, as it might be supposed that they had something of importance to communicate, whereas they were only desired by their chiefs to discover where the Assins were, and then to return immediately. About three weeks after this the chiefs of the Assins sent for the two Cape Coast messengers, stating that the Adansay people wished to return home, and that the Assin chiefs were desirous they should be present for the purpose of hearing what message would be sent to Coomassie.

"The messengers were accordingly sent up, having first been instructed by the commandant and the native chiefs what to say on behalf of them, and the Cape Coast people, in case any message likely to prolong the war was sent to the Ashantees.

"After the Cape Coast messengers had remained at Yancoomassie for three weeks, or more, and none of those expected from the different tribes appearing, the chiefs of Assin sent one of them down to say that it appeared that none of the chiefs had any intention of sending to hear what might be said to the Adansays on their returning home. The commandant, immediately on hearing this, despatched two trusty soldiers with instructions to proceed to Yancoomassie, and to acquaint the Assin chiefs that he wished to send a message to the King of Ashantee, which they were to deliver to the people from Adansay, in their (the chiefs of Assins) presence. The message was as follows:—That the commandant had received orders to make peace with the Ashantees for the English, and for such of the native tribes as were desirous of being included in this pacific proposal; and that if the Ashantees were inclined to peace, he should be happy to see any of them at Cape Coast for that purpose; that should they be afraid of obstruction in their way down, he would, on being acquainted therewith through the Assins, take measures to secure their safety both in coming and in returning. The soldiers accordingly accompanied the Adansay people a considerable distance on their way home from Yancoomassie. The Assins sent four men with them to Adansay, with directions to return in thirty days from the 14th of May.

"A few days before the time appointed for their return, a sergeant with some soldiers was despatched, accompanied by messengers from the chiefs, to wait their arrival at Yancoomassie, with orders to escort any messengers from Ashantee direct to Cape Coast; but it was long after the time fixed before the Assin messengers returned, in company with one from Adansay, bringing a message from the chief of that place to Cape Coast, in which the chief of Adansay was the person who settled all differences between the chiefs and those at war with them; that he wished the commandant of Cape Coast, and all allied chiefs, to send messengers to him, then he could see the King of Ashantee and make peace. The commandant knowing that none of the native allied chiefs would send, or allow persons from him to pass to Coomassie, desired the messengers to wait a few days, and he would give them an answer: accordingly on the 14th of May he made following reply: "Tell the King of Adansay I am much obliged to him for his good will, that the King of England was at no war with the natives of Africa; that peace is all that is required; there is no war in any of our country but this; all is peace and tranquillity. Tell the King of Ashantee I am much obliged to him for his good will, and if he will make peace, and if he will send messengers to me for that purpose, I

"The Ashantee messengers were presented to the lieutenant-governor who had assembled all the officers and merchants to receive them: great form was observed by the messengers, one of them, a relation of the King, had on a cap made of monkey-skin; it had a tail which hung down on the back of his neck; on the front of the cap, was a gold plate, about five inches long and two inches broad, upon which scales were neatly represented. On this man being desired to deliver his message, he took off his cap, and gave it to the chief of Assin, who handed it to one of the Fantee chiefs, and he to another, and lastly to the King of Cape Coast, who delivered it to the lieutenant-governor. The messenger then said that the King of Ashantee was very sorry for what he had done, and hoped that the English would pardon him; that he found there was no use in his fighting against white men, and therefore wished to be under their control, and as a token of his submission, he now laid his cap at the King of England's feet.

"On the 12th of December, several chiefs, viz. the King's of Warsaw, Dinkera, Assin, Fantee, Tufel, Annamaboe, Cape Coast, and many others of minor note, being assembled according to notice sent to them, the following terms were agreed to, as being those on which peace would be granted to the Ashantees, viz.,—that they should lodge four thousand ounces of gold in the Castle of Cape Coast, to be appropriated in purchasing ammunition and arms for the use of the British allies, in case the Ashantees should again commence hostilities; and that two of the royal family of Ashantee, whose names were mentioned, should be sent to Cape Coast as hostages.

"The King of Accombo, the Queen of Akim, the chiefs of Aquapim and the Accras were not present at the meeting, but messengers from each of them arrived a few days after, and the terms on which peace had been offered being explained to them, they signified their approval on the parts of their respective chiefs.

"Several attempts were made to ascertain from the Ashantee messengers some particulars connected with the several actions, but no satisfactory reply could be obtained. It appeared that they acted as spies on each other, for they would not give an answer to any question without first consulting among themselves. The only information we obtained was, that there were at Coomassie a white man taken at Affettue, and a mulatto man of Cape Coast, taken at Assamacow. The Ashantee messengers, after remaining at Cape Coast a few days longer, departed for Coomassie, accompanied by a respectable native named John Carr, and a lad of colour, named John Buckman, who was also a native and educated at Cape Coast, selected for that purpose; and messengers from most of the native allies.

"The party arrived at Coomassie on the 4th of February, as will appear by the following extract of a letter written by the lad of colour, copied verbatim:—"Now for the news: we arrived here on the fourth instant in the morning about seven; the King and his people assembled and saluted us in public manner, and also many strange things I saw on that day: about two hundred men carrying golden swords, and also skulls molted of gold, every thing about of him gold. When we went before him, he sat on his higher throne, and when he saw us, he made his hand a motion to pass, when he did not say with his mouth, after he sat he also came with his chiefs and saluted us; all the great umbrellas appeared on that day was two hundred and thirty. Interview on the next morning he sent us presents of pigs, and sheep, plantains, yams, and some other things; also four ounces and eight ackies of gold between me and Mr. Carr. Indeed he has treated us very well for to do this. Now as I am writing this, his sister has sent us five ackies of gold and the above like. Since we arrived, the inhabitants has not fall of playing—of rejoice for peace. On the Sunday last, the tenth, they killed a man; very large European house they have erected here, if you know Amorah of Accra I would say that the King's form like him, also his manners; he is very good King, because he has, since we arrived, behaved very well to us; every day he sends us couple of pots of palm wine, sometimes four, and also his people they speak very well to make peace, only they had some doubt on the part of the Assins, and Cudjoe Cheboo; this is all the news I could send you at present. We arrived on the fourth."

"Shortly after this the white man alluded to as being prisoner at Coomassie, and who proved to be private Patrick Riley, of the Royal African Corps, taken prisoner on the 25th of April, 1824, with the man of colour, John Duncan, a private in the militia, taken in the battle near Assamacow, on the 24th of January, 1824, were sent to Cape Coast by the King of Ashantee, accompanied by messengers from him, who stated that the King, in order to show the Europeans his sincerity in wishing for peace, had immediately, on being made acquainted with the governor's wish to have these two persons returned, sent them down, and that in return the King requested that some of his family might be sent, particularly his head wife, who had been taken prisoner at Doodowah, and to allow one of his chief Achampong, and some of his subjects, who were prevented by the allies from returning to Coomassie, by keeping such a strict watch over Elmina; that he would, on these terms being complied with, endeavour to collect the sum demanded of him as security for his good behaviour, and send it down. But his request could not be complied with, as the King's wife had been taken prisoner by some native chief under Danish influence, and as the Danes were dissatisfied as regarded their own security with the proposed arrangement, they signified their intention of making peace for themselves, and which the possession of this female would probably induce the King to grant more readily, and the whole of the native allies had signified their determination not to allow any of the Ashantees at Elmina to return to their country until the King of Ashantee had given proper security for his peaceful behaviour.

"The European soldier and the man of colour stated that the King had behaved well to

them during the whole period they were prisoners at Coomassie. Riley said, he had enjoyed better health while there (a period of four years) than when at Cape Coast; but he appeared confused in his ideas, and having been kept at a small village a short distance from Coomassie, where he was only allowed to walk about, he could give but an indifferent account of the country. He related the following statement of his capture: On information reaching Affettue that the Ashantees who had defeated the allies on the 25th of April, were in quick advance on that place, the troops in consequence commenced their retreat to Cape Coast; he, however, with two other European soldiers of the Royal African Corps, remained behind, and got possession of some ration rum that had arrived for the troops: on some of the enemy coming to the premises where they were, one of them fixed his bayonet and charged them; and they immediately decapitated him. Riley and the other remaining quiet, their lives were spared; they were, however, stripped of their cloathing and disarmed, and Ashantee cloaths were given to them to wrap round their bodies. They were shortly after sent to Coomassie, where his companion died in about twelve months. Riley was a few months after his return to Cape Coast, sent to England." p. 146—152.

Lieutenant-Colonel Lumley having returned in the British brig *Clinker* to Sierra Leone, Capt. Hingston was left in command at Cape Coast. Our author, it appears, had sailed for Sierra Leone on the 9th of January.

About the end of April, a letter from the King of Ashantee was brought to Capt. Hingston by Buckman, the youth already mentioned. This royal epistle and the answer which it received, will, of course, interest our readers.

"Saturday morning, Coomassie Castle, 12th of April, 1828.

"SIR: I beg to acknowledge your letter of the 9th of last month, and on which I took it into consideration of granting your request; but as I received some information that Fantees are already marched for Elmina, to put me in great doubt with all my people, I thought when the peace was concluded would for all my subjects. Therefore I send your messenger, Mr. John Buckman, with my messenger, so that you will see into and settle them for peace. If such made by you, will get some of the Ashantees that are at Elmina to come with Mr. John Buckman on his return. I beg to inform you that the amount of the security of four thousand ounces of gold, that was too much; but however as my ancestors has lodged four hundred ounces, for the security of friendship, I beg to do the same; and as soon as Mr. Buckman will return, I shall speedily return them with such amount. I beg to inform the reason Mr. Carr so stopped. If I do send him without the demand, would seem if not liking to make peace, and not regarding you; therefore I beg you will excuse me.

"I have the honour to be, Sir, your humble servant,

OSAI COUTOE,

his mark.

Witnesses, { JOHN CARR.
 { JOHN BUCKMAN."

Colonel Lumley having left instructions with Capt. Hingston not to make any alterations in the terms offered to the Ashantees for peace, he made the following reply:

"Cape Coast Castle, May 1st, 1828.

"SIR: I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated 12th of April, 1828, relative to the pending negotiations for peace: in reply, I have to inform you that no other terms can be acceded to than those originally proposed, viz. four thousand ounces of gold to be lodged in this castle, as well as two principal persons to be sent as hostages for the future tranquillity of the coast. That as soon as the above terms are complied with, and not before, Achampong and his companions at Elmina will be allowed to return to Coomassie. If the terms proposed are not acceded to by your majesty within twenty days after the arrival of John Buckman and the messengers at Coomassie, you will order John Buckman and the other persons from Cape Coast to return; or, if you wish Carr to remain, that some Ashantee chief be sent to reside at Cape Coast. The dispute between the Fantees and Elminas cannot be allowed to interfere with the more important question between the British and Ashantees. None of the Cape Coast people have joined in the war against Elmina.—That on peace being concluded, every exertion will be made in conjunction with the governor of Elmina, to arrange the dispute between the Fantees and Elminas. I send to your majesty three Ashantee prisoners, who were captured during the war.

"I have the honour to remain, with sincerity,

"Your most humble servant,

J. HINGSTON,

C. ptain and Commandant.

"To his Majesty, Osai Coutoe, King of Ashantee." p. 154—156.

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the war against the Ashantees with the natives of Elmina. The latter, it seems, instead of remaining neutral, "as they had signified their determination," aided the Ashantees by supplying them with munitions of war, and information of the movements of the British. They were charged in particular, with having bought powder from an American vessel, which the governor of Elmina would not allow to be landed, and with having afterwards sold it to the Ashantees.

The origin of the animosity of the Fantees against the Elminas, is traced up to the year 1807, when the Ashantee army attacked Annamaboe Fort, and many of the women, children and infirm men sought refuge at Elmina, carrying with them a good deal of property. The Elminas were charged with having delivered many of these persons up to the Ashantees, who sold them for slaves and appropriated their valuables to their own use. Influenced by these recollections, most of the natives who had fought against the Ashantees, engaged to attack Elmina, and commenced encamping in its vicinity; stating, however, to Lieut.-Col. Lumley that they would be satisfied if the Elminas would pay to the Fantees a certain sum of money, as a compensation for alleged losses. Col. Lumley wrote to the governor of Elmina on the subject, who replied that the Elminas denied the accusation, and refused to pay any thing. The manner in which this business ended, our author promises shall "be stated in its proper place." It is much to be regretted that he should never have paid any regard to putting his facts in their "proper places," until his book was nearly finished.

We are now told, somewhat suddenly, that Lieut.-Colonel Denham had been appointed Lieutenant-governor of Sierra Leone. This officer sent Major Ricketts back to Cape Coast, where he arrived on the 5th of June, 1828, and soon organized a very respectable militia. It being the wish of the British government to procure a peace with the Ashantees, if possible, and nothing having been heard from Coomassie since Capt. Hingston wrote to the King, Major Ricketts shortly after his arrival, despatched the following written message:

"Cape Coast Castle, 14th of June, 1828.

"Major Ricketts acquaints the King of Ashantee that he has returned to Cape Coast as governor. That he is sorry to find peace has not yet been concluded between the English and Ashantees. Before he left the Gold Coast, from what had been done, he expected the peace would have been settled in a few weeks, but it is now six months since the first messengers returned to Coomassie. There is a vessel about to sail for England, and the governor wishes to know what the King of Ashantee intends to do, that he may acquaint the King of England therewith. The governor of the Cape Coast wishes the King of Ashantee well." Major Ricketts also wrote privately to Buckman, one of the messengers from Cape Coast, to use his endeavours to get the four thousand ounces of gold, but that if he found there was no chance of succeeding, he was to get as much as he could, and take a bond for the balance payable by instalments; also to acquaint the King of Ashantee, that gold trinkets and agger beads* would be accepted." p. 161—162.

In answer to this message, four letters from Carr and Buckman were received, which Major Ricketts gives "in the style in which they were written." We select the second for the entertainment of our readers:

"Coomassie, Saturday, July 12th, 1818.

"SIR: I beg the honour to enclose you this letter. The King called us yesterday, about two o'clock in the afternoon, in his palace, because we make application to him to give us

* These beads are as valuable as gold in the estimation of the natives, and are supposed to have been introduced into the country in former ages for the purchase of slaves. They are generally found under ground, from which it is presumed they must have been used to decorate persons of consequence in former times when interred. To this day the natives keep up this ancient custom of burying their dead with a much pomp as the family of the deceased can afford. These beads are so greatly prized, that the natives do not think themselves sufficiently fine on great festivals and public occasions, unless decorated with some of them. They are the brightest jewels of the country, are very rare, and some traders to the coast endeavour to get similar ones manufactured, and although the imitation is exceedingly good, yet the natives are such great connoisseurs that they immediately discern the difference. p. 161, 162.

messengers for conveyance. The King gave four t, that when caught late Mr. Williams at Samacow, he returned w. ut u. second, that when we came here he gave one white man and one co u. he requested you did not grant him, (that was his families,) but sent u. persons: uurd, that we come and he received us, and content to make peace; u. now a ter has come and informed him that your allies are going to kill his messengers at I therefore, if he did grant the security of peace, the same way turning to him as an t. fourth, that King of England he know that he was conqueror of all European kingdoms, the King of Ashantee was the same before on all blacks, and whenever he fights and u. quers, if be that the people give up to serve and make peace with him, he was to bid a great amount that he like; but after having seen that the people truly making good peace through their fidelities, these then he uses to reduce some oil, but they said that nothing will be reduced off; that shows that it was not good peace, but still reckon him as an enemy. Even if the amount was ten thousand ounces of gold bidden, and it reduced to eight thousand ounces, he would yield it; but this shows treachery, and not good friendly peace hereafter; therefore, he rather blow up once, if white men his masters mean to come over and fight with him, but as himself, he will never come again, and he is very sorry that he is the King of England servant too, and now he has east him away yielding up for peace, but still forcing him, and going to kill his messengers at Elmina. I beg leave, further, what I would not fail to inform your command, that there was some Assins came for as his dominions, river Pra side within, some have already made houses and villages, when King heard it, send and brought them from the fifth of this present month to yesterday, sometimes ten, sometimes twenty, which he never forgave them, but kills; we made enquire for that purpose, and was said that they got some families at Adansay, and mean already to come on this King's side, and he d not admit them because they were great rogues in the palaver, that might be true. beca the last messengers send to me told me, that while he was coming, he was i d t some Assins have run away from our territory, and come this King's side: he to make his oath, if required of him. The King said, that if on return of t ac brings what he requested, that will show that you will give him good peace.

"I have the honour to be, Sir,

"Your most obedient, humble servant,

JOHN BUCKMAN." p. 165—167.

Major Ricketts strenuously endeavoured to reconcile the difference between the natives encamped near Elmina, and the people of that place; but it would seem, without effect. On the 20th of September, 1828, he departed from Cape Coast for Sierra Leone, to assume the government which had devolved on him, in consequence of the death of Lieutenant-Colonel Lumley; who, we are incidentally told, had again succeeded to the government of Sierra Leone, on the death of Lieutenant-Colonel Denham. Some time after Major Ricketts' departure, the natives hostile to those of Elmina, attacked the town of that name, and were repulsed with considerable loss. They have since remained quiet.

We now approach the conclusion of the "Narrative," which is in these words:

"The Ashantees since their defeat at Dodoowah, have not shown any hostile intentions; and it is said that notwithstanding the prohibited intercourse with them by the native chiefs, a considerable trade is still carried on by smuggling. The Ashantees trade now principally to Assannee, which is situated on the sea coast, considerably to windward of Cape Coast.—The merchants are allowed four thousand pounds per annum for maintaining and garrisoning the forts at Cape Coast and Accra, which although they have the whole management of the affairs, are still considered dependencies on Sierra Leone.

"The negotiations remained in this unsettled state until the month of April, 1831, when the King of Ashantee sent a son and a nephew of his as hostages, to be educated at Cape Coast Castle, accompanied with six hundred ounces of gold to be lodged there as a security for his future good conduct towards the British, Dutch and Danes. Thus terminated these disastrous disputes which had disturbed the country for a period of nearly ten years." p. 174—175.

The residue of the volume is entitled "*A brief View of the present state of the Colony of Sierra Leone.*" We found this performance much easier to be understood than its associate: either because Major Ricketts had during the probationary period of his writing the "*Narrative*," acquired the art of intelligibility; or, because while perusing it we grew sufficiently familiar with his manner to become capable of penetrating his meaning as men see better after remaining a few minutes in a room nearly dark, than when they first entered it. But our extracts from the "*Narrative*" have been so copious, that no room is left in the *View*."

MR. BIRNEY'S LETTERS.

From the Huntsville (Ala.) Democrat.

THE COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

We give place to the communications of our respected fellow-citizen, James G. Birney, Esq. upon African Colonization, with great pleasure. It is a subject upon which it becomes every man to form an opinion; and the materials for forming a *correct* one, can no where be found in a more agreeable form than they will be made to assume in the short essays of Mr. B. We hope to see them generally copied; because we do not believe the same space can be filled with matter of more universal and deep interest.

The Colonization Society expects to recommend itself to the favor of the public, solely by the *merit* of the great work in which it is engaged. Admit that its means are almost infinitely disproportioned to the vastness of the object: let this not damp the ardor of its friends, when it is remembered that this mighty continent has grown up from a colony less prosperous in every point of consideration, in the sixteenth year of its existence, than the one at Liberia. And there is one circumstance which has raised up opposition to the Society in certain quarters which should make favor for it with us.—The Abolitionists and Emancipators of the North refuse it their countenance and support, because it *limits* itself to the colonization of the *free* people of color of the U. States. We stop at this point, and here the Society is with us. *They* wish to go further.

It is true, from the experience of the few years of its operation it may be predicted, with safety, that the funds of the Society will in a few years be inadequate to the transportation of those who are tendered to it by persons wishing to manumit them for that purpose; yet, if *individuals* wish to do this who shall object? That the Society receives and will continue to receive the subjects which the silent operation of moral causes may prepare for it, *no one can* rationally object: *Beyond* this, it does not propose to go.

COLONIZATION OF THE FREE COLORED PEOPLE.

To the Editors of newspapers in the States of Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and in the Territory of Arkansas:

THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY, during the last year, offered to me an agency for the advancement of its object in the above mentioned States and Territory. Since undertaking the performance of its duties, I have visited many of the most important points within the district assigned me, and have, personally, to large audiences, exhibited the claims which the subject of colonizing our free people of color upon the continent of Africa, prefers to the public attention. Yet, as comparatively but few persons can be present on such occasions, even under the most favorable circumstances, I have thought it advisable, by your liberal aid, to make them more generally known through the medium of the press. In whatever point of view the plan may be considered—whether favorably or unfavorably to its adoption—it is of importance to the country: therefore the people should know it. If the facts which I propose to use can be veritably set aside, or the propositions and arguments founded upon them successfully controverted, the public good demands that it should be done. If, on the other hand, they are true and unanswerable, they will, I trust, exercise their proper influence upon public sentiment, and lead at last to intelligent and salutary action. The *numbers* in which it is proposed to exhibit the subject, will, *severally*, be short. A re-publication of them in your respective journals, together with a re-publication of the above explanatory remarks prefixed to the first two or three numbers, will contribute not unimportantly, in my humble judgment, to a speedy and correct decision of the community on an important public interest; and will receive the thankful acknowledgments of,

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

JAMES G. BIRNEY,

General Agent of the American Colonization Society.

No. I.

Object of the American Colonization Society—Exemption from Religious and Political Sectarianism.

TO THE PUBLIC.

The association, known as the American Colonization Society, was organized in the year 1817. The first avowed object of the Society has been solely directed

the continent of Africa. The plan is intended to ascendants, and such slaves as may hereafter be in accordance with the laws of any of the States.—The project was actuated by motives of patriotism as well as of philanthropy. They saw their country suffering under an evil—proved by indisputable testimony, coming from all parts of it, to be great—in a particular quarter of it to be still increasing, even more rapidly than the energies which, were it ever to be removed, it would be necessary to summon to the task of its removal. Under this pressure, a wise and chaste love of country forbade that there should be a procrastination, however short, of an aid for her relief. They beheld too, among us, a portion of the human family, already numbered and from causes very active in their operation, fast multiplying—before whose insuperable, had been thrown—repudiated especially ty and happiness.—A noble benevolence impelled them to place this portion of men in a situation where no unusual obstacle would debar them from the enjoyment of liberty and the pursuit of happiness—in the land of their Fathers, with all the attributes to social happiness and political elevation—making them at the same time the dignitary of elevating Africa's millions to the dignity and blessedness of civilization and culture.

The calls of the American Colonization Society to their fellow-citizens to arouse from the slumbers of indolent security—to awake to a sense of their true condition, in reference to the evil spoken of, and to put forth powers adequate to its removal, have been unremittingly made—and doubtless, to some who may read these remarks, and whose attention has not been especially directed to the subject, they have assumed an air of eagerness and importunateness. To show that they are not unreasonable, and that they have been no louder, and not more frequently reiterated than the case will justify, all she asks of the community is, that the facts be known and pondered, and the arguments founded upon them calmly and impartially regarded. This conceded, she stands ready before the wise and considerate to justify her most clamorous note of preparation.

With the prosecution of its purpose, it was supposed that every thing bordering upon religious sectarianism, was uncongenial. The evil to be encountered and removed had infected all classes of the community, whether connected or unconnected with any christian denomination. But whilst the Institution would reject, should it be offered, every degree of exclusive control by any persuasion, it calls upon them all—and to their honor be it said they have responded in noble harmony—for co-operation, by the strongest motives which can impel to action men anxious to promote the temporal and civil well-being of their fellow men. It offers to none articles of faith for their subscription, it asks for no form or confession of belief; it pretends not to dive into motive, or to institute any inquisitorial process, but content with beneficence, it leaves its spring to a higher and unerring scrutiny.

The same catholic principle of action has exempted the Society from all control or influence of the political parties of our country. Whilst thus unconnected with any, her members have been drawn from all the great parties of the Union. Indeed, the evil proposed to be removed has no closer necessary connexion with any question of party strife, than it has with a question of science or philosophy; or even with that pestilence which lately with funereal march, swept through our land. For whatever pennon may rise or fall—whatever party may rejoice in triumph or wail in defeat, like the fabled giant, the vulture is gnawing our vitals: still *"ultrices que sedent in limine diræ."* Independently, then, of all connexion with sects in religion or politics, they who have most devoted their minds to the subject, declare that our community—especially that portion of it known as the slave-holding States—is laboring under a great and growing moral and political disease: they profess to have ascertained its nature: they animate to action, by proclaiming the unsubdued strength of the sufferer, and call upon their whole country to rouse up, and, by one magnanimous effort, throw off the suffocating and infectious load—as easily as the lion shakes the dew-drop from his mane."

J. G. BIRNEY,

General Agent of the A. C. Society.

No. II.

The Society seeks support by the exhibition of facts—through the Press,—Auxiliary Societies and authorized Agents—unanimity not to be expected—temper in which the investigation should be conducted.

The American Colonization Society seeks support by the ascertainment and exhibition of facts, and by the use of such arguments as the facts almost necessarily press upon the mind. In doing this, she is not unmindful of the peculiar relation existing among us. Although the Society originated chiefly in the efforts of slave-holders, for the benefit and relief of themselves and of others similarly situated, yet does she approach with fastidious delicacy, even the prejudices of the South. Unreasonable as they must all ever be regarded, by true philosophy, where they stand as obstacles to the truth, yet they may so grow with our growth and strengthen with our strength, as to become habits of thought,—rules of action;—they may become so incorporated with our moral and intellectual constitution, that the sudden and forcible avulsion of them might prove as dangerous to the body politic as would have been the tearing away of the Centaur's garment from the arms of Alcides. Guarding, then, with scrupulous care against all appearance of dictation, she brings to all the banner of peace and friendship, and persuading others to become such, by

Information relating to the Society or Colony, is communicated to the public by several modes. *First*, by the *Press*. Besides the ordinary one, of circulating it through the newspapers, there is printed at the city of Washington, where the business of the Society is transacted, the *African Repository and Colonial Journal*, devoted exclusively to the colonial interests, and to such other matters as may be nearly connected with them. This *periodical* is published, monthly, in a neat pamphlet form, at the small sum of \$2 *per annum*—the profits of the work, if any, being devoted to the cause which it supports. Of the same character is the *Annual Report*, made at each anniversary meeting of the Society, in January,—containing a brief narrative of the progress of the Institution—a notice of any evidences of its growth in public estimation—the number of emigrants who have sailed for Liberia during the preceding year—the progress of the Colony—its trade—its improvement in morals and education—the enlargements of its limits, by purchase, or voluntary cession from the *aborigines*, &c. &c., to which is added the Treasurer's account showing the amount of money received from all sources, and the manner in which it has been expended. It is, also, usually accompanied, by documents of an interesting nature, relating to colonization—and by speeches delivered at the anniversary, by some of the distinguished members of the association. *Secondly*: Another mode of spreading intelligence is, by the organization of *Auxiliary Colonization Societies* throughout the country. These composed of persons, whose worth and intelligence are known to the community in which they reside, have done much, though it is believed, not so much as *ought* to be done—therefore *might* be done—for its public recommendation. They, also, furnish convenient sources of information, necessary to such of the free colored population as may be led to reflect upon the propriety and advantages of emigration. Their members from the fact of their being personally known, give to that class great confidence in the practicability of the enterprise, and in the integrity of those who are engaged in conducting it. From their knowledge of circumstances in their respective neighborhoods, they are enabled, in the most convenient manner, to transfer to the port of embarkation all those who may have made up their minds to become citizens of Liberia. There was, very lately, a practical illustration of the happy operation of this system:—*The State Colonization Societies* of Kentucky and Tennessee sent to New Orleans, at a very trifling expense, (the owners of steamboats having generously granted to the emigrants their passage without charge) more than one hundred and forty adventurers to the Colony—here, they were received by myself as the General Agent of the Parent Society, and under very comfortable circumstances, shipped for their new home, and I could wish, if there be a reader of these essays, whose opposition is impregnated with bitterness, that he had been present, when the brig *Ajax*, employed to convey the emigrants to Liberia, loosed from the Levee at New Orleans, that he might have heard the shout of rejoicing, mingled with blessings upon our country, with which they made the air ring—the grateful farewell—the laugh of joy with some—and have seen on the countenances of others the calm and elevated expression of glorious hope—that, in witnessing this, he might feel and acknowledge that there is *some* happiness in doing the work of God, by making others happy.

The *Third* and last mode to be mentioned of making known its claims upon public attention is, by her appointed *Agents*,—whose duty it is, by all diligent and prudent means, to recommend the plan of colonization within their respective districts—and to make known by public addresses, by written expositions, or by private correspondence, whatever information, may be necessary for a complete knowledge of its state and prospects. To obtain the services of persons *residing in the South*, has been attended with no inconsiderable difficulty.—When the Society thought proper to offer to me the agency of this district, they doubtless, supposed, in making their selection of one who was himself, a native of a slave State,—an owner of slaves and residing for the last fifteen years, in the State of Alabama—possessing a common interest with those amongst whom he should be called to act, that, they had furnished a sufficient guaranty, that no injury was intended to us as slaveholders. In reference to myself, it becomes me, I know, to say but little. But thus much I may be permitted to state—that any compensation the Society could afford to give me for services demanding the exclusion of every other pursuit (and such is the nature of my present employment) compared with the profits of my professional labors, heretofore, at the Bar, forbids the supposition, that I entered upon this agency from considerations of pecuniary gain:—And that nothing but the desire of contributing by my exertions, in some degree, to the alleviation of human woe, and to the promotion of a cause which before God and man, I believe to be most intimately connected with the true interests, and strength and glory of my country, could have induced my acceptance of a station so replete with labor, solicitude and responsibility.

That, on this subject, any more than upon others of a large and comprehensive character, demanding human action, there should be entire unanimity, is not to be expected. On many grounds—such as the policy of making the attempt to colonize,—the expense—the impracticability of the scheme, and even the propriety of a discussion of the plan at all, in the South, a contrariety of opinion, and that, too, in instances with persons of acknowledged worth and intelligence, may be looked for. There are, however, some who are in opinion with me, upon the above, or on other grounds, disposed to controvert my positions and demonstrate from him, that he would come to the ex- of candor, sincerity and friendship—with an unfeigned desire of arriving at the truth and not with a view to seeking the gratification of their own passions and feelings. Might I not discuss with the *facts* to be

from any cause, this is not done, they be insisted on only according to their degree of authentication—and, that, above all, loose and rambling assertions, by whatever names they may be authorized, shall not be substituted for the apt and uncontrovertible evidence in the cause. The obligations imposed by rules which I would prescribe to others, I shall be very careful, on my own part, not to violate: and if, after having used all honest effort, according to my humble measure of ability, I should fail to secure your verdict for the cause of patriotism, philanthropy and religion, this consolation will remain to me, that I have so conducted the investigation as not wilfully to lose a friend or make a foe.

J. G. BIRNEY,

Gen. Agent of the Amer. Col. Society.

LIBERIA.

The following interesting letter is that mentioned in the last number of the Repository as having been written from Beverley in England, to the Editor of the Hull Rockingham:—

DEAR SIR,—Most of your readers are aware that a colony of free negroes is established on the western coast of Africa, on the shores of the St. Paul's, about 300 miles to the south of Sierra Leone. The territory, which extends 280 miles along the coast, and runs twenty or thirty miles inland, and is called LIBERIA, has now existed eleven years, its population consisting of 3000 emancipated American slaves, and 30,000 of the native Africans, by whom they have been joined. The infant settlers, having overcome their first difficulties, and successfully repulsed the natives, (who, violating the rights of these peaceful purchasers of the soil), attacked them in overwhelming numbers, between six and nine hundred being opposed to thirty-five effective men, the safety of the colony may be regarded as secured.—The accounts of its prosperity are of the most gratifying description. In the principal town, Monrovia, are public buildings for the purposes of education, literature, and public worship, and in its harbour are unfurled the flags of the principal commercial nations of the world. "Negro merchants visit the place from a thousand miles inland, and exchange their gums and ivory and gold for European and American products." "Thousands of acres of land of the best quality, hitherto uncultivated, are now yielding their stores under human tillage;" and although destructive to Europeans, to the African constitution the climate is remarkably salubrious. The scheme originated with a society of American philanthropists, called the *Colonization Society*, who, deploring the evils of slavery, and knowing that in the present state of the American constitution its extinction by any legislative enactment was impossible, happily contrived this truly benevolent and practicable enterprise, which, while it strikes off the fetters of the slave and restores him to the land of his fathers, in proportion to its extent extinguishes the slave-trade, and carries blessings of civilization and religion to benighted and deeply injured Africa.

Such is Liberia, and such were the leading motives of its founders. Necessarily limited in its operations, considering the disparity between its objects and its means, the scheme of emigration cannot be regarded as a substitute for emancipation. It is not, however, without its influence in this respect, its daily proceedings being a standing protest against the sin of slavery. "Already," as is remarked by the *Eclectic Review*, Nov. 1832, "auspicious, alarms and complaints have been raised in the slave holding states by the very plan of colonization." But, to use the emphatic words of the venerable Clarkson, "some demon has stirred up divisions in the Anti-Slavery Committee, and also among the Anti-Slavery members of this country, so as to set one against the other in the view to be taken of the mission" in behalf of Liberia. The war cry, we are grieved to say, has been repeated by the *Eclectic Review*, the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, and by a pamphleteer of the name of Stuart, the author of "Prejudice Vincible;" so that wherever Elliott Cresson, Esq. the unpaid agent of the American Colonization Society, has appeared, he has been preceded by these publications, which have caused distrust or indifference, or kindled a fierce spirit of uncompromising opposition. It would be unfair to conjecture the motives of this Anti-Liberia conspiracy; as far, however, as two of the parties are concerned, it has evidently originated in cupidity, and a mean jealousy against the attempts of a stranger to interest the feelings of the British public in behalf of this scheme of American philanthropy. Indeed, Mr. Cresson was addressed by one of the agents of the Agency committee to the following effect:—"John Bull does not like to have his cow milked by strangers; England is the preserve of the Anti-Slavery Society, and you a poacher in it—I will write to them to denounce you in every paper in Britain."

In a long and intemperate article the *Eclectic Reviewer* makes a furious but not altogether unmerited attack upon the Americans for their antipathy to their freed men of colour. To a certain extent this repugnance is not unnatural, considering the inferiority of the African race, in moral and intellectual acquirements, attributed to the degraded and oppressed condition in which they have been placed. We do not, however, concur in the profligate remark of the reviewer, that "had our Lord himself" the American

nation in the form of a servant, with the skin of a darker hue than their own, they would have exclaimed with one voice crucify him!" But for the conduct of the American people the Colonization Society cannot be held responsible. It is enough for them to answer for their own sins; and really the sentiments of that member of the society who considers the prejudices of their countrymen so deeply rooted, *that neither legislation nor christianity can remove them*, are worthy of reprehension; and also the opinions of the too zealous partizan, who would withhold instruction from the slaves lest it should be *an inducement for them to remain in America* and who recommends the *national prejudices against the blacks* to be cherished, in obedience to an assumed ordination of Providence. These misguided men should consider that the end does not always sanction the means, and it is to be lamented that so excellent a cause as Liberia should have suffered in Britain from their indiscretion. Happily, however, these opinions and recommendations form no part of the Colonization system, and must be laid to the account of individual error. No absurdities of its promoters and admirers can diminish the benefits Liberia has already conferred on Africa and her sons. But even supposing the Society was actuated by no higher motive than a selfish policy, considering the relation in which the African race stand to the Americans, its humanity cannot be denied, while the freed men of colour are placed in a position "which benevolence overlooks and patriotism neglects." We do not wonder that emancipation appears to many humane minds rather an evil than a blessing. Be, however, the motive of the Society wicked or charitable, the free coloured population, with whose ravings the article is crammed *ad nauseum*, have no reason for complaint. If they prefer degradation in America to advancement in Africa, the choice rests with themselves. No compulsion is intended, none can be employed, and this the reviewer knows right well. He would have done wisely had he, with some slight qualifications, retained the opinions he avowed (Nov. 1832), when he said "Whatever dissatisfaction we may feel with the state of the law and of public morality in reference to slaves and slavery, in America, we have no fault to find with the Colonization Society; we have no particle of remaining doubt as to the sincere desire of its projectors and principal supporters to eradicate slavery itself from the American soil; and we esteem them very highly in love for their work's sake."

The charges of the *Anti-Slavery* reporter rest on no better foundation than the authority of Mr. Garrison, an Editor of a negro newspaper, and a convicted libeller in a country where truth is not a libel; who has indeed the candour to admit "that he does not impeach the motives of those who planned the Colonization Society." The Reporter talks of the "flimsy pretences" which serve to disguise "the deformities of the Colonization system," the real tendency of which it is pretended "is not to lessen but aggravate and perpetuate the worst evils of Negro Slavery," a paradox he has not attempted to defend, and which it is therefore needless to overthrow. We may, however, remark, that flimsy as are these pretences, they are, nevertheless, supported by nearly the whole christian body of the American nation.—And is it not surprising that a "system so atrocious" should be sanctioned by Bishop White, who, for 60 years, has been an ardent emancipator, and our own justly venerated Clarkson, and Wilberforce, the former of whom has declared "that the Society is one of the most magnificent Institutions he ever heard of: Liberia (he says) has done much good, is now doing more, and will still do more."* All that need be said of the quotation from Garrison, in which the Society is accused of "persecution," is, that those allegations are unsupported by any kind of evidence. And what has the Virginia House of Delegates or its members, Broadnax and Fisher, who recommend compulsory measures, to do with the Colonization Society, who have over and over made this declaration:—"We disavow and reprobate every coercive means, we discard all restraint, we ask no bounties, we solicit no compulsion by which to produce emigration." Besides, the Society have fifty-fold more applicants than means. "At this moment there are many thousands ready for gratuitous emancipation, awaiting only the power of the Society to accept them."

Equally preposterous are the accusations of Mr. Stuart, the author of "Prejudice Vincible," whose own prejudices are unfortunately of an opposite description, and whose book abounds with the most glaring contradictions, and the most shameless want of candour. As is justly observed by Mr. Higginson, "he holds the Society responsible for every sentiment expressed by every speaker at its meetings, and on this ground falsely charges it with acknowledging the right of holding property in our fellow-men; with speaking peace to the sins of the slave-owners, and with persecuting the free blacks." Mr. Stuart says (p. 18), "as long as negro-slavery lasts, all colonies on the African coast, of whatever description,

* Liberia, by Rev. W. Innes, Edinburgh, p. 232, in a letter to Elliott Cresson, Esq. who, since the above was written, has received this practical refutation of one of the many audacious assertions of another assailant under the title of "Clarius," that "of late he (Mr. Clarkson) has withdrawn all countenance from it."—"Mr. Clarkson has the fullest confidence in the purity and disinterestedness of Mr. Cresson's principles and conduct; and he has not the slightest doubt that the Colonization Society in America was founded on moral and religious principles, and with a sincere desire to ameliorate the condition of the American blacks—to prevent the slave-trade, and eventually to civilize and christianize the continent of Africa. Mr. Clarkson laments exceedingly that many of his oldest and best friends of the Anti-Slavery cause in this country have taken a different view of the purposes and effects of the Colonization Society; but at this time of life, and with his infirmity of sight, he cannot be expected to enter into a public controversy with them on the subject. He intends, however, to set on foot such an investigation in America as he doubts not will prove satisfactory to the friends of Liberia in this country."—The letter was written by Mrs. C. in consequence of her husband's nearly total blindness.

must tend to support it;" but afterwards admits, "that for Africa it (the Colonization Society) is good! It interrupts (he says) the African slave-trade within its own limits, and the least interruption to that nefarious traffic is an unspeakable good." He also, in a letter to the Editor of the *Herald of Peace*, makes the following admissions:—1st. "That for the few coloured people who prefer leaving their native country and emigrating to Africa, it is unquestionably a great blessing. 2nd. To the slaves, whose slavery it has been or may be the means of commuting into transportation, it is a blessing, just in as far as transportation is a lesser evil than slavery. 3rd. That its highest praise is the fact, that it forms a new centre whence, as from our Sierra Leone and the Cape of Good Hope, civilization and Christianity are radiating through the adjoining darkness." What better commendations than these can the Society receive from its most ardent admirers? This writer indeed appears to be consistent only in inconsistency. In the report of a speech lately delivered by him at Glasgow, he asserts that Liberia is a barren and sterile rock; and again, that it is rich and moist; that it hinders the slave-trade, and that it fosters it. So much for the author of "Prejudice Vincible."

Such are the objections of the enemies of the Colonization Society to the Colony of Liberia, and which are brought forward with a singular disregard of candour and fair dealing. Thus the Eclectic Reviewer professes to quote the *African Repository*, vol. 7, p. 195—231. The quotation is neither in words nor spirit at 195; but as many articles and various topics intervene, he may have seized on stray sentences, and formed his own conclusion before reaching 231. But it is high time to take our leave of them, with a hope that while they are putting forth such works as "Prejudice Vincible," their own prejudices may not remain invincible. In behalf of Liberia we have only to add, that it is an independent African State, open to the sons of Africa indiscriminately, who can bring a good character as a recommendation; and instead of being a ground for jealousy, should be regarded as a common centre, in which good men may unite their energies in behalf of that suffering land. Secure in the consciousness of the general uprightness of their intentions, notwithstanding the objectionable opinions of some few of their members and partisans, the American Colonization Society may smile at the impotency of their assailants, being assured that theirs is a cause which "converts censure into praise, and brightens obloquy into glory." The legitimate objects of the Anti-Slavery Society have our cordial approbation; but while they are rousing the energies of the people of England to demolish slavery in the West Indies, let them not hinder their American brethren in the good work of building altars on the shores of Africa, on which slavery and the slave-trade may eventually be immolated. It should never be forgotten that England is chargeable with the crime of introducing slavery into the states of North America, when these were her colonies! Instead, therefore, of throwing obstacles in their path, rather let us help "to make the crooked path straight, and let every mountain be laid low, and every valley be exalted."

I remain, dear Sir, your obedient servant,
Beverly, May 9th, 1833.

T. S.

REV. MR. COX'S SKETCHES FROM WESTERN AFRICA:

We subjoin from the *New York Christian Advocate*, so much as has hitherto been published of the highly interesting "SKETCHES," transmitted by the Rev. Melville B. Cox, to the Methodist Episcopal Church:—

PORT PRAYA.—Port Praya is situated at the south-east part of St. Jago, in latitude fifteen degrees north, on a table eminence of land, about seventy or a hundred feet above the level of the sea. The town, or city, as it is called, is surrounded at a distance, by mountains without number, thrown into every variety of form which a bursting volcano could give to an uplifting mass of earth.

To me the appearance of the place is perfectly unique. There is nothing analogous to it in the United States; and to an American, who has never been out of them, all descriptions of it must be more or less deceptive. Search for the poorest little village on our rivers, or in some of our farthest wildernesses, nay, I might say, by the side of a good mill-stream, and in appearance it would have by far the pre-eminence. When you enter the village, there is something a little redeeming about it; the sight of what is called the public square, and a garden or two, make it quite tolerable; but at best, to use the homely phrase of our supercargo, "it is a beggarly place." In the harbor it strikes one as nothing but ancient ruins, crumbling under the weight of years. In its midst, you see it animated with human beings, too ignorant to make it better if they would, and too indolent to do it if they could.

Still, as a port for water and refreshment for ships, it is one of great importance, and seems to have been thrown from the bottom of the great deep, as a common resting place for vessels from every quarter of the globe, by that hand which so constantly and so abundantly provides for the wants of his creatures.

The buildings are generally remarkably low, built of a dark coloured 1 of free stone, stuccoed with plaster, and covered with tile or thatched with grass. 1 nber of inhabi-

tants is estimated at from two to three thousand. It has a church, a custom house, a jail, and a "palace," as it is called, though less like one than almost any ordinary house in America.

Our stay was too short on the island to become familiar with the manners and customs of the people; but we were long enough to witness some of the sufferings which this group of islands has recently experienced. They are not yet at an end. They are still dying daily; and some of the poor I saw picked up by the limbs, as a butcher's boy would pick up a slaughtered sheep, carried through the street without even a "grave cloth," and buried as you would bury a horse or a dog.

Famine is sweeping over these little "specks on the ocean," with far more fearfulness than has the cholera in America. Not less than thirty-three thousand, out of a population of one hundred thousand, have perished within the last twelve months. And the prospect of any relief from the produce of their own country, is still very dubious. A vessel from Portland, and another from Philadelphia, we heard had just arrived, laden entirely with provisions for the dying. They will be as life to the dead. What we had was but little among thousands, but it will no doubt save the lives of some.

The scenes of wretchedness, as pictured by those who had witnessed it at Antonio, Bravo, and Togo, are beyond description. At St. Jago there was but little of it, comparatively, except from those who flocked there for relief from the other islands. Those of them who still lived, were grouped together in a large yard, under the direction of the police, or the American Consul, and fed from provisions which our country has so kindly sent to them. Ah, the scene was an affecting one. Here and there I was pointed to little orphan children who had neither father, mother, brother nor sister left. Some of them were sitting on the ground with a little garment thrown over them to screen them from the harmattan winds which were then blowing very coldly, so far gone as to be insensible of what was passing around them, and as if patiently waiting for death to relieve them from their sufferings. Others were walking as mere skeletons on the earth, crying with piteous moans for "bread," but whose stomachs, when given, were grown too weak to derive any nourishment from it. Mothers, with nothing but skin and bones themselves, were bowing and courtseying for a copper to buy something for their children, with an importunity that might move a stone. Such a sight I had never before witnessed, and it has left an impression which cannot be forgotten. But God is just and good. Sin, sin hath done it all. Mercy has cried to heaven for the rod of correction, and mercy and love, though unseen to us, are directing and measuring its stripes. The misery of these poor little children is only preparatory for a bliss where death and want are unknown, or designed impressively to teach them and a guilty world, that this is not the home of man.

The weather was not so intensely hot while we were on the island as has generally been represented. Most of the time it was pleasantly cool; sometimes too much so for comfort: and no day, I believe, was the thermometer above summer heat at noon.

BATHURST, ON THE GAMBIA.—Bathurst is a beautiful little village, on the south side of the river Gambia, about ten miles from its mouth, and between 13 and 14 degrees north latitude. It is situated on a little island called the St. Mary's, which is separated from the main land only by a very narrow creek. The soil is evidently alluvial; the island rather barren, from four to five miles in length, and perhaps two in breadth. The town receives its name, I believe, from an English lord, who possibly rendered it some assistance in the early history of the place.

Like English settlements in general, it is well fortified with a fort on the island, and protected by another about three miles below, which might easily be made strong enough to command the whole mouth of the river. The appearance of the village is almost enchanting to one who has seen little else than a wide waste of waters for more than two months. The European houses, though few, are well built, handsomely finished and furnished, and some of them tastefully ornamented in front with a row of trees. The huts of the natives are apparently new, and neatly and conveniently constructed, though built of bamboo.

The population is variously estimated, but generally at a little more than two thousand, chiefly Jaloofs,* and "liberated Africans." Now and then you meet with a Mandingo—rarely with a Moor. These, with eighteen or twenty Europeans, and two white ladies, make up what I suppose is the prettiest little village on the whole coast of Africa.

It is a place of considerable trade, and must ultimately become one of great commercial interest. Vessels are constantly entering and clearing from England, France, and America. They supply not only the settlement itself, but through the merchants, the whole valley of the Gambia, with European goods, and receive in return, hides, ivory, gold, bees' wax, and oil, which are brought from the interior by the natives, and some of the merchants who have occasionally ascended the river.

RELIGION.—The cause of the blessed Redeemer here is yet in its infancy; but a good foundation, I trust, is laying. The confidence of the natives in its excellency is every day increasing, and Christianity evidently holds an ascendancy in the place that will justify the hope of great ultimate success. No churches have yet been built, but the town has for several years past engaged the constant labours of a Wesleyan Methodist missionary, and the chaplain of the island from the English national Church. The lower part of the mission house, for the present, is occupied as a church and as a school room: the chaplain officiates in the

* Sometimes written Walloofs, Jaloofs, or Jolloofs; but properly Jol-ufs, giving the U its second sound.

court house. The number of communicants in the English Church I did not learn, but from frequent conversations with the chaplain, I am under an impression that, though small, it is not less prosperous than usual.

THE WESLEYAN MISSION is doing well. The station is now in charge of the Rev. William Moister, an amiable and devoted servant of Christ. He has endured two years' toil with far better health than he expected, and is now daily looking for one to supply his place, when he will return to his friends. Several have been added to his charge the last year, and he now has about eighty native communicants. Five, I believe, have preceded him in this labour of love, two of whom perished in their toils. The tomb of one of them was pointed out to me. It was mouldering to ruin amid the sprouts of mangroves, which almost screen it from human observation. I could not repress the thought as I lifted the green foliage from the bricks that covered his remains, that I too might find a bed in African soil. The spot of the other could not be found. But though dead, and the place where one of the good men lay, lost in the recollection of those for whom he nobly toiled, "they still speak," and their works follow them. Their labour has not been in vain, and their names at least are still as "ointment poured forth" among those who are yet their living epistles, known and read of all men.

At M'Carthy's Island, three hundred miles up the Gambia, this mission has another station, now under the charge of a native preacher, who promises great usefulness to the Church.—As yet only fifteen have joined themselves in communion with him, but it is thought, and indeed it must of necessity, with the blessing of God, soon exert a mighty influence on the wilderness of Africa. Light and truth, when thrown on such a beacon, must be seen, and its influence must be felt.

THE SCHOOL at Bathurst far exceeded my expectations. Under the fostering care of both Mr. and Mrs. Moister, who have taken a deep interest in instructing the scholars, it refutes the pitiful slander, that the black man, under similar circumstances, is inferior in intellect to the white. Many of them read with propriety and ease the English and Jaloof, and speak one almost as well as the other. There are in the school, fifty boys and twenty girls; most of them are from four to fifteen; one or two were perhaps eighteen or twenty. They write well, read well, and commit admirably. I was forcibly struck on a visit to the school, with the improvement of one little fellow about nine or ten years of age, he repeated his catechism both in English and Jaloof, without scarcely a word of prompting. After this he repeated with the same fluency and accuracy, a long chapter from the New Testament. He speaks three languages with great readiness, and on occasions seems as a little interpreter in the purchase of domestic articles for the family, or in private concerns with the Mandingoes and Jaloofs on the subject of religion. I might say much of his piety; though so young, he evidently knows the power of the gospel. I cannot but think, from the spirit he breathes, and the mental capacity which he exhibits, that Providence is preparing him for the sacred services of the sanctuary. He frequently prays with his little associates, and speaks in class meetings more like a young man than a boy. And these are the natives who have no intellect—who have been classed with the brutes of the field, and treated in a manner perfectly corresponding with such exalted sentiments!

But our missionary has not confined his labours to children only. Every Sabbath afternoon he devotes an hour to the instruction of a large class of adults. These are labouring men; and such is their anxiety to learn, and for want of other opportunities, they assemble between the intervals of Sunday service, to learn the book of God. It was really affecting to see them. Each one had his Bible, and, with finger pointing to every word, they would wait with the deepest interest until their turn came, then read as if each letter were a syllable, and each syllable a word written by the immediate finger of the great I AM. O, had these poor creatures our advantages, would they not shame us in the improvement they would make of them? Once I had the pleasure of preaching a few minutes to them through an interpreter. Seldom have I spoken with more pleasure—never with feelings so peculiar. All seemed deeply serious, and at the close of the services one wept aloud.

Our Wesleyan brethren have shown their usual wisdom in selecting this as a point of moral effort for western Africa. I rejoice that so powerful a lever is found here. The Gambia is a noble river, and must ultimately become the Mississippi of Africa. It is about eleven miles wide at its mouth, and about four opposite Bathurst. How far it extends into the interior is yet unknown. My map sets it down at seven hundred and fifty, but some assured me from actual observation, that it is much longer. One gentleman with whom I conversed, stated that he had himself ascended it from twelve to fifteen hundred miles. It is navigable three hundred miles for ships of almost any size, and I saw a vessel with eight feet draught of water, that had ascended it between seven and eight hundred.

What renders this river of still greater importance for moral effort is, that throughout its vast valley, the Mandingo language is spoken—an advantage which can seldom be found, where languages are multiplied like the tongues of a Mohammedan paradise. Here too may be found every comfort of man. It has cattle in great abundance, horses, sheep, swine, rice, cotton, corn, and fowl, and fruit of almost every description, and in great profusion. It has, too, its mines of pure gold, as well as soil of the best quality, and the farther you go into the interior, report says, the healthier is the climate, and the more intelligent the people. Indeed the Mandingoes, wherever found, are noted for their shrewdness, their propensity to traffic, and for their intelligence. In appearance, compared with others, they are men of lofty bearing; some have high intellectual foreheads, a quick, sagacious eye, and national attachments which nothing can overcome. They are tall and well made, and remind me more of an American

Indian than any thing I have seen in the African character. I doubt, however, if, as a general thing, they have the Indian's *strength* of intellect.

THE NATIVES OF BATHURST.—The natives settled at Bathurst still retain much of their ancient manners and customs, though they have mingled much with Europeans. The breasts and arms of females of the first rank, except when they have intermarried with the whites, are generally exposed, and the *pang*, or skirt which is drawn around the waist, falls but a little below the knee. A scarf, called also a *pang*, of the same size and form with the other, is sometimes thrown over one shoulder, but with no apparent motives whatever of any delicacy of feeling. Beneath the lower *pang* mothers have another piece of cloth in which they carry their little ones, precisely in the style of an American squaw. They have beads in abundance round the neck, the wrist, the ancles, the waist, and with all these I have seen a gold necklace, worth from twenty to thirty dollars in its weight of gold. These, with a cap or hat on the head, wooden or leather sandals for the feet, rings in the ears, and perhaps on the fingers, constitute the dress of an African lady. The wealthier ones frequently have manillas made of large bars of pure gold or silver, round the waist. I am quite sure that I have seen from one hundred to one hundred and fifty dollars worth of pure native gold on many of them. The earring, though of gold, is so enormously heavy that an African ear is obliged to have it supported by a string attached to the hair.

Nearly all that are not Christians, wear charms or gree-grees, as they are called. These are of various forms, sometimes made very beautifully of leather, others of a plain piece of cloth. The virtue of it is found in a small scrap of paper, with a few Arabic sentences written on it by a Mohammedan priest, for which he charges from five to ten dollars. The amount of the inscription is, "If this be worn, the bullet shall not harm thee," or "The pestilence shall not come nigh thy dwelling." I suppose that the charm is always suited to the various fears and dangers of those who purchase them.

INFERIORITY OF FEMALES.—As in all barbarous countries, the female here is always considered much inferior to the male. I think, however, that there is *less* difference than among the American Indians, though this difference arises probably more from the natural indolence and indulgence of the African character, than from any proper estimate of female worth. One trait in the Indian character is self-denial and self-severity. There is no passion but that he has learned to conceal—no propensity but at his pleasure is controlled. The African is the very antipodes of this. He loves pleasure, but has not energy enough to make many sacrifices to obtain it. His only object seems to be *present enjoyments*; at whose expense they are had, is of little consequence, so that he is not tasked to gain them. But to return. The following little circumstance struck me as illustrating very forcibly how much the "polished lady" is indebted to the Gospel of Christ for the stand she holds in society, while perhaps she is trampling his precious blood beneath her feet. On a visit to one of their most genteel huts, I begged leave to look into the bedroom. It was very well furnished, though small: had a high-posted *single* bedstead, curtained in European style. Aware that the person of the house had a wife and family, I asked if both slept in so narrow a bed? "No, *one* sleep dare." Your wife not sleep with you? said I, "No! she have *one* baby, she no sleep wid me." On farther inquiry, I learned that the poor mother and her little one lodged on a mat on the floor, while her lord engaged the comfort of a good bedstead.

THE NATIVE HUT is very simple, but quite comfortable. I know of nothing that looks so much like those at Bathurst, at a distance, as the New England haystacks. They are made of split cane, woven or "wattled" as you would weave a basket. The body of the house is generally circular, though sometimes of an oblong square, from five to eight feet high, and from ten to twenty or twenty-five in diameter. The roof is conical, built also of cane or small poles, and thatched with long grass or the leaves of the bamboo. Many of them are well plastered with lime *inside*, and occasionally outside, but either affords a shelter that would be very desirable to almost any one when wet or weary. *Country* villages, I presume, of course, are much inferior to that of Bathurst.

LABOR-SAVING MACHINES are here unknown. There is no ploughing or draughting with horses, or turning with water or steam. Barrels, stone for building, in a word every thing portable, is carried on the head or shoulders. What cannot be raised is rolled or dragged; but all done by manual labor: and yet they have fine spirited horses and bullocks in great abundance. I saw in one herd not less than a hundred and fifty or two hundred.

ARTS.—I saw a few but fine specimens of native art at Bathurst, such as I had never dreamed of seeing with my own eye in Africa. The best was in an earring, woven throughout with gold wire. The gold is first beaten, then drawn through small holes, perhaps drilled through an old iron hoop, until it is drawn down to the size wished. The ring or drop, as American ladies would call it, is woven round a wooden mould, made to any pattern desired, and when finished the mould is burned to ashes within the ring. The wire of which it was wrought was about the size of fine cotton thread. Its beauty, when burnished, was equal to any thing of the kind in an European jeweller's shop. The bellows with which this smith of Africa blew his fire, was made of a couple of goat skins, sewed up as you would sew a leathern bag, attached to two short pieces of an old gun barrel as nozles for the bellows, with small apertures at the other end of the skins in place of valves. The skins were then raised up and pressed down, alternately, by the hands of a little boy. His forge, anvil, and bellows, were all on the ground, and might all, with every tool he had, have been put into a half bushel measure.

They also spin and weave, but destitute as they are of proper wheels and looms, it is with great labor; but when done, their cloth is much more durable than ours. A specimen of it was shown me from Szeo, on the far-famed Niger, &c.

of evidence, I could not have believed ever came from the interior of Africa. I have a sword made in the kingdom of Bonloo, that would do credit to a regular artist. I have also the headstall of a war bridle, that exhibits considerable taste as well as ingenuity; the bit is made of *native iron*. They tan leather very handsomely, and I am told do it in a few hours. Baskets, mats, reticules, and money purses, are made in a great variety of forms, and some of them very handsomely, from the cane and shreds of the bamboo.

LITERATURE.—Their literature of course is very limited. I have seen nothing myself except Alcorans, gree-grees, and a few Mohammedan prayers, written in Arabic, on loose sheets of paper, but carefully enveloped in the form of a book, some larger and some smaller, and encased in a handsome leather covering. Some of the priests can write modern Arabic with great facility, and now and then you meet with those who can read an Arabic Bible or Testament. I was forcibly struck with the readiness with which one wrote for me the Lord's prayer, with Arabic characters, but in Jaloof orthography. There are those, I am told, in the interior, who form a regular code of laws, written in Arabic. Of this, I have some doubt, except so far as it may have reference to the Alcoran, or the traditions of Musulman priests. These have almost unlimited control. I have had a few interesting conversations with some of them upon the claims of Mohammed to the character of a prophet. One in particular with whom I had rather a long argument, seemed deeply interested in hearing any thing about the Gospel. His faith in the Alcoran had evidently been shaken. Before he left me he confessed that he *had found* Mohammed was no prophet, and finally begged me to tell him *how* or what he could *do* to obtain the blessing of God. I pointed him to Christ, bid him *pray to Christ*, and assured him that he would hear him—would "talk with him"—would quiet all his fears, and fill his heart with peace. "Will he hear," said he anxiously, "if I pray to him in Jaloof?" Yes, Arabic, Jaloof, Mandingo, and English are all the same to him. With this we parted, and he really seemed to tread more lightly on the earth—to walk as if he had heard "glad tidings of great joy."

CLIMATE.—The weather here is much more temperate than I had expected. I have found no "frying of fish on the quarter deck, nor roasting of eggs in the sand." Though in the "dry season" we have had occasionally a light shower of rain, the sky has been more or less hazy, and we have generally had either a land or a sea breeze, that has made even the noonday heat comfortable. Indeed I have felt oppressed with heat but one day since we left America, and that was on the ocean. I still wear a winter's dress, except occasionally a thin pair of pantaloons and a roundabout. The thermometer has generally ranged from 68 to 78, seldom above summer heat. Once, and once only, it rose to 84 at noon. I of course cannot judge as those who have had several years' residence here; but with all the light which I have been able to gain, I should sooner by far hope for health at Bathurst than at New Orleans. In March, it will no doubt be warmer,—in the rainy season fevers will probably be frequent; but I am confident that a civilized population and a well-cultivated and drained soil, will make an African climate a healthy one.

(To be continued.)

THE AFRICAN REPOSITORY.

The African Repository is a monthly Journal of 32 pages, published at Washington City by the American Colonization Society. In connexion with accurate accounts of the proceedings of that Society, and of the progress of its Colony at Liberia, it contains much accurate information concerning the history and present state of the nations of Africa, drawn chiefly from the works of modern travellers on that continent, whose publications are usually noticed as they appear. Viewed merely in this light, and as a means of developing the character of the present inhabitants of Africa, the natural resources of the country, and the field it opens for christian missions, the Repository will, we think, be found interesting to the more literary reader and to youth of both sexes. But it possesses higher claims to an extended circulation, and to a careful perusal. The interest which the principles and measures of the American Colonization Society have assumed in the public estimation—the discussions now going on, in some parts of the country, in respect to the manner in which the evil of slavery may most advantageously be treated, and the influence which these things are destined to exert on the welfare and policy of the American people, and on the happiness of large portions of our race, make it important to every American citizen to obtain accurate information in respect to these interesting topics. The African Repository will give him the views of many of the most distinguished philanthropists and statesmen, together with the facts and arguments by which they are supported. The Managers of the New York State Colonization Society have, therefore, no hesitation in recommending this work to the patronage of their fellow citizens. The price is \$2 per year.

JOHN SAVAGE, *President*,
R. V. DEWITT, *Secretary*,
RICHARD YATES, *Treasurer*,
HARMANUS BLECKER,
BENJAMIN F. BUTLER,
JOHN T. NORTON,
JOHN ...
CHAS.

Albany, N. Y. July 9, 1832.

...mbian, July 31.

A NEW ATTACK ON THE COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

A recent number of the *Emancipator*, a paper published at New York, contains a bitter attack on the American Colonization Society, in the form of questions alleged to have been propounded at a meeting of coloured people held at the Benezet Hall, in Philadelphia, on the 10th of July last, and the answers to those questions. The subjects of this catechistical experiment are said to be "Messrs. Whittington and Price, returned in the *Jupiter*, and Mr. Gibbins, returned in the ———." We have good reason to suppose that the statements imputed to these individuals were not made by them; and for the sake of their own characters, of which report speaks favourably, we trust there is no error in that supposition.

The asserted disclosures are based on some of the worn out topics of vituperation which, of late years especially, have been lavished on the Society.—The mortality of the climate, the sterility of the soil, the indolence and immorality of the colonists, the hypocrisy of the Board of Managers, the mis-government of the Colony, with additional matter, equally ingenious, are the staple of the examination. Because the Board has not effected the task, to which no previous legislation in any age or clime had ever been competent, of suddenly exalting a long depressed race to social eminence, they not only receive no credit for their approaches towards effecting that result, but are held responsible for circumstances incident to man under every polity.

A characteristic feature of the examination of Whittington and the others, as reported in the *Emancipator*, is the frequent want of natural relation between the questions and the answers: as for example, Whittington is asked if it is true, "that Mr. Waring has a large number of coffee plants?" and answers "No; it is false: Mr. Waring deals mostly in guns, gun-powder and rum!" That a question relating to Mr. Waring's agricultural pursuits should be answered by a description of his commercial operations, is, to say the least of it, not very probable: but if such an answer was really given to such a question, it betrays an alacrity on the part of Mr. Whittington to introduce, out of place, what he believed to be a popular charge against the Colony, which, in the eyes of candid men, must render him a very unsafe witness.

The Vice-Agent and the High-Sheriff of the Colony—men of acknowledged probity and intelligence, have examined the statements ascribed to the three witnesses named in the *Emancipator*, and unequivocally deny that they are true.

Mr. Whittington, who sailed for the Colony last fall in the *Lafayette*, made to say, that out of the 150 who went with him in that vessel, "those who had not died [were] very ill. It was thought they could not recover." In other words, the whole expedition were either dead or dying. Now, Mr. Whittington returned to the United States in the Ship *Jupiter*, in company with Mr. Williams, the Vice-Agent. During the passage, Mr. Williams, as he informs us, asked Mr. Whittington how many of the said emigrants had died—and was answered TEN! Mr. Whittington says "he was informed that more than *one-half* who are transported, *die* in the course of six or eight months after their arrival in the Colony!" Mr. Williams, whose official station enabled him to ascertain facts more directly than through hearsay, avers that the greatest excess, under circumstances of extraordinary mortality, of lives lost during the period indicated, is from *seven* to *ten* per cent: and this testimony is fortified by the statistical tables forwarded to the Society.

"Old people," says Whittington,

"And little children very seldom live to get 'seasoned,' as they term it, which takes them from six to ten months; and whether they are seasoned or not, at the expiration of six months they are turned out by the officers of the Government, to become paupers or starve, or bask in the rays of the burning sun, until death, with all its terrors, kindly relieves them! No one receives a deed for his land until he builds himself a house, and no one receives but five ac. Widows, and all females without husbands, are denied the right of holding property."

Mr. Gibbins, another of the witnesses, says that "each family receives only five acres."

The allegations concerning the mortality of "old people," is utterly denied by Messrs. Williams and Roberts; and we learn from Dr. Todsén, an able and experienced Physician, that though, in every country, the deaths of children are more in proportion than those of adults, the relative mortality of the former is not greater at Liberia than at other places. As to the imputed inhumanity of the government officers, Messrs. Williams and Roberts pronounce the charge to be unfounded. They say that there is no such thing at the Colony as habitual mendicancy, or as starvation; and we know that the efforts of the Board and its officers to maintain the colonists, even beyond the stipulated period, have been liberal to a degree of perhaps questionable policy.

It is true that no colonist receives a deed for his land until he builds a house; and the propriety of the arrangement is not questioned by the Emancipator's witness, though the fact is mentioned in connexion with his vituperative matter. But it is *not* true, in the broad way in which the assertion is made, that "no one receives but five acres." On referring to the Report on the Public Lands of the Colony, adopted by the Board April 22, 1830, and ever since the existing law on that subject, the reader will find that every adult male emigrant shall receive a building lot in town, with five acres of plantation land; if married, two for his wife and one for each of his children, provided that no single family shall receive more than ten acres: that the same provision shall, at the discretion of the Colonial Agent, be extended to adult female emigrants: and that each emigrant as aforesaid shall receive, if he prefer it, in lieu of the above donation, fifty acres of land for himself and family, in the country beyond three miles from the town. Other agricultural privileges, highly beneficial to the colonists, are enumerated in the Report. The Agent has exercised, whenever he has deemed it advisable so to do, the discretionary power of granting land to females. The allegation of the foregoing extract is not therefore true, even supposing "property" to mean "landed property." In its larger and literal sense it is not only not true but absurd.

In answer to the question, "Do rice, sugar, and coffee, grow in abundance in Liberia?" Mr. Whittington answered 'no;' and that it was dearer than in the country!" Whether the word "it" refers to "rice," to "sugar," to "coffee," or to the whole three, is hard to be told; nor is it perhaps material. We learn from Messrs. Williams and Roberts that rice sells at the colony at about a ton, or less than two cents a pound. We all know what is the price of rice in this country. They state that it is cultivated to a considerable and increasing extent by the colonists themselves, and largely by the recaptured Africans, who sell it to the colonists. Sugar cane, they say, grows at the colony; and native coffee of a good quality (of which samples have been transmitted to the United States) can be gathered there in any quantity. Sugar and coffee of foreign manufacture and growth command higher prices there than in the United States; and it would be strange if they did not, in the still infant condition of the colony. But the difference has been grossly exaggerated. Single refined loaf sugar sells at \$18 per cwt., and retails at 25 cents per pound. Coffee retails at the same price; and brown sugar of good quality at from 18 to 20 cents. The last named article sells at 11 or 12 cents by the box.

We have already noticed, for another purpose, Mr. Whittington's denial that Mr. Waring "has a large number of coffee plants." The Vice-Agent was informed by Mr. Waring, that the latter planted last year 20,000 plants, and that he was preparing ground for more. He sells the usual articles of merchandise, and among them rum, but not in great quantities.

In answer to the comprehensive question, "Has the establishment of the colony effected a happy influence over the natives?" Mr. Whittington is represented as answering, "No.—*They have taught some of them to understand the English language well enough to decoy their brethren away and sell them for slaves!!*" This same topic is, in a subsequent part of this uncharitable ca-

techism, dragged forward by Price, another of the witnesses. He is asked "Do not the colonists teach the natives the principles of the bible?" Faithful to his duties in the drama, he eagerly answers, "No; they only teach them to speak the English language, that they may decoy their brethren away and sell them for slaves; *and the colonists informed me that it would be impolitic (i. e. as the American says, 'not expedient') to teach the natives, for if they were taught they would soon come down and take the colony!!*"

A general question, it should be observed, is put to one of these witnesses, and a special question to the other; each interrogatory is answered by an allegation foreign to the subject, and a denunciation of motives, without the slightest pretence of any specific fact to support it. This coincidence, however awkward, is so palpably artificial, that the most greedy credulity grows skeptical, and pauses for proof. It must pause a long while.

Mr. Price avers that "persons whose names had been published in the colonization statements, could not be found, nor had they ever been heard of in the colony." If we rightly apprehend what is meant by "colonization statements," we incline not so much to repel this gross slander on the Society, as to wonder that any man should have been permitted by any audience to utter it, without offering a single confirmatory fact or circumstance.

The following is the examination of this witness on the subject of funerals: "Mr. Paschall asked whether he attended any funerals, and whether the grave yards looked as though many persons had been buried there?

"Answer, Mr. P. Yes, I attended a funeral, and I was never more appaled in my life, than when I approached the burying ground. My heart bled to see so many graves, both long and short, which appeared to have been so recently covered over.

"Question. Mr. Burd asked if he attended more than one funeral?

"Answer. Yes, before I left the first, I was called upon to attend another; which carried me to another burying ground, much larger than the former, and presenting a more solemn appearance than the first. There I was informed that I had not seen all things; that I was not aware of the number placed in a grave."

There are, we learn, three burying grounds at the colony, located respectively at Monrovia, at Caldwell, and at Millsburg; places of which each is several miles distant from the other two. It is quite possible that an interment may have been made in one of them shortly after an interment in another. They all ought to, and probably do, exhibit a "solemn appearance"; and it may be supposed that, like all other burying grounds in the world, they contain, at periods of severe visitation, many newly covered graves. The situation that two or more persons are buried in the same grave, is, we are informed by the colonial functionaries already referred to, *untrue*.

Mr. Price is made to assert that he "did not dine or call at a house where 'what rum or wine was set before [him.]" Rum and wine are commonly used in the colony; and they are used too in the United States. But, in either country, a visitor who cannot "call at any house" without having "rum or wine" obtruded on him, must be either very select or very unfortunate in his intercourse. Nothing is easier, according to Mr. Williams, than to visit houses at Liberia where neither "rum nor wine" will meet the eye of either the willing or the unwilling guest. Mr. Price was also strangely unfortunate in seeing "more drunkards in the colony than [he had] seen in New York or in Philadelphia." The whole number of colonists is considerably less than the number of intemperate persons in either of these cities. Unimpeachable testimony is already before the public, highly creditable to the sobriety of the colonists as a community. The Vice-Agent knows of but two habitual drunkards in the settlement.

The next and last witness, Mr. Gibbins, is represented as having experienced difficulties in obtaining a house; but it is not added, what we understand is the fact, that they resulted from his predilection for a particular style of architecture. He rejected such a house as had been furnished to others, and as the Agent was willing to furnish to him; and contracted for one to be built out of his own means, on a plan of his own.

The same Mr. G. testifies that when the natives bring produce of ivory, &c. for sale, they get in return "guns, gunpowder, and rum!" Now, we are authentically informed that "rum" bears by far the smallest proportion to other articles exchanged with the natives for ivory, camwood, &c. not exceeding two gallons for every \$100 worth of their articles of trade.

Mr. G. says that the climate of Liberia "has a bad effect both on the physical and mental powers" [of persons who receive the disease]; "in fact it forbids the colonists to labor, or to be exposed to the sun, particularly in the middle of the day."

Dr. Todsen repudiates the idea that the climate produces any permanent injury to either the physical or the mental powers of invalids of the coloured race; or that exposure to the sun is more dangerous to the colonists than it would be to other persons in other places. The Doctor considers the African climate more injurious to white persons.

Mr. Gibbins is further reported to say:

"I do not believe that there has been one bushel of rice or coffee raised in the Colony! I never could see nor hear of its growing there! Neither do they make sugar! They have tried to raise corn, but it was in vain; it always blasts before it comes to any thing!"

"Rice sells at 20 cents per pound; coffee at 60 cents per pound; sugar 25 cents per pound; and pork at \$25 per barrel."

We have already adverted to the testimony of Messrs. Williams and Roberts, in regard to rice, coffee and sugar. Their statement concerning corn is equally at variance with the one just cited. Corn, they admit, is not as yet raised in the Colony to a considerable extent. The proper means have been devised for ascertaining the capacities of the soil and climate for its production. Even the failure of the experiment would prove nothing against the Colony. The territory of Liberia has been proved capable of producing enough, without corn, for sustenance, for comfort, and even for luxury. It is quite probable, however, that when the agricultural system of the Board shall have gone into full operation, corn will be naturalized in Liberia. Among the instances of success in its cultivation which Messrs. Williams and Roberts mention, is the case of an individual who raised enough for his own use, and a surplus which he sold for \$40. They state that pork sells at Liberia at from \$17 to \$20 a barrel; about 25 per cent. more than its price in the United States.

The residue of the examination we give in the words of the Emancipator:

"Question, Mr. D. Is it dangerous to do so; or, are not people allowed to give correct information respecting the Colony?"

"Answer, Mr. W. Not always; persons, however, who reside in Liberia, *cannot write to their friends in this country, and give them facts respecting the Colony, unless they send their letters privately.* All letters that are known to be destined from the Colony, are examined.

"Question, Mr. D. Is it difficult for emigrants to return?"

"Answer, Mr. W. Yes, very difficult. They are obliged to get a passport; and I have known them to be refused by some captains after receiving the pass!"

On the authority of the Vice-Agent and High Sheriff, we state that there is no foundation for these charges of espionage and duress. Any individual at the Colony, may write and transmit to the United States or any where else, whatever he pleases, without let or hindrance from any person, and may leave the Colony whenever a captain of a vessel chooses to receive him as a passenger.

Mr. Gibbins is asked if he thinks "the Colony can prosper;" and answers, readily enough, "no; it cannot under such embarrassments." Undoubtedly, such embarrassments, if real, would affect the prosperity of the Colony; but inasmuch as they exist only in the inventive or prompted fancy of the witness, the Colony, it may be hoped, will continue to flourish, his opinion to the contrary notwithstanding.

The statements which are the subjects of the foregoing animadversions, are

so clumsily fabricated, that had they never escaped from the retirement of the Emancipator, we should not have deemed any allusion to them necessary for the objects of this Journal, or even as admissible under its plan. But as they have been brought out fully before the public, by translation into prints of wider circulation, and with some persons of better authority, our readers will probably excuse, though they may not have expected, the notice we have bestowed on the publication originally made in the Emancipator. It is a subject of admitted regret, that any print with even moderate patronage, should have copied the article; for such a degree of patronage indicates a *quasi* respectability at least on the part of its object, and opportunities of diffusing misrepresentations, which the Colonization Society, intent on benevolent action, and unambitious of controversy, cannot regard with indifference. Into the motives which may have led certain less obscure Journals to follow in the Emancipator's wake, in the instance referred to, we shall not inquire; though the inquiry, if made, might, not improbably, discover in the general course of some of them, plenary consolation for their calumnies on the Society, whether invented or adopted.

We subjoin to this article the Report on the Public Lands of the Colony, to which we have adverted; and which, the reader will recollect, was adopted by the Board more than three years ago, and has ever since been a law of the Colony.

REPORT ON PUBLIC LANDS, ADOPTED BY THE BOARD OF MANAGERS, APRIL 22, 1830.

That hereafter, unless specially directed by the Board, land shall be allotted or sold to the emigrants to Liberia, in the following manner:—

Every adult male emigrant shall on his arrival receive a building lot in one of the existing towns, or of such other towns as may be established by public authority, with five acres of plantation land as nearly adjacent as may be; if married, two for his wife and one for each of his children; no single family, however, to receive more than ten acres, and said family to reside thereon or the town lot.

The same provision shall, at the discretion of the Colonial Agent, extend to adult female emigrants.

That such Colonist have a right within five years to purchase at the rate of one dollar per acre, for ready money, a quantity of land not exceeding ten acres to be reserved, adjacent as may be to the quantity so allowed.

That these provisions be applicable to the said towns and the district of country within three miles thereof.

That in respect to the country beyond three miles from the towns:

Each emigrant, as aforesaid, shall receive, if he prefer it, in lieu of the above donation, fifty acres of land for himself and family,—they residing thereon, with the right of purchasing, within five years thereafter, at the rate of twenty-five cents per acre, ready money,—fifty adjacent acres.

That the said allotments and lands sold be laid out as well in respect to town lots as otherwise, under the direction of the Colonial Agent, in such way as not to interfere with existing rights, and so as to make the lots and farms as regular in form and compact as may be, reserving in the gratuitous allotments to emigrants, adjacent to each allotment, a quantity equal to that so allotted, when requisite to satisfy the rights of preemption.

That beyond three miles from the said towns, sales of land be made for ready money as follows:—

To any one Colonist at the rate of twenty-five cents an acre for any quantity of land not less than one hundred or more than two hundred acres. And at the same rate for any quantity of land, provided a settlement be made thereon by the permanent residence of one Colonist to every hundred acres: Provided, however, that in these cases the approbation of the Colonial Agent be requisite; and that in authorizing them he pay special regard to restraining the settlement within safe and prudent limits, reserving for the future benefit of the Colony tracts containing mill seats, mines or other specially valuable properties, or selling them at a price proportionate to their value.

That the proceeds of all sales of lands made, shall be for the benefit of the Colony; but shall be strictly accounted for, and applied by this Board.

Resolved, That the Colonial Agent be instructed to discourage by all means in his power the supply through the factories or otherwise, of the natives with fire arms, powder and

Resolved, That the Colonial Agent be empowered to make a *donation* to any Col association of Colonists, not exceeding 500 acres of land, on c appropriated to the culture of sugar, cotton, or coffee.

INTELLIGENCE.

EDITOR'S CORRESPONDENCE.

New Albany, Indiana, July 4th, 1833.

R. R. GURLEY, *Sec'y of the Am. Col. Society.*

SIR: An humble citizen of the West proposes the following plan to raise Ten Millions of Dollars for the American Colonization Society, viz. let the shares be one dollar each, to be paid in sixteen years,—the instalments to be six and a fourth cent on each share, to be paid on the 4th day of July, annually, till paid. I believe in a population of ten millions of freemen, we can very easily raise the proposed amount, as it would only be an average of one share to each of that number: and many of the wealthy would subscribe for the poor.

My fellow-citizens have subscribed on the foregoing plan, and we have upwards of 800 shares taken by a few individuals whose names I will forward in a few days, and the money will be deposited in the office of Discount and Deposit, of the New Albany Insurance Company, subject to your order. I intend to transcribe the names from the original paper, into a book ruled lengthwise into sixteen columns answering to the sixteen instalments opposite the names. Yours truly,
ROBERT DOWNEY.

Of the plan set forth in the foregoing letter, we find the following notice in the *New Albany Gazette*, of July 5.

An interesting Scheme.—The friends of Colonization in our neighborhood, have been presented, within a few days past, by our fellow-citizen, Mr. R. Downey, with a plan for raising Ten Millions of dollars, for the purpose of colonizing such of the colored population of the United States, as can be transported consistently with the rules and principles of the American Colonization Society. The scheme is this: the whole sum is divided into ten millions of shares at one dollar each, to be paid in sixteen years.

We consider this plan superior to any heretofore suggested, for it is adapted to the means of every individual in the country. It neither rejects the poor man's help—the widow's mite, nor the rich man's munificence. Many have expressed their anxiety for the progress of the work, and their willingness to contribute in aid of the cause, but have heretofore had no opportunity to do so. Should this plan be received with the sanction, which we think it merits, by the establishment of agencies throughout the U. States and Territories, every individual may have it in his power to aid in the emancipation of the negro, and in obliterating from the escutcheon of our country, the darkest stain upon it.

We understand it to be Mr. D.'s design to forward his plan to the General Agent for the Society at Washington City, for the approbation of the Parent Society.

With the use of industry, we see no reason why this undertaking should fail to accomplish the end of its highly respectable projector. As it amounts to but a small annual tax, the contribution will hardly be felt: and

the funds from this source, will, in all probability, reach the Treasury of the Society in time to meet its wants. It is supposed that a number of shares will be taken in our town very near equal to its whole population.

ST. LOUIS, Mo. July 15.

REV. AND DEAR SIR: I now can give you some further information respecting our cause in this section. They have in this city an efficient and respectable Society.—They have done much, and are willing to do more. On the 4th of July a meeting of the Society was called in the Presbyterian church, which was respectfully attended. Addresses were delivered by F. S. Geyer, Esq. President of the Society, and myself. On the Sabbath following, after sermon, I lifted in my congregation a public collection of \$33-50, which I humbly acknowledge, and wish you to notice in your next number. I suggested to the Society the propriety of an immediate appointment of an agent for this State. Accordingly they proceeded to an election and the Rev. Isaac S. House of Springfield, Illinois has been duly appointed. I wish you would notice his appointment through the medium of the Repository.—He will immediately enter upon the duties of his agency, and will, I think, effect much for the cause.

I shall leave here in a few weeks for Ohio, Va. and Maryland; and where I journey I shall labour for the advancement of our cause.

My collection of the 4th will be paid to the Treasurer of the St. Louis Society, which if you please you will notice in your forthcoming number. God bless you. Yours truly,
E. W. SEHON.

AUXILIARY SOCIETIES.

TALLMADGE, July 19, 1833.

TO THE REV. R. R. GURLEY:

In compliance with a request contained in your circular of May 17th, I proceed to give you some information of the progress of the Colonization cause in this place. We have had a Colonization Society formed in this town five or six years, and have taken up a collection every year in aid of your Society, since its formation. The sums collected from year to year have varied from seven to forty-six dollars. This year it amounted to fifty dollars, which has been forwarded by the Hon. E. Whittelsey.

There are some things that have taken place which are somewhat gratifying to the friends of Colonization here, and perhaps may be so to you. I will relate some of them. We are situated ten miles from the W. R. College. We have been abundantly favoured with addresses, lectures, &c. &c. from that Institution, on the subject of Abolition lately. Mr. Green, late Professor, (he is now dismissed), has visited us three times; Professor Wright twice, and President Storrs once, and Mr. Denison twice. They have succeeded in forming a Society consisting, as they say, of fifty-one members; but much the greater part of that number is made up

of women and children, and students from the College. Students from the College and members of an Anti-Slavery Society in College came here and entered their names again.

The 4th of July is our annual meeting.—The day was observed this year by having two addresses delivered; one by my Son Charles, the other by the Hon. E. Whittlesey, which was listened to by a crowded audience for more than three hours with great attention. Mr. Green and Profr. Wright were both present, and appeared to be rather restive.

At the close of the exercises, notice was given that Mr. Green would deliver an address at 4 o'clock. This address consisted wholly in animadversions on my brother's address and bold assertions. Much the larger part of his audience became disgusted and left the house a long time before he closed.

There were five ministers present besides Mr. Green; three of them were specially invited to take a part in the second exercises, and every one promptly refused.

I give these circumstances to show that the cause of immediate emancipation has not as many supporters in this region as may be supposed by people at the South. The fact is, that the disciples of Garrison are comparatively few; but they are very noisy. We have lost from our Society seven or eight members and have gained from sixty to eighty.

The officers for the ensuing year are Richard Fenn, *President*; Mylo Stone and Amos Seward, *Vice-Presidents*; Asaph Whittlesey, *Secretary*; and Ephraim Clark, *Treasurer*.

Respectfully yours,

ASAPH WHITTLESEY.

CHESTER, August 1st, 1833.

R. R. GURLEY, WASHINGTON.

Agreeably to the request, made through the medium of the "African Repository," I send you the names of the officers and members of the "Delaware County, Pennsylvania, Colonization Society." Yours, &c.

JOHN K. TEILIN, *Sec'y.*

OFFICERS.

President—Henry Myers. *Vice-Presidents*—Dr. Samuel Anderson, John P. Crozer.—*Secretary*—John K. Teilin. *Treasurer*—Fredrick J. Hinkson. *Managers*—John Hill, George Smith, David Abbott, John Lloyd, Isaac S. Bonsall, Henry L. Powell, Pierce Crosby, Jesse I. Maris, Parke Shee, Preston Eyre, John Lewis, William Amies.

Colonization Society of Kenyon College.—The anniversary of this Society was held in the College Chapel on the 4th inst. and proved an occasion of deep interest. The Declaration of Independence was read by Mr. R. K. MEADE; and an excellent oration was delivered by Mr. F. H. MCGUIRE, both members of the College. After the oration several resolutions were adopted expressing the confidence of this Society in the plan of Colonization, and in the integrity and good faith of the Parent Society. A resolution was also passed, showing the disposition of the Society to do as well as resolve. By it a pledge was given to raise or cause to be raised within the ensuing year, a sum sufficient to re-

move to Africa TEN persons of color, to be manumitted slaves, if such are to be had, and a committee was appointed to carry the resolution into effect.—Forty seven new members were obtained. From these indications, we may safely infer that the Colonization cause enjoys undiminished confidence here, and while deserving so well, will be cherished and sustained "through evil report, as well as good report."

Gambier Obr., (O.) July 12, 1833.

NEWARK COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

The fifth annual meeting of the Newark Colonization Society was held in the Session Room of the First Presbyterian Church on the 4th instant.

In the absence of the President, (Luther Goble, Esq. since deceased), and all the Vice-Presidents,—Jesse Baldwin, Esq. was called to the Chair.

The meeting was opened with prayer by the Rev. Mr. Pierson, of Orange.

Dr. L. A. Smith, the Treasurer, read his annual Report. On motion, it was accepted.

The annual report of the Executive Committee was read by the Secretary. On motion, ordered that the report be accepted.

Resolved, That this Society be hereafter known by the name of the 'ESSEX COUNTY COLONIZATION SOCIETY.'

Resolved, That the fifth article of the Constitution be so amended as to read "five or more Vice-Presidents."

Resolved, That a Committee of three be appointed to nominate officers, and that the Chairman appoint said Committee.

The Chairman appointed Messrs. Hornblower, Dod and Albert Pierson.

Resolved, That the following article be added to, and become a part of the Constitution of this Society:

"That the Executive Committee take measures to form societies in each township of the county, auxiliary to this Society."

Resolved, That the Treasurer be requested to call upon the subscribers of twenty dollars each, for payment of the sums subscribed by them respectively.

Resolved, That the American Colonization Society continues to enjoy our undiminished confidence, and that we regard it as among the most hopeful means of promoting emancipation, of relieving our country from the evils of slavery, and of diffusing the blessings of religion and civilization among the benighted nations of Africa.

The Committee to nominate officers reported, and the following were elected:

Silas Condit, *President*. Isaac Pierson, of Orange, Rev. G. N. Judd, of Bloomfield, Daniel Holman, of Paterson, Jesse Baldwin, of Newark, Rev. John Dow, of Belleville, Rev. B. Noble, of Elizabeth, Job Squier, of Rahway, and Wm. Wallace, Jr. of Chatham, *Vice-Presidents*. Dr. L. A. Smith, *Treasurer*. A. W. Corey, *Secretary*. Hon. T. Frelinghuysen, Isaac Brant, A. Dodd, James Vanderpool, A. Giniord, Dr. L. A. Smith, and A. W. Corey, *Executive Committee*. Joseph C. Hornblower, Wm. Wright, S. D. Day and John Nichol, of Orange; C. S. Crane, of Caldwell; Elias B. Crane, of Bloomfield.

Stephen P. Brittain, of Elizabethtown; Dr. David Martin, of Springfield; Dennis Coles, of W. field; Ab'm. Reynolds and E. B. D. Ogden, of Passersong; Caleb Carter, Stephen Dod, J. P. Jackson C. F. Day, Wm. Tuttle, Joel W. Condit, Wm. Rankin, Fred'k. S. Thomas, David Doremus, A. W. Kinney, Wm. Stevens, Isaac Andrus, James Miller, Wm. Pennington, C. H. Shipman, A. Beach, John Taylor, T. B. Crowell, C. I. Graham, and Calvin Baldwin, *Managers*.

Resolved, That Messrs. Dod, Jackson, and Gifford be a Committee to draft memorials.
Newark (N. J.) Eagle, July 12, 1833.

COLONIZATION MEETINGS.

At an adjourned meeting of the friends of the American Colonization Society, on the evening of the 18th ult. to consider and aid the great and philanthropic design of that Institution, the Hon. Alexander H. Everett was called to the Chair, and Thomas B. Coolidge, Esq. appointed Secretary.

The Rev. Mr. Gurley, Secretary of the Society, stated briefly to the meeting the purpose for which it had been convened, and expressed his hope and confidence that the magnitude and importance of the cause which the Society was established to promote, and the urgent want of pecuniary means felt by it at this crisis, would secure for it the kindest consideration and most liberal support of this enlightened and generous community.

The Rev. Messrs. Lindsley, Blagden, and Malcom urged in a very impressive manner the claims of the Society, and expressed their conviction that a special effort should now be made to increase its resources.

Mr. Blagden then submitted the following Preamble and Resolutions; which having been, on motion of Charles Tappan, Esq., slightly amended, were unanimously adopted:

"Whereas, in the opinion of this meeting, the American Colonization Society is entitled to the approbation and support of the whole American people:—and whereas no general effort has at any time been made in Boston to increase its funds, and whereas it is understood that this Society is at this moment in great want of means to conduct forward its operations,

Therefore Resolved, That it is expedient to make an immediate effort to raise in this city and state the sum of TEN THOUSAND DOLLARS to promote the great and philanthropic object of the American Colonization Society.
Resolved, That a subscription be now opened in furtherance of this object.

Resolved, That a Committee be appointed to prepare a brief address to their fellow citizens in behalf of the Society, and to adopt such other means as they may deem expedient to secure subscriptions and donations in aid of its cause.

The following gentlemen constitute the Committee:—

A. H. Everett, Samuel Dorr, Moses Grant, Charles Tappan, Henry Homes, Henry Codman, Charles Stoddard, Rev. G. W. Blagden, Rev. E. S. Gannett, Isaac Mansfield, Henry Hill, H. H. Huggefard, T. B. Coolidge, and B. B. Thatcher.

Another Colonization meeting was held in Boston on Sunday evening, July 21st, at the Rev. M. Blagden's Meeting house, where addresses were made to a crowded audience, by the Rev. R. R. Gurley and B. B. Thatcher, Esq.; and on the next evening, a colonization address was delivered by Mr. Gurley.

Colonization Debate.—The great Colonization and Abolition Debate at Portland, after occupying the citizens of that place for seven successive evenings, terminated on Friday evening, at 10 o'clock, July 19, with the adoption of measures for forming a Colonization Society. Over two hundred of the audience gave in their names on the spot,—many of them as life-members.

The discussion is believed to have multiplied the friends of the Society more than twenty fold. It was conducted in a gentlemanly manner, and every fair opportunity given to the opposition. General Fessenden made a speech of three hours on Thursday evening. An Auxiliary Society has been organized by the choice of Ex-Governor Albion K. Paris, President; Rev. Messrs. Tyler and Cox, (bro'r of the Liberator Missionary,) and J. Maginnis, Vice-Presidents; John Neal, Esq. Secretary; and a Treasurer and five *Managers*.

A Resolution was passed that the Society stand pledged to pay to the American Colonization Society \$100 a year for ten years, upon the plan of Mr. Gerrit Smith.

SLAVERY—THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION.

The accusations to which the subjoined letter owes its existence, have connected themselves with the prejudices which one division of the enemies of African colonization are so active in exciting against it at the South. The opinion of so distinguished a constitutional lawyer as Mr. WEBSTER, exercising, too, a powerful influence over the public mind in New England, cannot fail to produce a salutary effect. His letter is written in answer to one from John BOLTON, Esq.

"NEW YORK, May 17, 1833.

"My Dear Sir:—I have received your letter of last evening, requesting me to state my opinion of the powers of Congress on the subject of slaves and slavery; and of the existence of any wish or design, on the part of Northern men, to interfere with the security or regulation of that species of property.

"My sentiments on this subject, my dear Sir, have been often publicly expressed; but I can have no objection to repeat the declaration of them, if it be thought by you that such declaration might, in the smallest degree, aid the friends of Union and the Constitution in the South, in dispelling prejudices which are so industriously fostered, and in quieting agitations so unnecessarily kept alive.

"In my opinion, the domestic slavery of the Southern States is a subject within the exclusive control of the States themselves;

and this, I am sure, is the opinion of the whole North. Congress has no right to interfere in the emancipation of slaves, or in the treatment of them in any of the States.—This was so resolved by the House of Representatives, when Congress sat in this city in 1790, on the report of a Committee, consisting almost entirely of Northern members; and I do not know an instance of the expression of a different opinion, in either House of Congress, since. I cannot say that particular individuals might not possibly be found, who suppose that Congress may possess some power over the subject; but I do not know any such persons, and if there be any, I am sure they are few. The servitude of so great a portion of the population of the South is, undoubtedly, regarded at the North, as a great evil, moral and political; and the discussions upon it, which have recently taken place in the Legislatures of several of the slave-holding States, have been read with very deep interest. But it is regarded, nevertheless, as an evil, the remedy for which lies with those Legislatures themselves, to be provided and applied according to *their* own sense of policy and duty. The imputations which you say, and say truly, are constantly made against the North, are, in my opinion, entirely destitute of any just foundation. I have endeavoured to repel them, so far as has been in my power, on all proper occasions; and for a fuller expression of my own opinions, both on the power of Congress, and on the groundless charges against Northern men, I beg leave to refer you to my remarks in the debate on Mr. Foot's Resolutions in 1830.

I am, my dear Sir, with much true regard,

Your obed^t. Servant,

DAN'L WEBSTER.

To JOHN BOLTON, Esq.

From the Fredericktown Herald.

On the 13th instant we laid before our readers a letter from Colvert Barker to Messrs. Potts and Hughes.—We now have the pleasure of presenting another letter from the same individual to Chester Coleman, Esq. of this county, by whom "Lucy" was manumitted. It reiterates the sentiments of the former communication, and must remove any doubts, if they exist, that what Mr. Barker fondly terms "*the promised land*," is destined to be filled with a free and happy people. The original letter has been placed in our possession, and is offered to the inspection of Mr. Barker's colored brethren.

MONROVIA, AFRICA, April 9, 1833.

Respected and kind Sir: It is with much pleasure that I inform you of our safe arrival in Liberia. Yes, sir, Liberia, the land of our forefathers, about which so many opinions prevail, particularly among my colored friends from whom I have separated to search for myself this promised land: and so far, I can assure you that it would have been bet-

ter if I had emigrated to this place five years ago. When I arrived here, I was very much at a loss to think that I had left all my friends to come. I regretted my emigration when I wrote my first letter, but I have had a good deal of sickness. Tell all my friends that I am free, and enjoy the same rights and privileges that the white people do in the U. S.—I am about to move to a place (Grand Bassa) about one hundred miles from the place I now live—I want to see my brother Thomas out here, I wish he had emigrated when I did. We sailed from Baltimore in the ship Lafayette early in December last, and arrived here on the 20th of January, and we had a very pleasant voyage. I don't think it worth while to write to many of my colored friends; *if they were men, they would volunteer themselves and come as I did!* I find that what Messrs. Simpson and Moore told me is true. Tell my brother Thomas I wish him to bring what merchandise he can, viz. tobacco, beads, domestic cotton, &c. I am in hopes that I shall see him here on this shore, and that we may again shake hands together.—Tell Mr. Key and Thomas Day that I am free and so is every one that is here. I don't wish to return to the United States again—now I will tell you how Lydia and Lucy are: They have got over the fever.—Tell all their friends that their health is better than ever it was,—all I want is to see all my friends on the shore of Africa. Tell Uncle Ned Ruffen that the fish have not eaten me up yet; I have seen enough of this country to make me satisfied. I have got over the fever; I hope that you will correct the mistakes; I want you to read this for your satisfaction and take a copy from this and send it to some of my colored friends; I want to let them know that I am free and can come back when I please; I hope that you will excuse my bad writing; I hope that you will let me hear from all your family; and from Dr. Johnson, and from all my colored friends. We are your humble servants,
COLVERT & LYDIA BARKER.
To MR. CHESTER COLEMAN, Frederick county, Maryland,—by ship Jupiter.

From the New York Spectator, August 7.

THE COLONIZATION CAUSE.

A meeting of a number of friends of the noble cause of the American Colonization Society, convened by special invitation, was held last evening, at the Consistory Room of the Dutch Ref'd. Church, corner of Ann and Nassau streets. The Rev. Dr. DE WITT having been called to the Chair, and offered an appropriate address to the Throne of Grace, the business of the meeting was opened by the Rev. R. R. Gurley, Corresponding Secretary of the Parent Society. He stated the objects of his present mission to the north and east—it being to make a special appeal to the public, to augment the funds of the Society. The extraordinary expenditures of last year, occasioned by the transportation and settlement in Liberia of eleven hundred emigrants in about a year, had not only exhausted the treasury of the Society, but involved it in responsibilities beyond its present means. The Society is also destitute of

means to transport the multitudes of emigrants who are daily enrolling their names for the Colony. Mr. G. assured the meeting that a crisis had arrived in the affairs of the Society, and it was soon to be determined whether it would be enabled to proceed upon a scale commensurate with the high expectations of the country, or to languish, and thus disappoint the fond hopes of the Christians and philanthropists of our country, as to its ultimate success.

It being mentioned that Capt. Page, of the U. States Navy, who had last year visited the Colony by order of the government, was present in the meeting, he was requested to state such facts as to the civil and moral condition and prospects of the Colony, as had particularly attracted his attention during his visit. The request was cheerfully complied with by Capt. P., and his statements were such as to afford very high gratification to the friends of the cause. The Colony was in a flourishing condition, and the community exemplary for its morals. The climate is healthy for the man of color, the soil rich and productive; and the people contented and happy. He was in the habit of visiting the people daily, and dining with them at their houses. He saw but one discontented person there, and he was so only because he thought he ought to have been appointed to an office. Captain P. saw not a drunken person there, and in answer to questions put to him, gave very satisfactory contradictions to the statements recently put forth by the enemies of the cause, in the incendiary papers published in Boston and this city.

Capt. P. having concluded, and some further remarks been made by other gentlemen, the following resolutions were moved and unanimously adopted:—

Whereas, in the judgment of this meeting, the American Colonization Society is a truly philanthropic and Christian Institution, benevolent in its aspect towards the whole African race; and whereas this Society, is, at this time, in special need of funds to prosecute with due vigor its great enterprise; and whereas no very general and earnest effort has, at any time, been made in this city and State to increase its resources:

Resolved, That it is expedient to adopt immediate and vigorous efforts to raise in this city and State the sum of TWENTY THOUSAND DOLLARS for the American Colonization Society.

Resolved, That a Committee be appointed with full powers, to fill up any vacancies that may occur in their number, or to increase it as they may think proper, and whose duty it shall be to prepare and publish a brief address to their fellow citizens; and, to adopt all such measures as they shall judge expedient to carry the object proposed in the preceding resolution into speedy and complete effect.

THOMAS DE WITT, Chairman.

WILLIAM STONE, Secretary.

From the Western Luminary, July 15.
American Colonization Society.—It is known to most of our readers, that the enemies of this truly benevolent institution in New England, have for some time been waging against

it a vindictive warfare. We rejoice to say, however, that their numbers are comparatively few. From the clamor they keep up, one might suppose they were expressing the feelings of a vast majority of the good citizens of that intelligent and philanthropic portion of our nation. The following remarks are from a late number of the Boston Recorder:—

“The Anti-Slavery [Anti-Colonization] Society employs an agent in Vermont; but the delegate from that State to the General Association at Dorchester last week, remarked that the Colonization Society is regarded there with decidedly more interest and favor than at any former period. The same may be said with truth, we are confident, of New England as a whole. Many to whom the common objections appeared plausible, at first, are becoming yet warmer friends as they see more clearly the difference between Anti-Slavery and Anti-Colonization.”

LIBERIA MISSION.

We have received a letter from the Rev. M. B. Cox, our missionary in Liberia, dated Monrovia, April 9th, 1833, in which he says, “I have not yet been long enough in Liberia to give you my views of it; but this I may say, they are decidedly favorable. Monrovia is humble in its appearance compared with Bathurst and Freetown, but I believe it rests on a better foundation than either, and that it has in it the seeds of a growing and flourishing state, if not a mighty empire. Give my best love to all our brethren in the ministry—bid them remember the millions of Africa that are perishing for lack of knowledge, and the humble few scattered along its western coast, who are endeavouring to light up the gloom that hangs over its dark wildernesses.” Mr. Cox recommends the Rev. A. D. Williams, the Vice-Agent, or, as he is popularly called, the acting Governor of the Colony, now on a visit to the United States on business, to the Christian attention and courtesy of his brethren. Mr. Williams is a preacher of the Methodist connexion, and has been almost the husband and father of the little church in Monrovia.

Christian Sentinel.

From the Emancipator.

LATEST MISSIONARY INTELLIGENCE FROM LIBERIA.

Several of the religious papers have been publishing the letters of Mr. Pinney, from Africa. We learn he has returned, having lost his wife and children.

REMARKS.

Africa must be a horrible place, and the Colonization Society a horrible institution, if they have deprived Mr. Pinney of his wife and children, inasmuch as he never had either the one or the other! We are reminded of the stanza:

“His optics must be good, I ween,
Who sees what is not to be seen.”

So much, however, for the rancor of the “Emancipator.”—*Christ. Herald.*

CONTRIBUTIONS

To the American Colonization Society, from the 5th of July to the 10th of August.

Mrs. Sarah Kurtz, Tr. Female Colonization Society of Georgetown, D. C. per John S. Nevius, payment on plan of Gerrit Smith, Esq.	\$75
Fourth of July collection from inhabitants of Milford, Conn. by Rev. B. Pinneo,	20
“ “ “ in Rev. R. Post's church,	21
“ “ “ Rev. H. S. Kepler, Ebenezer Station, Washington, D. C.	8
“ “ “ raised in Baltimore year or two past in by	
James R. Williams,	35
Adonijah Bidwell, Hillsdale—annual donation,	10
Twinsburgh Inhabitants, by Eth in Allen,	3
Amount collected at a Temperance meeting held in the Presbyterian church, for the Colonization Society, Skaneateles, N. Y. by Charles J. Burnett,	11
A. Porter, Jr. of New Orleans, payment on plan of Gerrit Smith,	100
Fourth of July collection, Williamsport, by George R. Mosher, Esq.	20 70
“ “ “ Gettysburg and Hill cong's. Pa., by Rev. C. G. McLean,	25
“ “ “ Petersburg, Va. by Hugh Nelson,	50
“ “ “ Smithville, N. York, by E. Agard,	3 60
“ “ “ Presbyterian congregation, Winchester, Va. by Rev.	
William Hill, D. D.—Rev. Dr. Hill and Rev. David H. Riddle, joint Pastors,	20
Fourth of July collection in the church at Rockaway, N. J. of which Rev. Barnabas King is pastor, by Joseph Jackson, Esq.	11
Collection in church at Jamestown, Chataugue county, N. Y. by Rev. E. I. Gillit,	5
Collection at Rock Creek church, D. C., by Rev. C. Wiltberger,	5
Benjamin Brand, Esq. Tr. Colonization Society, Va., of which \$2 were received for Miss Lucy Paine's subscription to the African Repository,	250
Rev. Robert Cathcart, York, Pa.,	10
Fourth of July collection including some previous subscriptions, in Marietta, Ohio, and adjacent villages, by D. Woodbridge, Esq. Tr. Washington county Colonization Society,	105
Fourth of July collection by Rev. John H. Kennedy, Presbyterian congregation of Centre, Washington county, Pa. by Walter Lowrie, Esq.	10
Collection in Presbyterian church, F Street, Washington, D. C., by Dr. Laurie,	14 12
Collection in Methodist Epis. church, Washington, D. C., by Rev. T. I. Dorsey,	23 11
Children of do. who formed themselves into an Aux. Society, by ditto,	6 37
Collection by Rev. H. R. Wilson, in Presbyterian cong., Shippensburg, Pa.	6 67
Donation by ditto,	3 33—10
Collection in congregation of Wellsburg, Va. by Rev. I. A. Waterman,	22
Collection by Rev. Geo. Lemmon in Episcopal church at Warrenton, Va.	\$11 10
A Friend to the Colonization Society, per ditto,	8 90—20
Collection in the 1st Congregational church, Sandisfield, by Rev. T. P. Holley,	7 50
Presbyterian congregation, Oxford, N. J. Rev. Isaac A. Caudee, 30	
from Sunday-school scholars, by I. Kinney, Jr.	4.58—34 58
Auxiliary Colonization Society of Fredericksburg, Va. by W. F. Gray, Treasurer,	30
Collection in Presbyterian church, Washington, Pa., by Rev. D. Elliott, and by the Sabbath schools in Washington and its vicinity, by Hon. M. T. McKennon,	40
Fourth of July collection in the church of which Rev. William Timlow is pastor,	7
Fourth of July collection in Associate Ref'd. church, Bloominburg, Rev. H. Connolly, by T. C. Van Wyck, Esq.,	7
Fourth of July collection in Presbyterian church, Rogersville, Ten., Rev. Phillips Word, by N. Fain, Esq.,	10
Fourth of July collection in Rev. Sylvester Burt's congregation, Great Barrington, Ms. by Samuel Rosseter, Esq.	13
Fourth of July collection in Methodist Ep. church Wilmington, Del. Rev. Joseph Lybrand, by Henry Hicks, Esq.,	13 53
Collection in congregation of Alexandria & Hart's Log, Pa. by Rev. Saml. Wilson,	13
Fourth of July collection in congregational church Otis, Ms., Rev. Rufus Pomeroy, by B. Seymour, Esq.	5
Legacy of Thomas P. Wilson deceased, late of Montgomery county, Md., by Dr. William M. B. Wilson, one of the Executors,	100
Rev. J. N. Danforth, Agent,	850
Fourth of July collection in congregation of Rev. J. A. Copp, Winchester, Ten.	10
Fourth of July collection in Austerlitz, Columbia co., N. Y., by A. Brown, Esq.,	10
Ditto in Presbyterian congregation, Chambersburg, Pa., by Rev. D. Denney,	15
Ditto in St. Paul's church, Rochester, N. York, by Rev. B. H. Hickox,	13
Thomas Buffington, Esq. being his 5th payment on the plan of Gerrit Smith, Esq.	100
Samuel Danforth's 19—Joseph Gardner 2.50—James Hollcherby 2.50, per ditto,	15
Ben. E. Whitely,	50
Collection in Presbyterian congregation, Gettysburg, Pa. by Rev. Jas. C. Watson,	6 51
in Christ church, Washington, D. C. by Rev. Mr. Hatch, per J. P. Ingle,	7 34
Benjamin Brand, Esq. Tr. of the Colonization Society, Virginia,	150

Collection in Methodist Ep. church, Warrenton circuit, Va., by Rev. J. Bernard,	10
Fourth of July collections at Dennyville and Pembroke, Me., after addresses by Rev. Robert Crossell, remitted by John Kilbey, Esq.,	12
Collection at Uniontown, Pa., in Presbyterian congregation,	14 53
“ “ “ Cumberland Presbyt'n. do., by H. Campbell, 9 17	23 70
Fourth of July collection at a meeting held at Moorham, Tenn., by Rev. Robert Frazer, Cumberland, Pa., by W. J. J. Morrow, Esq.,	2
Collection in Methodist Ep. church Bridgeport, Ct., by Rev. John Tachaberry,	8
Collection in Baptist congregation, Ballstown, N. Y., by Rev. Wm. E. Waterbury,	3 50
Fourth of July collection in Presb. congregation Abington, Pa., by Rev. R. Steele,	15
Fourth of July collection in Ref'd. Presb. ch. Pittsburg, by Rev. Dr. Black,	27 75
Fourth of July collection by Rev. William Hanford, Windham, Ohio,	17
Fourth of July collection by Rev. Isaac Kellar, in con. Williamsport,	10
“ “ “ “ “ Salem,	5
Fourth of July collection in 1832 in Middletown, Frederick county, Md. by Rev. A. Rock, the amount was sent at the time of collection, but through some neglect, was not placed in the hands of the Treasurer,	11
Fourth of July collection in Covesville, Virginia, Rev. Isaac Paert,	5
Collections at monthly concerts during the past year, in the Congregational and Baptist churches, at Kingsville, Ohio, by Rev. H. T. Kelly,	5
By ditto, for African Repository, for Daniel C. Phelps,	2
Collections at Cannonsburg, Pennsylvania, by L. F. Lecke; viz.	
Congregational collection,	8 12½
In Chertiers Sunday school 8.75—in Amity Sunday school 3.12 1-2,	6 87½
Amount from Layton Y. Atkins, Tr. Female Auxiliary Society, Fredericksburg, Va. by Rev. R. Post,	130
Collection in Episcopal church, Fredericksburg, Va. by Rev. Edward C. McGuire,	14 40
Ditto in Bethany Presbyterian cong're'n, Herriottsville, Pa. by Rev. Wm. Jeffery,	10
Ditto in Cross Roads, congregation, Florence, Pa. by Rev. E. Macurdy,	20
Ditto in Baptist and Presbyterian congregations, Richland, N. Y. by Rev. J. Elliot, pastor of the Baptist congregation, remitted by Hiram Hubbell, Esq.,	20
Collection in Presbyterian congregation, Brownsville, N. Y. by Rev. John Sessions,	7
Fourth of July collection at Middleburg, Va. by E. C. Brown,	6 12
John Gray, Esq. of Fredericksburg, on plan of G. Smith,	100
Collection in Congregational church, Lenox, Mass. by Rev. Dr. Shepard,	10
Collection at Troy, N. Y. by Rev. Buel Goodsell,	5
Rev. Dr. Joseph Caldwell, Chapel Hill, N. C.—his annual subscription,	10
For African Repository, Rev. Charles Dresser, \$3—John Nelson \$2,	5
Collection at Schellsburg, Pa. by Rev. James G. Breckenridge,	10
in Baptist church, Norfolk, Va. by Rev. R. B. C. Howell,	5
in Presbyterian church, Corydon, Indiana, by Rev. Alex. Williamson,	5
in New Marlborough, Mass. by Rev. H. Goodwin,	5
in Greenville, Kentucky, by Rev. Isaac Bard,	5
in Methodist Ep. congregation, Fairfax chapel, Va. per John Dulin,	2 02
in Unitarian Societies, Northumberland & Chilisquaque, Rev. Jas. Kay,	12 15
in St. James' church, Cross creek, Ohio, Rev. Intrepide Morse,	5
The proceeds of a Comb sent by a Lady of Orange co. Va. by Reuben T. Thom,	5
Collection in Protestant Ep. church, Winchester, Rev. Joannes E. Jackson,	12 50
Washington Irving Society, per Oliver Tunsten, through John Bruce,	1 68
Aux. Colonization Society of New York city, by M. Allen, Treasurer,	1000
Collection in Methodist Ep. Church, Georgetown, D. C., Rev. James M. Hanson,	9
in Protestant Episcopal Church, Cincinnati, Ohio, Rev. B. P. Aydelott,	20
Proceeds of work done by Sunday-school Teachers of Frederick county, Md., by M. Birney, through F. S. Key, Esq.,	20
Collection at Frankford, Pennsylvania, by Rev. J. Lewes,	5
Female Aux. Colonization Society, Albemarle county, Va., per Mrs. Terrell, Tr.	15
John S. Walton, Esq. New Orleans, his annual payment on the plan of G. Smith,	100
Do. for the African Repository sent to C. Goodrich, Middlebury, Vt.	2
Do. do, Commercial Library, New Orleans,	2
Legacy of James McGuire, deceased, late of Suffolk, Va. by John C. Gordon, Exr.	50
Collection in Presbyterian church, Caldwell, N. J.	\$17
Subscription to African Repository,	22
Collection in Presbyterian congregation. Fishkill, N. Y., Rev. R. G. Armstrong,	16
at Triangle, N. Y., by Rev. S. Woodruff,	5
in Baptist church, Syracuse, Onondaga county, N. Y., per S. Copp,	30 00
in Presbyterian church, Freehold, N. Jersey, Rev. D. V. McLean,	14
Auxiliary Colonization Society of Connecticut, per Seth Terry, Treasurer,	500
Collection in Presbyterian church, Aurora, Ohio, Rev. John Seward,	15
Donation from a few families at Columbus, Miss., per Rev. C. Kingsbury,	\$16
Capt. E. B. Randolph \$2, Dr. J. H. Hand, \$2, Columbus, Miss., and R. C. Randolph \$2, Greensboro, Alabama, for African Repository, per do.	6

Total amount,

4,331 05

THE
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VOL. IX.]

SEPTEMBER, 1833.

[No. 7.]

THE CRISIS.

THE Secretary of the Colonization Society, having been permitted to resume (after an absence of three months in the Middle and Northern States) the labours of his office, would submit to the public eye, a few thoughts in regard to the means and methods by which the friends of the Institution, in every section of the Union, may, at this crisis, best promote its design. We say at this crisis, for that a crisis has arrived, or is at hand in the affairs of the Society, is evident, at least to the writer; a crisis when public feeling in regard to the Institution, can no longer sleep; when facts and arguments relating to it will be generally and deeply considered; a crisis, therefore, most propitious (if the cause be, as we doubt not it is, a good one) for securing so weighty and inflexible a judgment of the country in its favour, as must soon render it too strong for opposition, and if not too pure for reproach, at least inaccessible to danger.

While public sentiment in the largest portions of the Union has, for several years, been decidedly favourable to the Society, it cannot be denied that the efforts and contributions to promote it, have borne no due proportion to the magnitude or merits of the cause. Let us not be understood, however, as placing a low estimate upon the progress of this cause in the good opinion and affections of the American people. It has steadily advanced; prejudice, incredulity, and a thousand conflicting elements of hostility, have, to a great extent, yielded, or vanished before it; so that were we to seek for the most animating evidences of its success, we would not look to Africa, where, through its agency, prosperous christian settlements are rising, beautiful amid the darkness; but to the triumphs it has won over the reason, the consciences, and the hearts of our countrymen. While these triumphs have been signal, while they demonstrate that the faithful and judicious efforts of the friends of the Society can never suffer any lasting defeat, it is proper to say that they have been achieved by toil and perseverance; and that their importance is seen rather in the intelligence, the wisdom, and the piety which are now pledged to sustain it, than in any ardent and all-pervading popular sympathy.

It is true that a great majority of the enlightened Clergy of the United States approve of the Society, and it is also true that more than one-half of the State Legislatures have, by resolutions, sanctioned its plan; yet the amount of the annual income of the Society does not authorize the belief that the public mind, generally, has been pervaded by any spirit of charity towards the object of it, of sufficient power to accomplish, within a reasonable time, the expectations of its founders, and most early and faithful friends.

But thought and inquiry are now excited on the subject; discussion has be-

gun; elements of feeling are moved, never more to rest, until the general opinion and judgment of the nation shall be formed and expressed in a firm and decided tone, in regard to the claims of this Institution. We rejoice that the nation is attentive to the subject. We have confidence in the American people, and more confidence still in GOD. We will not allow ourselves to doubt that Truth, and Humanity and Religion will overcome all obstacles; that they will summon successfully to their aid, whatever may be necessary of talent and of means, and that the great Ruler of the world will open the way and lead on these ministers of His benevolence to the accomplishment of whatever this benevolence may dictate for the benefit of our coloured population and of Africa, and for the stability and happiness of our country.

If we could make an effort that should be felt throughout the land; if we could speak with a voice that every American should hear, we would act and speak *now* for the single purpose of allaying all sectional jealousies; of soothing and quieting all unkind or irritated feeling; and of inducing all honest and candid men to consider the great questions connected with the condition and prospects of our coloured population, in the spirit of sobriety, meekness and charity. No other spirit, we are sure, is suited either to the subject or the occasion. Every other spirit we deprecate, as unfavourable to the formation of a correct judgment—as hostile to the interests of those whom we would relieve, and dangerous to the general security and welfare of the nation.

Trusting that such a spirit animates the hearts of the readers of this Journal, we may be permitted to ask whether the simple and direct object of the Colonization Society as expressed in its Constitution, namely, to establish with their own consent the free people of colour of the United States in christian colonies on the African coast or elsewhere, be not (even when divested of all incidental or collateral advantages and entirely distinct from any greater object which may be promoted by its moral influence) sufficiently large and important to merit the united, generous and persevering support of our countrymen? This object of the Society, now presents itself to the public, not as a theory, the utility of which is to be tried, but as a scheme already proved useful by actual experiment; an experiment, which, it is clear, admits of indefinite extension, and promises an increasing good at each point brought within the enlarging circle of its influence. If the character and condition of the free man of colour be improved in Liberia; if that Colony have assisted in the suppression of the slave-trade; if it have already excited both sympathy and respect for the coloured race—if, on a shore of barbarism and crime, it stand a light for the ignorant, a refuge for the oppressed, a Christian Temple wherein superstitious and idolatrous pagans may be taught to worship the only living and true God; how can the philanthropic or pious man be uninterested in its fate, refuse to assist it, or cease to implore the Almighty to vouchsafe to it his gracious protection? Now we venture to affirm, that the influence of our African Colony upon its own citizens and upon the heathen tribes in its vicinity, has been salutary in a high degree; that it has banished the odious slave-trade from a considerable line of coast; that it has awoken strong sympathies in behalf of the whole African race; that it has wrought extensive and auspicious changes in public sentiment towards this race; and, finally, that some extraordinary dispensation of Providence alone can prevent the growth of this Colony to greatness, and the consequent communication of civilization and christianity, through its citizens, to the uncivilized and unchristian population of Africa. We submit the question, then, whether the Colonization Society, fixing its eye and directing its aim to the simple and single object of planting Christian colonies of free men of colour on the African coast, and this while the practicableness of so doing is no longer problematical, and its utility clear as the sun, does not deserve to be well sustained by humane and religious men, however widely differing on points distinct from the fundamental principles of moral and po-

litical duty? Some may think that slavery under every possible form and modification should be instantly and universally abolished; others may judge that so great a change in the condition of the slave population and the general state of society cannot without deepest injury to all concerned, be suddenly effected; some may be of opinion that general emancipation is practicable only as connected with Colonization; others may deem it possible on our own soil, but only by measures cautious and gradual in their operation, and within certain and well defined limitations; and, finally, some may discern no method by which this acknowledged evil can be removed without incurring evils greater than slavery itself, and others abandoning their own judgment, but confiding in Providence, may hope for its final extinction, but only, by means concealed at present from human observation: yet we know not why all these may not unite in aid of an Institution which has effected already great good, and which by a process entirely unobjectionable and harmless, must, if duly sustained, accomplish good incalculable for the interests of mankind and the honor of God. We have ever thought, that on the broad common ground assumed by the Society, all benevolent men might act together. We have never been able to discover in the single, great, specific object of the Society, that which can be reasonably made matter for controversy.— And though we are aware that the Society encounters opposition, both at the North and the South, still our confidence is unshaken, that this opposition cannot long survive except in a few minds subject either to a delusion that no reason can dispel, or to the less excusable influence of principles hostile to the spirit of the age, and to the improvement, the rights and the happiness of mankind. True, the zealous advocate of immediate, entire and unconditional emancipation, while he views the Society as an obstacle in the way of his measures, will refuse to assist it; and the defender of perpetual slavery, knowing as he must know, that the moral influence of the Society is decidedly and powerfully favourable to voluntary abolition, will not cease to oppose it, yet the first is unable to show that the object he desires is retarded by the Society, and the last may despair of proving that either individuals or Society experience injury, rather than benefit, from its moral influence.— True, those who would effect a sudden and complete abolition, even should it bring ruin upon all parties concerned, and those who would never effect it, even though certain that all parties would realize from it the greatest advantage, are not to be relied on either for wisdom or benevolence. Opposition to the Society, however, by those who desire the former, because they believe it both safe and beneficial, (and who would promote it only by safe and proper means), and by those who decline to attempt the latter, because they deem it absolutely impracticable, appears incapable of defence. *The Society colonizes only the free.* It throws no obstacle in the way of manumission, it encourages no attempt to effect impossibilities. It offers the opportunity and presents the motive for emancipation to the master, and has no apprehension that he will deem emancipation wise or expedient, when it is not. It leaves all questions in regard to the slave population, to be settled just as *freely and exclusively by the judgment of those who alone under the constitution of the land have the right to decide them*, as though it had no influence upon their judgment. It exerts no influence upon slavery excepting a moral influence. If we condemn it because it exerts no other influence, we must for consistency's sake condemn the constitution of the Union, which leaves neither individuals nor associations the right of doing any thing for abolition, but through the will and consent of the slave-holder. If we condemn it because it exerts this influence, let us also condemn all our free Institutions—all our Bible, Tract and Missionary Societies—and, finally, the mild and humane spirit of the Christian religion. For, (according to Dr. Robertson,) it was Christianity which weakened the feudal system and finally abolished slavery throughout Europe. It was this religion which “struggled

with the maxims and manners of the world, and contributed more than any other circumstance to introduce the practice of manumission."

We neither hope nor desire to justify the Society in the opinion of those who would suddenly abolish slavery, without regard to consequences; or in that of those who would perpetuate it for their own personal advantage, even when convinced that abolition is required by considerations most powerful, both of humanity and the public good. But we would gladly vindicate its character in the sight of all sober, benevolent and pious men. We would neither degrade reason, nor waste argument, in controversy with those, who would sacrifice to the mere abstraction and shade of right (which would, in this case, prove to be the very spirit and essence of wrong), the peace, the happiness and union of our country; nor in attempts to conciliate those who are warring with the kindest and best influences of truth and reason, and the holy principles of all human liberty and improvement. But we would earnestly invite all reflecting, judicious, patriotic and christian men, seriously to consider the principles and claims, and immediately and generously to unite in sustaining the operations of this Society. Their opinions may be various on many subjects; they may differ in judgment on sundry questions relating to the condition and prospects of our slave population; but will they not agree in this, that the American Colonization Society is a truly benevolent Institution; benevolent in its aspect and tendencies towards the whole African race?

If we look to the free people of colour, we see them placed by this Society, with their own consent, in circumstances, where, freed from all the perplexities and embarrassments that surround them here, they are excited by new motives, encouraged by better hopes, stimulated to industry and enterprise by prospects of the noblest and richest rewards, and made to cherish the manly and mighty spirit of an independent and self-governed people. Every thing strengthens their faculties, kindles their invention, and rouses their souls to action. They feel the love of country. The soil they tread; the forests, the rivers, the mountains of Africa are theirs, and to be the perpetual inheritance of their children. They have every thing to do, but they are to labour for themselves. Materials are before them, but rude and unformed, and they must be the architects of their own institutions, their own fortunes. Great examples shine upon them, and God himself favours them. If they fail to be happy, if they fail to be great, they will stand self-condemned, and the world will condemn them. They feel the impulses of philanthropy. What chord of generous, kindred affection, will not vibrate in their hearts, when Africa, their mother, dark in sorrow as in aspect, calls upon them to deliver her children from the most cruel invaders and most rigorous bondage; to teach them heavenly truths; to civilize their manners, tame their passions, conquer their vices, and exalt them to the rank of virtuous, free, and christian men? And who can doubt that circumstances have vast power to degrade or elevate mankind? And if there be a people needing, more than any other for their improvement, new and powerful motives to action, are they not our free people of colour, so long debased—so long crushed in spirit and hopes—so long aliens from the commonwealth, and strangers to the privileges and promise of the enlightened and independent among whom they reside?

No one who has once read, can ever forget, that most eloquent passage in one of the best speeches of Mr. Burke, in which the orator, after declaring, that when "we speak of the commerce with our colonies, fiction lags after truth; invention is unfruitful, and imagination cold and barren," turns to New England; and in allusion to her spirit of commercial enterprise, exclaims:—"What in the world is equal to it? Pass by the other parts, and look at the manner in which the people of New England have of late carried on the whale fishery. Whilst we follow them among the tumbling mountains of ice, and behold them penetrating into the deepest frozen recesses of Hudson's Bay and Davis' Straits; whilst we are looking for them beneath the Arctic Circle, we hear that they have pierced into the opposite region of polar cold; that

they are at the antipodes, and engaged under the frozen serpent of the South. Falkland Island, which seemed too remote an object for the grasp of national ambition, is but a stage and resting place in the progress of their victorious industry. We know that while some draw the line, and strike the harpoon on the coast of Africa, others run the longitude, and pursue their gigantic game along the coast of Brazil. No sea but what is vexed with their fisheries. No climate that is not witness to their toils. Neither the perseverance of Holland, nor the activity of France, nor the dexterous and firm sagacity of English enterprise, ever carried this most perilous mode of hard industry to the extent to which it has been pushed by this recent people; a people who are still in the gristle, and not yet hardened into the bone of manhood." No wonder that Mr. Burke should have said in conclusion—"When I contemplate these things, when I reflect upon these effects, I feel all the pride of power sink, and all presumption in the wisdom of human contrivances, melt and die away within me. My rigor relents. I pardon something to the spirit of Liberty." And what, may we not ask, aroused that wonderful spirit of enterprise that produced results, more than fifty years ago, among the inhabitants of these then colonies, not to be transcended by the language or imagination of this great man? What but the circumstances into which our fathers were thrown upon these shores; and by the discipline of which, their characters were formed to industry, adventure, perseverance, and energy?—While, amid hardships and dangers, they subdued the forests, contended with wild beasts or more savage men, traced unknown rivers to their source, crossed mountains, the granite bulwarks of which, seemed to stand, impassable barriers to their progress, they were educated for great achievements, and made to realize the all-subduing power of the human mind. If the activity and vigorous habits of youth, form manhood for worthy, bold and successful efforts; surely we may expect the manhood of a nation's character to embody and show forth those qualities, which have been planted and cherished in the soil and periods of its youth. And if circumstances attending the colonization of America, have given to humanity a growth and strength, unknown elsewhere; can we doubt that in Africa, and in the experience of her children, similar circumstances will produce similar effects? Suppose we grant, that the emigrants to Liberia are inferior to the early emigrants to America; yet this cannot change the fact, that the nature of the circumstances of both, has a powerful tendency to elevate their condition and character.

That the influence of the Society, so far as this influence (solely and exclusively moral) touches slavery, is favourable to emancipation, cannot be denied, except by those ignorant of facts, or by such as will trust to theory, rather than experience. We know, and all intelligent men south of the Potomac know, that the influence of the Society favors manumission.—Many generous and christian masters regard Liberia with intense interest, as the hopeful asylum of the enslaved. Nearly one thousand persons, recently in bondage, have been liberated, supplied with various articles of necessity and comfort by their former proprietors, and assisted to settle in freedom and prosperity in the Colony. And numerous others, (not the aged, infirm and vicious, but the young, the virtuous, the valuable,) are now offered to the Society, and want of funds alone, prevents this Institution from immediately assisting them to emigrate.

And who does not know that the founders, and all the ablest friends of the Society have represented it as benevolent, not only towards men of colour already free: but as submitting to individuals and States at the South, a plan, by which the freedom of the slave could be made a blessing to him, and nowise detrimental to the public good—that they have exhibited it, not as an instrument for perpetuating a great, acknowledged, and growing evil, but as designed and adapted for the use of those who might be disposed to use it, as the means of conferring freedom upon their slaves, either from motives of humanity, self-interest, patriotism or conscience?

And who will venture to set limits to the final results of the benign, the peaceful, the glorious moral influence of the Society in favour of human liberty? All the moral elements which enter into, and control our free institutions, and govern the great movements of this age, must increase the power and extent of this moral influence. It enlists in its behalf the principle of association, and makes every emigrant on his way, and every citizen under his own vine and fig-tree in Africa, excite sympathies and purposes in favour of human freedom. It asks not the aid of language to touch a thousand hearts. The holy affections of our nature, truth, conscience, in the secret retirements of the soul, will plead for it, and make it omnipotent. To attempt to shut it out—to attempt to resist it, will be as vain as to attempt to chill the warmth or darken the light of Heaven.

But Africa, that "great wilderness of the world," as it has been truly called, opens her vast territory, inviting American christians to change it from the rudeness of a savage land, into fields of fruitfulness and beauty; to make it the dwelling-place of the free, the educated and the righteous; to banish therefrom, forever, oppression, superstition and war; and to extend over all its miserable people, the law of justice, and kindness and peace.

How shall Africa be made civilized and christian? The restoration and establishment of her own children, as instructed and religious communities, on her shores, certainly promises more for this object, than any other means that can be devised. They can enjoy health beneath her vertical sun. No physical distinction forbids their amalgamation with her tribes. All the products of her soil, and of her rivers, and all the wealth of her mines, wait for their possession. No superior or more powerful race is there to be dreaded; no hand of violence stretched out to rob them of the blessings of a merciful Providence. They go there to be the unmolested dispensers of good to their brethren, and to find their present duty, identified with their present interests. They go to heal the wounds of humanity, to impart courage to the timid, and hope to the disconsolate; to raise up the fallen and speak of mercy to the distressed; to enlighten the dark minded, and to sound out the trumpet notes of salvation over the desert and waste places of human life. They go to unchain millions of souls fettered in the bondage of death, and to bring them into the glorious liberty of the children of God.

With such views of the benevolent spirit and tendency of the American Colonization Society towards the whole coloured race, we cannot believe that any of the wise and good of our country will long question the purity of its principles, or deny to it their support. We call upon them thoroughly to examine its claims, in the spirit of candour, and patriotism, and piety. They will find that it has been guilty of no inconsistency, of no hypocrisy; that it has never shown itself with one aspect towards the North, and another towards the South; that it is the same now that it was at its origin; that it conceals, under the semblance of charity, no elements of political discord; that its purposes, like its proceedings are all open as day; that while it is the *friend of the unfortunate, it is equally the friend of our whole country.*

The signs of the times admonish us, that an appeal is due to every friend of the Society at this crisis, when (as never before) *earnest efforts* are required to produce unity of sentiment, action and charity in aid of its cause; that no cloud may long be permitted to linger in our horizon, and that the sound of distant thunder may die away forever. We are a people peculiarly favoured and honoured of God; and while other nations have been shaken by the storms of passion and of war, we have dwelt together as brethren in one great family of peace. Sensible of our obligations to heaven, and duly appreciating our privileges, we are summoned to a great work of philanthropy; but let us beware lest, while attempting a work so holy, some root of bitterness spring up in the midst of us; lest, while opening streams of consolation to others, the golden bowl of our own union and happiness be broken at the fountain.

If any question should be approached with solemnity, and with prayer

for the spirit of wisdom, surely it is that which relates to the condition and prospects of our coloured population. Great events, which we cannot control, may urge this question upon us, and let it be considered calmly, deliberately, manfully, as before the world and Heaven. So much, at least, is clear. *A practicable plan of good for those already free*, is submitted for our approval and execution. Let us, as one united and generous people, urge it forward; the consequences may be greater than our expectations, may surpass our hopes. Union in sustaining the cause of this Society, in no way prevents individual and separate action in various modes and by various methods, to ameliorate the condition and improve the character of our coloured population: on the contrary, it implies and strengthens that mutual confidence between the citizens of the South and the North, which, if it be not indispensable, must greatly contribute to the success of any means and plans, which may be devised for the benefit of this population.

As gentleness is a characteristic of the virtuous affections, so is it, generally, of those influences which soften the heart and subdue the will of man. Memorable are the words of Christ to his Apostles:—"Behold, I send you forth as sheep in the midst of wolves, be ye therefore wise as serpents, and harmless as doves." They went forth preaching peace; the law of kindness was on their lips; and even in the presence of enemies, their features beamed with love. Though theirs were no carnal weapons, they were mighty through God; and by meekness, by patience, by charity, by forgiveness, by the gentleness of Christ, and in the sign of His cross, they won victories—bloodless, it is true; but far more glorious than Rome ever celebrated in her pride of power.—Christians may now draw weapons from the same armory, and wield them with the same success. Their triumphs will not be over breathless and bleeding and dying humanity, but over ignorance and selfishness, vice and misery; over all that degrades the character, darkens the prospect, and ruins the soul of man.

Pythagoras said God was Harmony; and surely a christian may express regret that discordant sounds should ever disturb that kingdom, the advent of whose Heavenly Prince, angels celebrated by anthems of "Glory to God, peace on earth, and good will to man." Let us catch those strains; let them be prolonged forevermore. Then shall prophetic visions be realized; the inhabitants of the rocks shall sing; they shall shout from the tops of the mountains.

Surely, surely, the harmony of heaven ought to govern the philanthropy of earth. And what man of feeling must not weep to see a noble cause, which is inaccessible to the malice of its foes, ruined, either by the indiscretions or the dissensions of its friends. The cause of African Colonization cannot fail, while the friends of God and man prove true to it. But should these ever lose confidence in each other, or the goodness of the cause; should this cause ever be left to depend for its support on the principles of mere worldly policy, or political expediency; should it struggle amid the angry elements of sectional and party strife, and the sympathies and charities of christians be withdrawn from it, we may indeed tremble for the consequences. But if humanity still hold it as its own; if it continue to gather around it the sympathies of the wise and the virtuous; if it move onward in the light of mercy and of peace, sustained by the charities, and consecrated by the prayers of the pious, it may defy all opposition. It will enjoy the protection of the Almighty; and who shall defeat the providence or resist the power of God!

We would remind the public, that never were the pecuniary wants of the Society greater than at this moment. Without an increase of funds, it will be incapable of sending expeditions to Liberia during the present year. On the list of applicants for a passage are hundreds, recommended as deserving assistance; many of them slaves, ready to be liberated, and all waiting with anxiety for the means of removal to Africa. Shall they appeal in vain to a generous and magnanimous people?

May we express the hope, that the next anniversary of this Society will witness the friends of African colonization, from every part of the country, assembled, duly to consider and aid the object; an object, which, whether we regard its nature or its magnitude, cannot be deemed unworthy of the deliberations of the ablest and best men in this nation. Their enlightened zeal, and the wisdom of their counsels, will give new energy to the operations of the Society, and elevate it to a level, at least, with *any of the benevolent institutions of this nation or age.*

We live in the midst of great events. We cannot, if we would, (and we ought not to, if we could) arrest those moral influences which are powerfully and rapidly working for the relief and elevation of the whole African race. But who that has the heart of a christian, of a patriot, or even of a man, must not deprecate any publications or any movements that threaten the public peace, and endanger that *Union* which is our strength, our happiness, and our glory. *Procul, O procul este profani,* would we exclaim to those rash men, who, in the delirium of imagined philanthropy, would kindle or fan a flame that will leave them, (should reason ever again shed light upon their minds,) only to weep over the fragments and ashes of this grand and holy temple of Liberty.

IMPOSITION DETECTED.

In the August number of the Repository, we noticed, at some length, the statements in relation to the Colony, which certain coloured individuals were reported to have made at a public meeting, held in Philadelphia, in July last; and referred to evidence of the most unquestionable authority, showing the utter falsehood of those statements. At the same time, the favourable characters of the alleged witnesses, and other circumstances, induced us to disbelieve, and to express the disbelief, that they had ever made the remarks imputed to them. The correctness of this opinion, as it regards one of them, will appear from the subjoined article, which is copied from the National Intelligencer; and a similar purgation of the other two persons, whose names have been used as vehicles of slander on the Colony, will, we trust, be forthcoming in good time. This proceeding is more desirable on their own account than on that of the Colony or the Society; the seal of falsehood having been already stamped indelibly on the pretended disclosures.

The concoction of these disclosures may be properly termed a conspiracy against benevolence; and it is difficult to decide which is the more remarkable, the wickedness that prompted such fabrications, or the folly that could hope for their safety from detection. If we mistake not, however, the effect of such machinations on the cause of colonization, must be salutary; for it must naturally inspire every honest heart with sentiments of aversion from opposition so reckless, and every candid mind with a disposition to distrust the congenial calumnies to which the Society has been, and continues to be, subjected.

From the National Intelligencer.

The writer of the subjoined communication is a colored man, of this city, one of the most respectable of his class, long known, and universally esteemed. It has been his intention for two years past to remove to Liberia, and he has during that time been engaged in learning a business which it is his design to follow in Africa. With his hopes and wishes thus turned towards his contemplated removal, it was natural that he should read with deep anxiety the very unfavorable statements respecting the Colony, which were alleged to have been made by three respectable colored men of Mary-

land, who had recently visited Liberia for the express purpose of acquiring for themselves and friends correct information of the state of the Colony.—Confident that the statements were untrue, and suspecting that they were not in reality made by the individuals on whom they were fathered, he voluntarily undertook a journey to the Eastern Shore of Maryland, to see the men, and to ascertain the truth. The result of his inquiries is given in his own language, in the following communication, which we insert at his earnest request:

THE COLONY OF LIBERIA SLANDERED.

MESSRS. EDITORS: The United States Telegraph, of the 24th of July, having been put into my hands, in which the Editor is kind enough to copy from the Emancipator an account of the proceedings of a meeting held in Philadelphia, for the purpose of hearing facts, as it is stated, from Messrs. WHITTINGTON, PRICE and GIVINS, in relation to Liberia, I would observe, that Whittington and Price were sent out by the friends of the Society on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, for the satisfaction of the people of color in that part of the country. On their return they passed through Philadelphia, where they were requested to make statements, which they did, respecting Liberia, but not in the manner as published in the Emancipator. When I read the statements, I was convinced they were false, so much so, that I was guilty of the rudeness of saying to Mr. T. who handed me the paper—"It is a lie, and I can prove it such; Whittington and Price never made such statements—I will see them upon the subject." I immediately went in search of a passage to the Eastern Shore; having obtained one, after four days travel, I found Mr. Price very comfortably situated in the country as a farmer. As soon as a suitable opportunity offered, I explained to him the object of my visit, and then read to him the paper containing the proceedings of the meeting which he attended in Philadelphia. Mr. P. promptly denied making the statement as published in the Emancipator, and Telegraph; and declared that even what he did say was greatly misrepresented. We carefully read over these statements together, and when I came to those parts which were incorrect, he would stop me, and mark with a pencil, and explain what he had said, and point out the misrepresentations. His statements I now give to the public as I received them from Mr. P.

"To all whom it may concern, I, James Price, being called upon by James Brown, of Washington City, to answer to the statements said to be made by me and Joseph Whittington, in Philadelphia, remark, 1st.—It is said that I stated at the meeting, that when I arrived at Liberia, I found almost every thing had been misrepresented. This I deny. I am accused of saying that when the helpless females beheld the distressed situation of the Colonists and the natives, they, with astonishment and grief exclaimed, Merciful God! is it possible that we have been so deceived so as to come to a country like this—and many, who had pamphlets, committed them to the flames; saying that those publications had ruined them and their families. *I never heard such exclamations, nor did I ever see a pamphlet burnt by any one.*

"Here I explain: I said that the Kroomen met us about ten miles down the river, and came on board, without clothes, except an apron tied before them. When the women saw them they turned their backs on them, and I saw one of them weep at the unpleasant sight. I was asked if I attended any funerals, and whether the grave-yard looked as though many persons had been buried. To this I answered, I did attend a funeral, and there appeared to be many persons buried there; but the statement in the Telegraph makes it appear that I was called upon at the first burial to attend another, which led to a much larger grave-yard; and that I was told that I had not seen all things; that I was not aware of the number placed in a grave. *This statement never was made by me*, and could not be made with truth. These burials were twelve miles apart—one at Caldwell and the other at Monrovia. That at C. took place at least a week before the one at Monrovia. How then could I have been called upon at the first to attend the second, when the person whose funeral I attended last was yet alive? I am accused of stating that I saw more drunkards in the Colony than I ever saw in New York or Philadelphia, and that I did not dine or call at a house but what rum or wine was set before me. *This statement was never made by me*—it is a duty that I owe to the Colonists, particularly to the Vice Agent, Mr. Williams, and Mr. E. Johnson, with whom I dined—neither of whom offered me any thing to drink but water, nor any other of the Colonists, with but one exception.

"And as brother Whittington and myself went out together for the same purpose, and returned together, and attended the meeting at Philadelphia, he not being on the spot to answer statements made by him, and, I knowing that he never made such statements as are published in the paper now before me, I feel it my duty to deny what I know he did not say. First, he is accused of saying that he never could see rice or coffee, or even hear of them growing at the Colony. It is true, we did not see them, as we expected to have seen them, yet those things grow there. *I saw coffee growing*, and brought some home with me. It is stated that brother Whittington said, rice sold at twenty cents per pound, coffee at sixty, and pork at twenty-five dollars per barrel. *This he never stated.* The list he and myself

kept, contradicts such a statement. There is no such thing known in the Colony as selling rice by the pound; it is sold as we sell grain in this country, by measure. The list of prices puts coffee from 25 to 37 cents, and pork 20 dollars per barrel. Brother W. is accused of saying that persons were not allowed to write from the Colony to the United States, without their letters undergoing examination. Brother Whittington *could never have made such a statement*. I never heard any objections to any one writing to the United States. *I brought several letters for persons in my neighbourhood*. Brother W. might have said, with truth, that it was difficult for emigrants to return without a passport. Brother W. is accused of stating that the Colonists did not teach the natives, except to understand the English language well enough to decoy their brethren away, and sell them for slaves. *I deny that bro. W. ever made such a statement*. Allow me to explain: Brother W. in a private conversation, gave it as his opinion that several of the Kings had sent their sons to the Colony for the purpose of schooling them; and while these boys were in the Colony they had learnt to speak broken English, and he supposed that the Spaniards, and others who dealt in the slave-trade, could also in some degree speak English; and brother W. thought the fathers of those boys might make them very useful as interpreters between their fathers and the slave-traders. This, however, was only a notion of brother W. and he never intended it to be used in the manner in which it was used. Brother W.'s and my statements at the Philadelphia meeting are so falsely represented, that it affords me pleasure to have it in my power to contradict them, which I now do, in the presence of these witnesses.

JAMES PRICE.

P. LEMON,
L. ROBERTSON, } *Witnesses.*

Worcester county, August 6, 1833."

Having given Mr. Price's denial and explanation, allow me to make a few remarks. I have no intention to make the public believe that Mr. Whittington and Price brought very good news. They did not bring as encouraging news as the friends of the Society would like to have heard; yet there was nothing in the report made by them very discouraging.—I had a long conversation with Mr. Price, and the whole cause of the disappointment was on account of the low state of agricultural improvements. This evil, however, is easily removed. Mr. Price states to me, that the land is rich and timber plenty, and that the climate is not as warm in Liberia as in Maryland; and what went to discourage them more, I have no doubt, was this circumstance, that some of the warm friends of the Society had spoken in higher terms of some things at the Colony than they ought to have spoke; and, in consequence, Mr. W. and Mr. P.'s expectations were raised higher respecting Liberia than any country would justify—just as I also now see and hear the enemies of the Colony say things against the Colony and the Colonists, as though it was the most wretched country, and they the most abused people in the world. Were I to tell what I have seen and heard from the opposers of the Colonization Society, I would hardly be believed. But before I proceed to notice the wanton prejudice against the Colony, permit me to say, it is not my intention to plead the cause of the Colonization Society—this I leave to those whose circumstances and education have better fitted them for the task. But, I am asked, what means all the trouble I have taken to go a hundred and twenty miles to ascertain the truth, and give it to the public, if I do not intend to plead for the cause of the Colonization Society? I admit that I am a friend to the Society; I know of no just cause why I should not be so, but believe me I am a much greater friend to my colored brethren, and would rather see the Institution broken up, and done away with forever, than that it should work against the interest of the colored people; and could I believe that it would prove against their interest, I would oppose it with all my heart; but I believe otherwise, so much so that I am making ready to remove to Liberia with my family, with a belief that it will be one of the best day's work I have ever done. I am much encouraged to do so from letters I have received, time after time, from some of my best friends in Liberia, who write me every opportunity, and upon whom I can rely. The same ship that brought Messrs. W. and P. to the United States brought me five letters; the statements of these letters were as different from the statements said to have been made by Messrs. W. and P. at Philadelphia, as day and night. This was one of the reasons that induced me to make the investigation; for, as I have already said, that as soon as I had read the proceedings of the meeting in Philadelphia, I said that Messrs. W. and P. never made such statements, as the reader now sees are denied by Mr. Price. Had the statements at Philadelphia been true, it would have perfectly justified the prejudice that called the meeting; and I confess that Liberia would not be a fit residence for any decent man. As it appears that the Colonists returned, say nothing about the drunkenness of the settlers, and their encouraging the slave-trade, and allowing the poorer class of their people to starve to death, and not allowing any to write to their friends in the United States unless their letters are examined, the public may see to what lengths, and to what groundless assertions, the prejudices of the people at Philadelphia have carried them; so that when their statements are read by those who care nothing about the Colonization Society, they believe them not, and the public see the manner in which the enemies of the Colony have so grossly misrepresented the statements of Messrs. Whittington and Price; who can credit any statements made by them hereafter? With respect to the Colonists writing to this country, I confess that my friends at Liberia and myself have been lucky, for since last September I have received fourteen letters from Liberia; yet it is stated, that no one is allowed to write unless the letters are examined. Such a thing, Mr. Price, and Mr. Williams, the Vice Agent, say, never was known.

No man of common sense, can read the proceedings of the meeting at Philadelphia, without seeing manifested on the very face of such statements, falsehood, prejudice, impudence, and cruel slander. I will give Mr. Price's own words to me, in the presence of witnesses; but mark, not *while* witnesses, but colored. He stated to me, that when he got to Philadelphia, he was at his brother's, quite unwell, just recovering from the fever of Africa and the fatigue of the sea voyage. In this situation a couple of gentlemen of Philadelphia, who have assumed the right of ruling over all the colored people of this country, addressed him thus: "Sir, we have come for you to attend a meeting this morning." Mr. P. replied, I am too unwell. But, sir, you *must come*. Mr. P. replied again, excuse me if you please; but one of them, fearing Mr. P. would not attend, replied, "Do come, for God's sake." It is easily seen what was the intention: Had the people in Philadelphia wanted information respecting Liberia, could they not have been better supplied by Mr. Williams and Mr. Roberts, who have lived in the Colony for several years? They could pass through Philadelphia unnoticed. Mr. Williams being a minister of the Gospel, of standing, one would have thought that, out of respect to him as a stranger, he would have been invited to preach; but the fact is, although Mr. Whittington and Mr. Price are men of piety and truth, they are not very wise men, and perhaps that was discovered by the people in Philadelphia. Thus the advantage was taken of them, for the very persons that made up the meeting and begged them to go, knew that it was improper for them to have made a report to any people, whether the report was good or bad, unless they had returned to the people who had sent them out. Mr. Price, however, made rather a short statement at Philadelphia. And in making his statement to those who sent him out, he gave this as his reason for being so short, that he found something was spoken at the meeting by one of them, which seemed to produce great cheerfulness, and brighten the countenances of the whole meeting; and he said to himself that these people are *enemies to the Colonization Society*, as well as to the Colonists, as some unpleasant news had produced that effect, and he thought if they were good men, it would have had the opposite effect. Messrs. Whittington and Price, however, are both preachers, as you will see. Mr. P., in this publication, calls Mr. Whittington brother Whittington, yet I wonder if either of them was *invited to preach in Philadelphia*. I expect not. That would have given them the wrong end of the rope, as we sometimes say. Something good as well as bad might have leaked out respecting poor Africa; but the reader may see they were penned up, and had to answer just *such questions as these gentlemen might put to them*; and I suppose, by the way of showing their superiority, they made themselves very familiar with Johnson, Walker, and so forth. Thus Mr. W. and P. found themselves for once in the midst of learning. One thing I know, Mr. Whittington never said, when he was asked if the Colonists taught the natives, that they had taught them to understand the English language well enough to *decoy* their brothers away and sell them for slaves. I do not mention this out of any disrespect to Mr. W., but a man who cannot write his name would have made use of some other word.

I say again, that the grossly unfair manner in which the Chairman or Secretary, or the Editors, who first published the proceedings of that meeting, have conducted, render them unworthy of much pains being taken to contradict any statements they may make hereafter; yet they deserve credit for the artful and cunning manner in which they tried to induce the public to believe their publication. Did the reader notice with what ceremony and apparent candor, the meeting was said to have been organized—that prayer was offered by the Rev. Mr. Givins. This, Mr. Price declared to me he never heard of. He said the meeting was not organized when he got there, although several persons had assembled—he heard prayer from no one whilst he was there. This, with all the rest that Mr. Price has denied saying at Philadelphia, I shall leave to him and them to settle the truth about. I shall hold the testimony given to me, and signed by himself, to extricate me from falsehood. But, what is it that prejudice and zeal, without knowledge, will not do?

I now give to the public, some true copies of letters, that I have obtained from the Eastern Shore of Maryland, particularly the one from Mr. Dover Nutter. The original I saw, and heard read.

It will be remembered, Mr. Nutter went out with Messrs. Whittington and Price—Mr. P. brought Mr. Nutter's letter with the packages mentioned in the letters.

As I shall publish Mr. Nutter's letter and others, it would be unnecessary for me to speak in their praise. The reader will remember, that, not long since, the New York Standard, published an excellent letter, from the Rev. William Reynolds, the copy of which I read to Mr. Price. He said he knew Mr. Reynolds, and staid with him at Caldwell, and there heard him preach. I asked him if he thought that letter was a fair statement of things at the Colony. He answered, it was; and I now beg the favor to have it republished, that the public may see that, if Mr. Price made the statements said to have been made by him, he greatly contradicts himself. Mr. P. thanked me over and over, and said he considered me his friend for calling upon him, and affording him an opportunity of telling the public, that the statements in the Telegraph, of the 24th of July, never were made by him.

Moreover, on Monday morning, when I was taking leave of the family, offering Mr. P. my hand, and saying to him, sir, I never expect to see you again in this world, he stopped me and observed, he did not know about that—if he could get a reasonable price for what he had about him, he would go to Liberia. Now then, if the enemies of the Colonization Society wish to test Mr. P.'s feelings upon the subject, let them go and make him an offer for his few acres of land and other comforts around him. As I hold myself responsible for what I have said on the subject, I without fear sign this exposition.

Washington City, August 14, 1833.

JAMES BROWN.

The following are the letters referred to above. They are given verbatim et literatim:

Letter from DOVER NUTTER, a respectable, intelligent, and pious old colored man, formerly of Salisbury, Somerset county, Maryland, to LEVIN H. PATRICK, Corresponding Secretary of the Salisbury Auxiliary Colonization Society, dated

MONROVIA, April 9, 1833.

Respected Sir: It is a comfort to me to have it in my power to communicate to you the satisfaction I have in being here.—Since our arrival here I visited *Grand Bassa*, a place about to be settled, in which I was pleased—I found it to be a fine place; the soil is rich, the growth of the trees are large, and the land level;—I am so much pleased with it that I shall remove there with my family. It is about three days walk, at leisure, from Monrovia.—Several of us went down to see the place—we dined several times with the Kings of that part of the country, and found them very pleasant and agreeable.

I was much dissatisfied when I first arrived here, but now I am much better satisfied here than when I was in America—I find that to be comfortable, it is to be industrious and stirring.—I find this country is not so warm as I did expect to find it, and it is much cooler at Bassa than it is at Monrovia.

My family all enjoy as good health as I could reasonably expect, and appear to be as well satisfied as myself. I find that I can get more work to do in the Carpenter's line than I can do.

Be pleased to remember me to all your family, and those of our acquaintance who may ask after us.

Be pleased to assist my son *William* to come on, as I am sure this place will suit him better than any other.

I have sent a small package to Mrs. *Pinkett*, one to Mrs. *Sarah Huston*, and one to Mrs. *Peggy K. Irving*, by Mr. *James Price*.

Emanuel, his family and all, are well at present.—I found Mr. *Proud* agreeable while on board the vessel, and after our arrival here.—He went out as our Agent.

No more, but remain your sincere friend,

DOVER NUTTER.

To *Levin H. Patrick, Esq. Salisbury, E. S. of Maryland.*

[The above is a true copy of the original. All the information coming from Mr. Nutter, may be relied on as being strictly correct;—he is one of the most respectable colored men we ever had in Salisbury. This letter, together with the packages above mentioned, was handed to me by *James Price*.

LEVIN H. PATRICK,

Cor. Secretary of the Salisbury A. C. S.]

To Miss. *Minty Mitchel*—*Quantic*.

LIBERIA, (AFRICA), April 8, 1833.

Dear Miss: I brace the opportunity to inform you that I am well, and hope that these few lines may find you in the same state.

I will inform you of my present state—I am much pleased with the country—when I arrived here I was very much displeased—but I have travelled a great deal. I expect that I shall move from the place that I now live, about one hundred miles—We are parted by the wide water but I hope not in love.

It would give me a great deal of pleasure to see you here—that if Mr. *Mitchel* will let you come I would wish to prepare a place for you if you can come.

I wish you to let my Grand-Mother know that we are well and in good heart and let all my friends know it.

I expect that I shall never walk on that shore no more—and all that wish to come I shall be glad to see you all here.—If any of you should come I wish you to bring every thing with you that you can with you. I remain your friend,

WILL T. POLK.

To Mr. *Moses James, Wicomico, Maryland.*

MONROVIA, April 13, 1833.

Dear Sir: I am glad to have it in my power to inform you that Mother, Brother, and Me is quite well at present, and should be glad if you and family is the same. I thank God that we all arrived safe, and are quite satisfied, and much pleased with the country; it is much better than we did expect to find it.

I do think that you all can do well here, as it is a good country, all it wants is industrious people; therefore, I would advise you to come, and as many others of you who wants to enjoy freedom and liberty, for here we have both, and enjoy it, as God intended we should do.

I had not one week's sickness altogether since I have been here. The distance is great, but I am sure that the pleasure you will see here will more than pay you for all your trouble.

We have a fine man here, who will and do always advise us for the best, he was formerly from Baltimore, by the name of Mr. Prout—he was very kind and attentive to us on board the vessel, he was our doctor. Please remember us to Jacob Cottman and all his family, to Hannah Conway and family,—Levin Brown, George Lankford and family,—to Lewis Jackson and his family,—to Joseph Carr, and tell him not to stay behind for old age, as the old stand as well as the young. My love to all enquiring friends and class-mates, and tell them here is as great revivals here, as in America.

No more at present, but remain your sister in Christ,

ELIZABETH WINDER.

TEMPERANCE IN LIBERIA.

The following communication is from the Vice-Agent of Liberia, the colored gentleman who recently visited this city.—[*Colonizationist, Boston.*]

In answer to your questions, 1st, What is the history of the use of ardent spirits at and about the Colony by the different classes of population?

2nd, What is your opinion of the means to be used for the better promotion of temperance in the Colony hereafter?

Ardent spirits were an article introduced by slavers, ever since the commencement of the slave trade, and had become an article of great demand.

From my first arrival at the Colony, it has been my wish to abandon the use of ardent spirits; and not my wish only, but it was the wish of the principal citizens in the Colony. But to abolish it at once we found impracticable. In the early state of the Colony we were dependent on the natives, and had to use all means in our power to effect the great object for which we embarked.

The time was when the colonists themselves thought it advisable to use a little stimulus for the preservation of their health; and when we employed a native, his first inquiries were, 'how much rum am I to have?' And unless you would give them rum you could scarce get them to work at all; we generally gave them at that time about two glasses a day.

But the time has now arrived when the colonists—the *principal part of them*—find that the use of ardent spirits is an evil from which no good can arise. Most of them have therefore abandoned the use of it entirely. The natives that could not be hired at one time without first agreeing to allow them their usual allowance of rum, will work for us at this time without scarcely mentioning the want of it. No public laborers in the Colony at this time are allowed rum.

You find, sir, it is my opinion upon the whole, that moderate means should be used if we expect to be successful. We have raised Temperance Societies in the Colony, and much good has resulted from them: and I have no doubt but in a short time the use of that article will not be known there.

In this brief manner, sir, I have given you an imperfect account of the use of ardent spirits in the Colony. Hoping that you will find enough in it at any rate to understand what I mean, in great haste, I am, dear sir, respectfully your obedient servant,

A. D. WILLIAMS.

HARTFORD, June 7, 1833.

To the Editor of the Mercury:

SIR—The introduction, to some extent, of ardent spirits in the Colony of Liberia, is frequently mentioned as a fact deeply injurious to the character of that settlement; and by some, is a valid reason for withholding all aid from the Colonization Society.

As I know that the Managers of the Colonization Society desire to do all in their power to promote the cause of temperance in Liberia, I solicit public attention for a few moments, to the measures for this purpose adopted by them, which, I believe, will be regarded as earnest, well-directed, and likely to prove as efficient as any that could be devised.

On this subject the views of the Managers are expressed in the following Resolution:—

“Resolved, That the Board bear with extreme regret of the continued introduction and use of ardent spirits in the Colony, that they are resolved to exert all their influence to discourage and diminish the evil, so that no ardent spirits except such as may be needful for medicinal purposes shall be introduced by the Board or its Agents.”

It may be proper, briefly, to state what has been done by the Board on this subject.

1st.—A heavy duty has been imposed on all ardent spirits landed in the Colony, and the retailer of this article is obliged to pay for his license \$300.

2d.—The Colonial Agent has been instructed to do all in his power to discourage the use and traffic in ardent spirits, both among the settlers and the native tribes.

3d.—The most earnest appeals have been made by private letters, to leading individuals (particularly christian ministers) in the Colony, and by addresses to the settlers generally, in behalf of temperance, urging them to form Temperance Societies; and the best publications on this subject have been put into their hands.

4th.—For several years past, the Managers have abstained from supplying their agents with ardent spirits, for use, or trade with the natives.

It may be asked, why the introduction of this pernicious article has not been prohibited by law? To this I reply—

1st.—Because the Managers have believed, that the enactment of such a law by them, would prove utterly ineffectual to the accomplishment of this object. As the article could be smuggled in, at a hundred points along the coast, such a law would have no force, unless sustained by the general sentiments of the colonists.

2d.—It is feared public sentiment at the Colony, would not sustain such a law at present, because the natives (though not addicted to intoxication) absolutely refuse to trade, unless with other articles they can obtain small quantities of ardent spirits.

3d.—The sacrifice of their entire trade with the natives, upon which many rely mainly for the means of subsistence, is hardly to be expected from the colonists, until the immorality of the traffic in ardent spirits shall be more deeply and religiously felt by them.

4th.—The best means have been adopted to produce a solemn conviction of the vast evils of intemperance, and of the necessity of abandoning altogether the use of ardent spirits, as a drink or an article of trade.

Under all the circumstances of the case, it seems hardly reasonable to expect that to be done by legislation in Liberia on the subject of temperance, which has not been yet attempted in our own country. There, as here, we look for reformation and security from intemperance, rather to moral means than to the power of the law. The only valuable and lasting reformation must be a voluntary reformation.

It is gratifying to know, that the vice of intemperance prevails far less in Liberia and its vicinity than in most parts of the christian world. And the hope may be cherished, that the influence of christian missionaries, and the means which have proved so successful in our own country to diminish this fearful evil, will soon banish it entirely from our African settlements.

With great respect,

R. R. GURLEY.

From the Huntsville (Ala.) Democrat.

COLONIZATION OF THE FREE COLORED PEOPLE.

No. III.

Objection in the South that the Colonization plan originated in the Free States.

The answers I propose to give to all the objections of a general nature, which have been made to the project of Colonization, I shall reserve for a subsequent part of this inquiry.—There are some, however, of a peculiar complexion—they may be called *geographical*, which I will endeavour to dispose of at the outset. The first of this class comes from our own part of the country—the *South*. It is this: The American Colonization Society was gotten up by the *free States*—it is the offspring of a spirit of fanaticism prevailing there—of a blind and officious philanthropy—part and parcel of a system put in operation to wrest from us our slaves, and bring about *abolition*. The objection, here stated, in all the variety of its ramifications, prevails among us with a vigour very nicely adjusted (if the word will be allowed) to the *lack* of information as to the origin of the Society and the progress of its labours. Just as information has been poured into the chambers of the mind—if there be no skulking, selfish interest to resist its influence, so do we find prejudice thrust out. For the purpose of meeting the objection in all its aspects, let us suppose the association *was* set on foot (though the contrary of this I will show hereafter) by the free states, and that the motives attributed to its instigators are those by which they have been impelled to action in this matter;—what follows? That the plan should be approved or condemned as it proceeds from one or another point of the compass? That, because it comes from the North, we should refuse to bestow a fair consideration upon a project, which seems, at first view, at least, to be the only practicable one for relieving us from an evil, which we ourselves, without dissent, acknowledge to be great? Shall it be, that from prejudice—ever, when directed against men or things, or politics or religion, injurious,—always a loathsome, and oftentimes a crushing burden to those who carry it on their march to truth—shall prejudice so narrow as this, persuade us to lay aside a scheme salutary and profitable in itself, because its inventors have, by the providence of God, their places of residence in the North or East? Heretofore, we have acted a wiser part:—We did not say to Whitney, the ingenious inventor of the Cotton Gin, “you are from ‘the land of steady habits;’—your contrivance is a Yankee trick to take us in—you intend by it your own advantage and not our accommodation—therefore we will have nothing to do with it.” The countless steamboats which crowd our rivers, bearing the wealth of one portion of our country to another, with the rapidity almost of winged messengers, bear witness that we did not thus treat that persevering and excellent genius who first discovered the application of steam power to machinery. No: in those and similar instances, we have acted with commendable discretion, with sound judgment; and wherever the result has been seen to be advantageous or profitable, we have examined every scheme or plan of improvement presented to us, and, accordingly, as we have approved or disapproved the process, we have adopted or rejected it.

The Solons, the Lycurguses, the Pythagorases—the sages and legislators of ancient times, left their own, that they might visit other and distant states, to study their laws and institutions, and bring home with them such knowledge as would be serviceable to their countrymen. Posterity has not only admired the self-devotion of the men—it has passed its sentence of approbation on the wisdom of the course. And shall we say to those of our brethren who struck the first blow for freedom, and poured out the first libation of a patriot's blood upon the altar of Independence, who are bound to us by the cords of the happiest Union the world has ever seen, and whose love to it, I would trust, is no less than ours—to the land of our Hancock, our Franklin, our Clinton, our Rush and our Reed, who, when Fayetteville was lately burnt to the ground, her inhabitants houseless, and suffering for all things,—had despatched their thousands, and had them on their way for their relief, before their town councils could be assembled to vote the appropriation;—to those who, by their noble charities to the perishing Cape de Verd Islanders, are winning, in the eyes of the civilized world, a glory for the American name, which is the proper strength and honour of any people—to such as these are we prepared to say, “we desire no friendly and fraternal bands with you, and in the suspicious language of an enemy, proclaim to them, ‘*we fear you even bringing gifts!*’”

So far, indeed, from our fellow citizens of the free States laying claim to the praise of having originated the Colonization Scheme, they have taken frequent opportunities of bestowing it upon those who are entitled to it; and so utterly at variance is it with the state of public sentiment as indicated by the language of their most distinguished citizens and Journals, that *abolition* should, either directly or indirectly be forced upon us, that Colonization is supported by them, not only as the means of relieving us from the evil of a free coloured population, but as the quiet and peaceable substitute for that *liberation*, which, according to the natural course of things, and the unavoidable result of causes in steady operation, must ultimately take place, in some form or another, in the *South*, unless something of this kind be done to prevent it.

It is undeniable, that the *abolitionists* are to be found almost exclusively in the free States, and that, there, they have constituted themselves into associations for the furtherance of their unwise and intemperate project. It is against the cause of colonization—against its friends in the North (and among the latter are to be numbered, as far as their opinions have been made known, the most influential public men) that the efforts of the abolitionists have been

especially directed. I will very fearlessly venture the assertion, that there is no class of men in the United States, against whom the leading abolitionists have manifested a hostility so unappeasable as against the advocates of Colonization.* Is it then wise in us, by indiscriminate accusations, to confound our friends with those whose opposition, we know to be so relentless—to alienate them from us by injurious suspicions of their friendship—to lay up for ourselves stores of regret for having, by our own act, removed a powerful check upon the spirit of abolition *at its home*, and given to its mischievous tendencies, now repressed and scattered, the force and compactness of the phalanx?

In support of the opinions expressed above, I will here introduce a few of the many testimonials to be found in the most respectable *periodicals*, and in the speeches of some of their most eminent public men.

In the No. for July, 1832, of the North American Review, we have this language:—"But the vast majority of those who would emancipate, we have no hesitation in saying, are deterred from it by a patriotism and philanthropy which look beyond the bounds of their particular district, and beyond the ostensible quality of the mere abstract act. They believe it to be unjust to the slave to turn him out, slave as he is—still will be—ignorant, destitute and despised, if nothing more, upon the highways of the world. They believe it to be unjust to their common country." Again:—"They think themselves bound to retain their slaves, during the continuance of these circumstances, as they think themselves bound, and are bound, to retain and maintain their children during minority, and for the much stronger reason besides, that the former are far more able and likely to do and receive harm."

The Christian Spectator, one of the most able of our critical and religious magazines, published at New Haven, in a review of the very inflammatory address of Mr. Garrison (the same Mr. G. mentioned in the preceding note) to the Free People of Colour, says "While he pursues such a course as this pamphlet exhibits, kindling the minds of these people by irritation and flattery, with the lust of possession and the desire of recompense for wrong, with the memory of old grievances and the hope of speedy triumph—how can he reasonably complain if he finds himself feared and hated, not merely as one who is exposing error and crime, and labouring to effect by lawful and peaceful means a moral revolution,—but rather as a wilful incendiary, who would smile to see conflagration, rapine and extermination, sweeping with tornado fury over the land."

As the remaining extracts, upon this point, from the public speeches of distinguished men, would extend this number to too great a length, they will be postponed until next week.

J. G. BIRNEY,

General Agent of the American Colonization Society.

REV. MR. COX'S SKETCHES FROM WESTERN AFRICA.

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 176.)

Sierra Leone,—Sketch of its History.

It is now about half a century since colonization in Africa, with reference to civilization, was first contemplated in England. Shortly after, a society was formed among the Quakers,† as they were then called, for the abolition of the slave trade; and the great and the good Mr. Willerforce was the first, I believe, who introduced the subject into the British parliament. Public sympathy thus enlisted, neither plans nor means were long wanted for its active exercise. Sierra Leone was fixed upon as a point well suited to the objects in view, and some were readily collected for the purpose; but, like too many of the foreign British settlements, this, the most important English Colony in Africa, was first settled by materials fitted only for a poor-house or a penitentiary.

Some of the slaves who, during our revolution, served under the British standard, were, after the peace of 1783, sent to Nova Scotia. Not contented with their situation there, many of them repaired to London, where, it is said, they "became subject to every misery and familiar with every vice." A committee was soon formed for their relief, in which Mr. Granville Sharp took a distinguished part; and in 1787, about four hundred blacks and sixty whites were embarked for Sierra Leone. The whites were chiefly *women of the most abandoned character*. This hopeful Colony of American refugee slaves and London prostitutes, was the first that were sent out by English philanthropy to enlighten and civilize Africa!—But God seeth not as man seeth. In kindness to the name of Christianity, soon after their arrival, death commenced his ravages among them, and in a few months nearly half of the

* As a proof of this, take the following charges, to be found in "Thoughts on Colonization, &c." by William Lloyd Garrison, the celebrated abolitionist.—"The American Colonization Society is solemnly pledged not to interfere with the system of slavery, or in any manner to disturb the repose of the planters"—"It apologises for slavery and slaveholders"—"It recognises slaves as property"—"It increases the value of slaves"—"It is the enemy of immediate abolition"—"The principal object avowed (by the American Colonization Society) for the removal of the free people of colour, is their corruptive and dangerous influence over the slave population," &c. &c.

† Goldsmith's History of England, p. 527.

whole had either died or made their escape from the Colony. Desertions continued, and in less than a year the whole were dispersed and the town burned by an African chief.

In 1791, an association was formed by some of the friends of Africa, called the "St. George's Bay Company." By the efforts of this Society some of the dispersed colonists were collected again, and about twelve hundred more free negroes transported from Nova Scotia. In 1794, the town was again destroyed by a French squadron, and in 1808, disappointed and discouraged, the company transferred the whole establishment to the British government.—Under the banner of the Zion and the cross, the Colony has found security from enemies within and without, and since its transfer, till within the last year or two, has been rapidly increasing in its commercial interests and in the number of its inhabitants. The population now amounts to thirty thousand; about one hundred of whom are whites. Perhaps such a motley mixture were never before collected on the same amount of territory. It is more than Africa in miniature. They are almost literally of "all nations, tongues, and people:" English, Scotch, American, Irish, West Indian; and to these must be added those from an endless list of tribes from the interior of Africa; and their complexions have all the variety of shades from a beautiful white to an African jet. But to speak without a hyperbole, there are between thirty and forty African [note H] languages spoken in the Colony. The burden of the whole are "liberated Africans:" those whom the humanity of England has wrested from that curse of the human species, the slave-stealer. It is a proud thought to the African, that, come from where he may, whether from Christian, Pagan, or Mohammedan servitude, or from the floating hell that is unworthy of the name of either, the moment he treads on the soil of Sierra Leone, that moment *he is free*. O, and it must be a proud thought too, to the monarch who has bequeathed this high privilege, however humble and degraded the objects of his mercy. England has no slaves. May the same soon be said of all the colonies where her flag waves its authority.

The government of Sierra Leone extends its jurisdiction over all the British settlements on the western coast of Africa, between 20 degrees north and 20 degrees south; but Sierra Leone proper, is only 80 or 90 miles in its greatest length, and about forty or fifty wide. Over this territory there are scattered some ten or a dozen villages, all of which are more or less under Christian tuition, and the civil jurisprudence of the Colony.

FREE TOWN.—The principal place in the Colony is situated in lat. 8 degs. 30 mins. north, on the south bank of the river Sierra Leone, and about six miles from the western extremity of the cape. It is built at the foot of a range of mountains which, in nearly the form of a semi-circle, shelters the whole village, and which, when the breeze happens to be southerly, in very hot weather, must render the heat of a noon day sun almost insupportable. The town opens handsomely as you approach it up the river, and enlivened as it was the evening of our arrival by the sound of a keyed bugle and an occasional gun from the fort, we felt ourselves nearer something more like home than any thing we had seen since we left America. The morning light made the scenery still more beautiful. Every thing on which the eye could rest was rich with luxuriance; the hills and ravines were covered with verdure, the forest was green with foliage, trees were loaded with fruit, and the town seemed alive with human beings—such as might have been naturally expected, neither wholly civilized nor entirely barbarous. Mixed, as the population now is, and receiving as it constantly is, new accessions from the captured slave ship, it must be a long while before European manners and customs will be wholly adopted by the natives. Instead, however, of expressing surprise at seeing a part of the population half naked, and some of the little boys and girls entirely so, perhaps we ought rather to thank God and rejoice for the hundreds who, with a change of residence, have left their paganism and rudeness in "the bush," and are becoming pious Christians and good citizens. Quite a proportion of the native population have already adopted the European dress, and the congregations, in general, appear quite Christian in their Sunday costume, if we except the strange custom which almost all the ladies have adopted in substituting the *hat* for the bonnet.

The town is rather handsomely laid out,—most of its streets running at right angles, and, with its barracks, its ordinance, churches, and other public buildings, has an air of finish about it that really gladdens the heart in this vast wilderness. Most of the public buildings are of a coarse kind of free stone; perhaps half of the private dwellings are of the same, or of wood, the others of "wattle,"—a kind of coarse basket stuff—with grass or bamboo leaved roofs.

The number of inhabitants I did not learn, but suppose, including the suburbs of the town, there are some six or eight thousand, about eighty of whom are whites.

MORALS OF THE PLACE.—The morals of Free Town are fearfully, *fearfully* bad. As, in colonies too generally, where the restraints of home, of friends, of those we love and those we fear, are broken off, licentiousness prevails to a most lamentable degree. Judging from much that occurs here, one might suppose the seventh commandment had never been heard of, or if heard of, that the eternity and weight of wrath connected with its disobedience had been entirely forgotten. The marriage tie is not unfrequently disregarded; and when this solemn obligation has never been entered into, there appears to be neither shame nor restraint. The abomination is not committed under the cover of midnight; nor am I speaking of the natives, whose early habits might plead some apology for them—it is done at noon day, and, to use a figure, the throne as well as the footstool has participated in the evil. And the evil, I am told, is increasing. Sanctioned, as it is, by those who take the lead in society, and who

ought to form the morals of the Colony, avarice has been added to lust, and those who otherwise might have been virtuous, have "sold themselves" to work wickedness. Already *mothers* begin to barter their daughters as soon as they are fourteen or fifteen to the white man for this horrid purpose, and strange to tell, both the mother and the daughter seem proud of the infamous distinction. Christianity weeps at facts like these—humanity and philanthropy, which have struggled so hard and so long to help this degraded country, must weep and cover itself with sackcloth, to see its best interests so wickedly perverted. Time only can tell the destructive influence of such excesses on the interests of the Colony; but, if no standard be lifted up to check the tide that is now setting in like a flood, half a century hence we need not be surprised if female virtue is unknown at Sierra Leone. If it has not been done already, without a great change, Europeans, it will be found, instead of *raising* the morals of the people up to the standard of Christian communities in general, will have lamentably *lowered* them. How fearful the account of such men in the day of eternity! God forbid that I should do the place injustice; but such vile iniquity—such open and abandoned prostitution as is practised here, ought to be held up to public scorn, and the aggressors made ashamed, if indeed shame they have. The love of many has already waxed cold from its influence.—Some it has already turned back like the dog to his vomit; the progress of the Gospel it has greatly retarded, and it has given a strength to infidelity and paganism, that years of hard toil from the pious missionary will scarcely overcome. Vice literally has a premium, and he who will pay most, is sure to have virtue sacrificed at his feet. Horse-racing and gambling prevail here, too, in a degree not to have been expected in a Colony planted for the special purpose of civilizing and evangelizing Africa. *Duels* are sometimes fought, but, like those in England, they are seldom fatal to either of the parties. Seven, I am told occurred, in one week, but neither blood nor lives were lost in either of them. *Bullets*, I believe, are generally scarce on such occasions. Equally fastidious, but with less hardihood than a Kentuckyan, the parties return from the field of combat quite as well as they entered it, with the grateful assurance of having vindicated insulted honor by firing a good charge of *powder* at his antagonist! If this be not ridiculous, what is? Worse than this, a recent publication in England charges some of them with aiding and abetting in the cursed practice of *slave stealing*. What is man!

To these abominations fidelity will oblige me to add one more, that of intemperance. I have not seen, however, a great many instances of vulgar drunkenness. The great evil, I suspect, lies in what the *lover of spirit* calls a "moderate," or "necessary" use of it. With this plea, and each one being the judge of the moderation or necessity, one drinks *his gill*, another his two, a third his pint, and a fourth his quart of brandy per day. This is no hyperbole. From what I saw and heard on the best of evidence, the drunkard himself would be astounded to know the quantity of fermented and distilled liquors imported in one year in Free Town. So it is. Even in benighted Africa, on the spot selected by religion and philanthropy, where they might scatter their mutual blessings, erect the temples of science and of art, and churches of a holy God, this abomination that maketh desolate—this vicegerent of the devil, stalks abroad at midnight and at noon, making man worse than barbarous here, and treasuring up for him wrath against the day of wrath hereafter. God have mercy! God have mercy on the abettors of this soul-murdering traffic!

Schools.—Learning, as well as religion, has been a leading object among the friends of the Colony, ever since its commencement, and much has been done for its support. The *schoolmaster*, as well as the clergyman, was in the first mission of the Wesleyan Methodists, in 1811, and 1813. The Church Missionary Society engaged in it with a strong hand.—From that period till now, the efforts of the societies have been unceasing in the promotion of this great work. During the past year, the Church Missionary Society, of itself, has expended in the Colony £3,712; and though death in years past has made great havoc among its teachers, it still continues its undiminished exertions. They have now about three thousand in the different villages under tuition, with an average attendance of, say, two thousand. This includes, however, adults, Sunday school, evening, and day scholars; all of whom, while they are taught, more or less, the elementary branches of an English education, are carefully instructed in the doctrines of the Gospel. Such labors of love cannot be in vain. Its fruit may not as yet have been as evidently seen as was expected by some of its friends; but the fires it has enkindled cannot be concealed long. As soon as the mustard seed shall have taken *deep root*, it will spring up with a luxuriance and strength proportionate to the labor with which it was planted. Then, with the blessings of God, may we hope that these Africans, gathered by the slave ship from almost every tribe in Africa, "liberated" by the hand of humanity, and placed under the tuition of the Church of Christ, will soon be penetrating the forests to their long lost homes, richly laden with the book of God in one hand—that of man in the other. Light and truth cannot be inert, nor can the work of faith be in vain. It must be that the *END* will be glorious.

I have not had an opportunity of visiting either of the schools under their charge, but from a short interview with the Rev. Mr. Raban, of Fourah Bay, I learn that they are, in general, prosperous.

The Wesleyan mission has two schools of, say, eighty-five each under its care, but under the immediate tuition of two native instructors. Once a week they visit the mission house for examination, when each receives the reward of a little book. One of these examinations I had the pleasure of attending.

The children* were from about four to fourteen years of age, and for Africa, were all

decently clad. All that attended could read in the Testament, and some of them admirably. And they seemed to understand what they read. I asked a little fellow what a "nobleman" meant. "A rich ana a gooa man," said he; a definition which, though we may wish it were just, he certainly could never have heard of before. I asked another, equally small, what "two days" meant. "To-day ana to-morrow," said he. "Forty-eight hours" might have been more scholastic, but certainly not more accurate. Of another I inquired who a "prophet" was. "One man sent to preach de word of God," said he, with scarce a moment's reflection. Of another, still more intelligent, I inquired the meaning of "*sin*."—"If a man steal, dat be sin, sir; if a man curse, dat be sin, sir; if a man break de Sabbath, dat be sin, sir; if a man swear, dat be sin, sir; if a man do dat which be not right, dat be sin, sir." The definition I thought worthy of preservation, and have given it word for word as uttered by the boy.

They spell, in general, quite well, and a few of them have made considerable progress in arithmetic. Several of them, not more than seven or eight, write a hand far more legible than my own. One or two read as fluently, and with as much propriety as Americans of the same size; but then it should be remembered that my specimens are selected from the *better sort of them*. But the more I see of the African character, the more am I assured that, under similar circumstances, they are not inferior in intellect to the rest of the human species. Indeed I can scarcely realize that I am in dark and degraded Africa—the country of hottentots and cannibals.

These schools are principally supported by a few ladies of the Society of Friends, in Peckham, England.

LABOR.—Labor is extremely low in the Colony. Indeed I cannot conceive how an American or English settler, unless he is a mechanic, can possibly compete with the natives of the place. Hale, hearty, and athletic Kroomen sometimes work for an English sixpence per day, and "find themselves;" and the worth of one day's labor will support them for a week. They live on fruit, and the vegetable productions of the country; and these cost but little more than white-sorel on an American beach.† Oranges sell at a shilling and one and sixpence per bushel, and the most delicious pine-apples that I ever tasted can be purchased, three for a penny. Cassader is but a sixpence per bushel, and other productions of the country are proportionably cheap.

One pound per month is considered high wages for domestic men servants; and out of this they find their own provision and clothes.

HEALTH—The climate here *now* is much warmer than at the Gambia. Thermometer has generally ranged from 80 to 84; occasionally it has fallen as low as summer heat, and once or twice, two degrees below it. What renders the heat here more sensible is the mountains with which Free Town is half surrounded. These break off all the moderate breezes from the south, and leave the town sometimes with scarcely a breath of air at noon day. Then we feel how grateful is the "shadow of a great rock," and then we know the power of a noon day African sun.

I have mentioned elsewhere, I believe, that more than half a hundred Church missionaries, including catechists, &c. &c. have here found a grave. Eight Wesleyan missionaries have died, also. But these days of peril have in a great measure passed away. The Colony is now much, much healthier than it has been, but the exact per centage of deaths for the past year I found it impossible to learn. Grave-diggers either cannot, or do not count; physicians are not required to make returns; and many die, like the felons in England, without the "benefit of the clergy," or the attentions of a regular physician. From common remark, however, I should think Sierra Leone, the mountains in particular, quite as healthy as the southern states in general.

(TO BE CONTINUED.)

MOVEMENTS IN ENGLAND.

It is well known, that a very deep interest is felt in England, in favour of the American Colonization Society, and that large public meetings have recently been held in London, both for and against it. We are confident that it will still continue to be generally favoured by the most reflecting and philanthropic of that country, notwithstanding the opposition of Mr. Garrison.—We regret to see, that such honoured names as those of James Cropper,

* The ages of the native children are here unknown.

† Though the fruit and vegetables, which are the production of Africa, are so remarkably cheap, the *foreigner*, whether white or black, is but very little benefited by them. On these he does not, cannot live. Rice sells at a dollar a "tub," a measure that is perhaps a little more than a bushel. Flour nine and ten dollars per barrel. Salt meats, and indeed every thing from an American or English market pays nearly a hundred, and two hundred, per cent., and many things much more. On this the colonists are obliged to live. This is an evil, I presume, all along the coast, which cannot be remedied until Africa is so far civilized as to rely on her own resources.

Zachary Macaulay, and William Allen, should be among the supporters of Mr. Garrison in his most unjustifiable efforts to destroy its influence. Few men understand better than Mr. Garrison, how to misrepresent facts, suppress the truth, and make the worse appear the better reason. We do not speak this uncharitably, but from a sense of public duty; and we are willing to believe that the fury of his zeal, has well nigh made shipwreck of his sobriety of judgment. We deem it time to speak out when Mr. Macaulay declares over his own signature that "the Colonization Society appears to him to adopt as the basis of its schemes, not the love, but the hatred and contempt of the negro race, and to regard every one tinged with their blood as an object, not of kindness, and of brotherhood, but of abhorrence, and of exclusion from the common sympathies and affinities of our nature, and from that union and fellowship in whom there is neither Jew nor Gentile, Barbarian nor Scythian, American nor African, bond nor free, but we are all one in Christ Jesus:"—and when Wm. Allen writes to Mr. Garrison that "having heard the exposition of the origin and main object of the American Colonization Society, and having read their own printed documents, I scarcely know how to express my surprise and indignation,—surprise that my correspondents in America should not have informed me of the real principles of the said Society; and also that Elliott Cresson, knowing, as he must have known, the abominable sentiments it had printed and published, should have condescended to become its Agent." We are not surprised that benevolent men in England should be opposed to our Society, if they form their *opinions of it, from the representations of Mr. Garrison*. Wm. Allen says—"When I first heard of the formation of the Colony of Liberia, I rejoiced at the intelligence, not doubting but that it was projected and planned by the friends of Africa, with feelings congenial with my own,—that its object was to promote the civilization of the inhabitants of that vast continent, and make some reparation for the enormous wrongs they had for so many ages endured." Now, if Mr. Garrison has represented the Society as other than *benevolent in its design and tendency towards the whole coloured race*, he has **FALSELY REPRESENTED** it before the people of England.

And what does Wm. Allen cite from the Repository as having roused his indignation, but two or three sentences from somebody's speech, expressive of the opinion that the free people of colour were hopelessly degraded in this country, and a single sentence from an Editorial article in the Repository, indicating the belief of the writer, that the people of colour must (while in the U. States), remain for ages, if not forever, a separate and distinct class, weighed down by causes not to be removed? No genuine friend of the Colonization Society, has to our knowledge doubted, certainly we have not, that all which can be done should be done for the improvement of our coloured population while they remain among us, and that much more is practicable, than has yet been accomplished. Still, circumstances are against the free man of colour in this country; in Africa they are favourable to the development of his powers and the elevation of his character. That man is not to be believed, who represents the Society as other than *benevolent towards the whole coloured race*.

MEETINGS OF THE FRIENDS OF AFRICAN COLONIZATION, AND OF THE ABOLITION OF THE SLAVE TRADE.

A preliminary meeting of the friends of African Colonization was held at the Thatched House, London, the Right Hon. Lord BEXLEY in the Chair.

The object of the meeting was to enable the friends of African Colonization to take measures to prepare for a general meeting, to be held in the Hanover-square Rooms, on Wednesday, July 3, when his Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex, has kindly promised to take the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN, after expressing his concurrence in the measure, as being calculated to confer inestimable benefits upon Africa by the introduction of civilization, and particularly as a means of extending the blessings of Christianity, and, after having attributed the limited success of the attempts which have hitherto been made to the employment of whites, who

had fallen a sacrifice to the climate, and dwelt upon the importance of the experiment made in Liberia by the substitution of educated blacks, called upon Mr. Elliott Cresson, a member of the Society of Friends, and representative of the American Colonization Society, to lay before the meeting some details of the proceedings of that Society, and of the settlement in Liberia.

Mr. CRESSON then gave a statement of the views and prospects of the Society and Colony.

In the course of a discussion which took place, it was stated that some objections had been made by the advocates of immediate emancipation, but it was considered by those present that the advantages far outweighed the objections; that the benefits to Africa were undoubted; and that the extension of civilization and of Christianity would both be effectually promoted by the extension of the system. The following Resolutions were then passed:—

Moved by B. HAWES, Esq. M. P. and seconded by Capt. M'CONOCHIE, R. N.,

1. *Resolved*, That while the efforts made by the British Government for the extirpation of the slave-trade on the coast of Africa deserve the thanks of the civilized world, yet the great extent to which that nefarious traffic is still carried on calls for more efficient measures than any hitherto adopted.

Moved by R. POTTER, Esq. M. P. and seconded by Capt. CHAPMAN, R. A.,

2. That a well-digested scheme of colonizing the coast of Africa with civilized negroes promises to effect this desirable purpose: that it is calculated to elevate the negro character, and, by the establishment of commercial and Christian intercourse, to dry up the sources of the slave-trade.

Moved by the Rev. Dr. KENNY, Rector of St. Olave's and seconded by Dr. BOOTT.

3. That Colonies formed upon such principles appear to afford the most favourable prospect of introducing, under the guidance and protection of Divine Providence, the blessings of Christianity and civilization among the native tribes of Africa, and are eminently calculated to co-operate with and give effect to the efforts of the several Missionary Societies of Great Britain, by affording the assistance of pious and well-educated instructors of the native African race, and of bodily constitutions adapted to the climate.

Moved by Mr. CRAWFORD, and seconded by DANIEL LISTER, Esq.,

4. That a Committee be formed for the purpose of taking the subject under consideration, and to make arrangements for a meeting, to be held at the Hanover Rooms, on Wednesday, the 3rd of July, at twelve o'clock precisely, when his Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex, has kindly promised to preside.

[From the *London Courier* of July 4.]

According to notice which had been given, a meeting of the friends of African Colonization, and of the abolition of the slave-trade, took place this morning at twelve o'clock. His Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex in the Chair.

The Duke of Sussex opened the proceedings by stating the object of the meeting; that the subject of African Colonization had occupied much of his attention; that the settlement at Liberia made by the American Colonization Society had been under his notice during many years; that he was fully aware that much difference of opinion existed on the subject of Colonization in the United States; that he had read every thing which he could procure on the subject, and very recently some objections which had been sent to him by those opposed to the system, but that the conviction on his mind was in favour of Colonization, and that he saw no reason to doubt the success of that undertaking. He had derived much of his information, in regard to Liberia, from Mr. Cresson, whom he had known many years, and to whose upright and honorable character he could bear testimony. He thought that the present extent and influence of the Colony of Liberia had a most important effect in checking the slave-trade in its vicinity, as the people of the neighbouring tribes were disposed to form alliances with the Colony, and to the amount of 25,000 had sought its protection. His Royal Highness then stated that he considered the extension of the system likely to have a most important effect in checking the slave-trade by means of the introduction of civilization, and of the blessings of Christianity. In order that those present might be in possession of the facts relating to Liberia, his Royal Highness called upon Mr. Elliott Cresson to give a detail of them.

Mr. Cresson gave interesting details relating to Liberia, and referred to various papers and documents printed by the Society, of which he is the Agent, as well as to others, and in particular to a work by Mr. Innes, of which a new and enlarged edition (printed in Edinburgh), is just published under the title of "Liberia," from which he read several extracts.

Lord Bexley rose to propose the first resolution, and stated the evidences of the degree of civilization, of the extent of commerce, and of the existence of sound religious feeling to which the Colony had attained. He referred to the publication of a newspaper in Liberia, by a negro editor and printer, from which he read extracts as the strongest proof of the capacity and degree of instruction of the community, and expressed his conviction that Colonization, by means of educated and instructed persons of the African race, held out the fairest hope of improving the condition of the Africans, of extending Christianity, and of assisting in putting an end to the slave-trade. His Lordship further observed, that he dwelt on these topics with the more confidence as they had produced an important revolution in his

own mind. His first impressions had been unfavorable to Liberia; he had thought it impossible that the blacks could govern themselves; or that a Colony thus composed should not either have been overthrown by the natives, or should not have been engaged in constant hostilities with them. The undoubted facts, however, had most agreeably undeceived him; and his only wish was, that there were many such examples along the coast of Africa.

J. S. Buckingham, Esq. M. P. seconded the resolution in a luminous and eloquent speech, in which he dwelt forcibly upon the capacity of the negro for improvement, of which he read some highly-interesting records. He argued that by the introduction of friendly relations and the extension of commerce the habits of the negro would be changed, by creating a stimulus to exertion; and he illustrated his argument by comparing the slave with the emancipated negro, and by contrasting the feelings and exertions of the apprentice with those when he became the emancipated journeyman, and felt that he was reaping the reward of his exertions. He expressed himself of opinion that the extension of civilization would be productive of such a stimulus, and would thus materially tend to check the slave-trade.

J. Crawford, Esq. moved the second resolution. He dwelt upon the limited success of the attempts made to introduce Christianity in the East, without Colonization, and showed the necessity of the two going hand in hand. He pointed out the almost total failure of the efforts of the many zealous and devoted missionaries to extend Christianity in various countries in the East, with which he was personally acquainted. He pointed out the beneficial results which had resulted from the system adopted in Liberia, and corroborated the statements made as to the capacity of the negro for civil government.

J. A. ROEBUCK, Esq. M. P., seconded the resolution.

Lieutenant ROSENBERG, R. N., then rose to propose the third resolution. He stated that he had been employed on duty on the African coast previous to the settlement of Liberia, and that he had visited that settlement subsequently. He bore testimony to the beneficial change which had there taken place. He had found the spot where he had seen six or eight slave vessels at anchor, and which had been one of the greatest marts from whence their cargoes had been procured, under circumstances of every aggravation, "the parent selling the child and the child the parent," converted into the abode of peace and happiness, and the slave-trade totally extinguished. He concluded a statement of great interest by moving the third resolution.

R. POTTER, Esq. M. P. seconded the resolution.

The fourth and fifth resolutions relative to the Constitution of the Society, were then put and carried.

His Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex, acceded to the request of the meeting to become patron of the British African Colonization Society.

Lord BEXLEY consented to be President; his Lordship then read letters from the Marquis of Westminster, and from the Right Hon. Sir George Murray, expressing their cordial concurrence in the objects of the meeting and their regret at being prevented from attending.

A considerable discussion took place on the three first resolutions, which originated in differences of opinion entertained by the advocates of the Anti-Slavery Society as to the proceedings and tendency of the American Colonization Society, of which Mr. Cresson is a member and the Agent. Several amendments were in consequence moved by them, which were lost by a considerable majority.

Among other matters, Mr. Cresson was challenged to enter into a verbal disputation respecting the Society of which he is the Agent, and its relation to the coloured people of the United States. The sense of the majority of the meeting was against such a question being entertained, and Mr. Cresson declined the challenge, by stating, that all the documents and evidence in his power to afford would be placed before the Society whose Institution was the object of the meeting, and that he was assured they would also receive from every other source such information as might offer. That his object was *Truth*—and that he left the discovery and application of it in the hands of the Society.

The Duke of Sussex stated, in reply to some of the objections, that it was the purpose of the meeting to form a Society which should be independent in its objects and measures, but co-operating with all others in whatever could tend to improve the condition of Africa—to extend to it the blessings of Christianity—and to promote every measure for the extinction of the slave trade. His Royal Highness repeated that all the arguments had been before him; that he was fully convinced of the advantages which might be derived from such a Society as that now proposed; and that he considered we were much indebted to the Americans for the valuable evidence they had given us in Liberia. He renewed his testimony as to the motives and conduct of Mr. Cresson, and referring to the conflicting opinions which had been expressed, said that he respected the intentions of those who differed from him, and that he should have given them his support had he concurred in opinion, with the same cordiality which he had done, and was prepared to do, to the Society of which he had become the Patron; and, that he hoped whatever might be the differences expressed, that no feeling but that of kindness and good humour would remain.

Lord BEXLEY then moved the thanks of the meeting to his Royal Highness, which was carried by acclamation, and the meeting broke up.

The following are the resolutions adopted at this meeting:

Resolved, That colonies, established on judicious principles, on the coast of Africa, and composed of settlers of African race, either born free or emancipated, appear calculated to put an effectual stop to the slave trade; and to introduce, under the guidance of Divine Provi-

dence, the blessings of Christianity and civilization, by affording the assistance of pious and well-educated instructors, of bodily constitutions adapted to the climate, as well as by the immediate influence and example of the settlers.

Resolved, That a Society be formed under the name of the British African Colonization Society, and that its objects be, to promote the establishment of Christianity and Colonization among the natives of Africa, chiefly by the employment of persons of African birth or descent; and, to take such measures as may tend to the entire abolition of the slave trade, which is still carried on to an alarming extent upon the African coast.

Resolved, That for these purposes they will, among other measures, enter into correspondence and co-operation with the American Colonization Society, and with the several missionary and other religious and charitable societies in Great Britain, the United States and elsewhere, in their endeavors to raise the civil, moral, and religious condition of the Africans.

H. R. H. the Duke of Sussex is Patron of the Society; Lord Bexley, President; and the following noblemen and gentlemen Vice Presidents—Marquis of Westminster, Rt. Hon. Sir G. Murray, T. Richardson, Esq. John Ivatt Briscoe, Esq. M. P. and Jas. Douglass, Esq. of Cavers.

INTELLIGENCE.

AUXILIARY SOCIETIES.

The Young Gentlemen in the Oneida Institute at Whitesborough, have established an Auxiliary Colonization Society, which promises great good. They have engaged in the cause with resolution, and we hope will make their influence felt throughout the world.

Officers of the Oneida Institute Col. Society.

A. Wattles, *President*; James Ryerson and H. Bowen, *Vice-Presidents*; Thomas Buchanan, A. Srotter and S. R. Porter, *Directors*; W. Wilkinson, *Secretary*. The Society has at present, 34 members,—all students.

Officers of the Col. Society of Wadsworth, Ohio.

William Eyles, *President*; Rev. G. Fay, *Vice-President*; Dr. Geo. K. Pardee, *Secretary*; Hon. F. Brown, *Treasurer*; Geo. Lyman, Wm. McGalliard and Salmon Warner, *Managers*.

A correspondent informs us that "an interesting Auxiliary Society has recently been formed at Poland, Ohio." We shall be glad to receive a list of its officers.

The Rev. Isaac Bard writes under date of

GREENVILLE, Ky, July 24, 1833.

We have formed ourselves into an Auxiliary Colonization Society. Our Constitution is copied from the draft furnished in the African Repository; and we wish to be recognized.—The following persons are officers:—

Ephraim Brank, *President*. Dr. R. D. McLean, *Treasurer*. Isaac Bard, *Secretary*.

MORGANTOWN, (Va.) Aug. 4, 1833.

Dear Sir:—Owing to my absence, or some other cause, I did not observe the notice in

your April number of the Repository, requiring a list of the officers and members of the several Auxiliary Colonization Societies, until my attention was called to it by a repeated request in your last number.

I proceed to give you the names of the officers and members of the Monongalia Colonization Society, auxiliary to the Virginia State Society.

John Rogers, *President*. Col. John Evans, Dr. Simon T. Taylor, *Vice-Presidents*. M. Dering, *Treasurer*. G. R. C. Allen, *Corresponding Secretary*. Rev. C. McLane, Rev. T. Martin, Wm. Lazin, T. P. Ray, Wm. G. Henry, J. Y. Horner, T. J. Massie, *Managers*.

Very respectfully,

G. R. C. ALLEN.

Young Men's Society of Ithaca, N. Y.

Officers.—Wm. A. Irving, *President*. Wm. W. S. Bogart, *Vice-President*. Benjamin Johnson, Jr. *Treasurer*. George Woodruff, *Secretary*. P. C. Schuyler, W. S. Pelton, B. Durham, W. T. Eddy, D. C. Woodcock, C. Halsey, — Hand, J. Slater, *Directors*.

Bowdoin Colonization Society.

A few weeks since, several of the students of Bowdoin College met for the purpose of forming a Colonization Society. A Constitution was presented and adopted.

Several individual members have pledged themselves to raise the sum of \$215 for the Colonization of manumitted slaves. The Society after adopting the Constitution made choice of the following officers:

Cyrus Hamlin, *President*; Geo. M. Weston, *Vice-President*; Asahel Moore, *Secretary*; Stephen Allen, *Treasurer*; H. T. Cheever and Henry B. Smith, of the Board of *Managers*.

— South Hanover, Ia. June 18.

Pursuant to previous notice, a meeting of the citizens of Republican and adjacent townships of Jefferson county, Indiana, friendly to the formation of a Society auxiliary to the

Society for colonizing the free people of colour, was held at Carmel, Tuesday, June the 4th, 1833. The design of the meeting was stated by the Rev. A. Bower: and the divine blessing implored by the Rev. J. M. Henderson; and after singing part of the sixty-eighth psalm, A. Bower read a Constitution, which was adopted, and the audience was then called on to subscribe it. After which the Society proceeded to elect officers as follows:—

Mr. James Patterson, *President*.—Mr. Wm. D. Thorn, *Vice-President*.—Mr. Wm. Watson, *Treasurer*.—Richard Wasson, *Secretary*, and James Anderson, John Swan, John Anderson, Wm. Patterson and Jesse Adams, *Managers*.

—
Amherst College, July 27.

An Auxiliary Society was formed immediately after our exercises on the 4th. Its officers are a President, Secretary, Treasurer and three Managers. A contribution of \$11 25 was taken up, although no notice was given, so that the audience might be prepared. Since the first meeting, we have obtained nearly \$70, in subscriptions for membership of the Society. I think we shall do something more.

The following resolutions were passed at a meeting of the Society, July 12th.

Resolved, That we deeply sympathize with the people of the slave-holding States, and sincerely deprecate the existence of slavery among them.

Resolved, That we disapprove of all measures, which tend to excite insurrections among the slaves.

Resolved, That we cordially concur in the principles and plans of the American Colonization Society.

Our Society is called the Amherst College and Amherst Colonization Society, and is auxiliary to the Hampshire county Colonization Society. Will you send us your publications? I suppose the Society is entitled to the Repository, &c.

The officers are S. M. Worcester, *President*.—E. Dickinson, *Secretary*.—L. Sweetser, *Treasurer*.—H. W. Beecher, W. A. Peabody and W. B. Homer, *Managers*. The President, Secretary and Treasurer, members of the Board, *ex-officio*.

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Clarksville, Va. August 7.

MESSRS. EDITORS: I herewith enclose to you, the proceedings of the Mecklenburg Colonization Society, on the 18th ultimo.

At a meeting of a number of the inhabitants of Mecklenburg county, at Clarksville, pursuant to a previous notice, Col. John Baptist was called to the Chair, and the object of the meeting was briefly stated by Mr. A. W. Venable in an appropriate address.

On motion, Major Thomas M. Nelson was appointed *President*.—Abraham W. Venable, Esq. *Vice-President*.—Mr. Samuel V. Watkins, *Treasurer*.—Mr. H. M. Spencer, *Secretary*.—Col. John Lewis, Dr. A. S. Field, Dr. George C. Scott, Mr. James Daniel, Mr. John S. Jeffries, Mr. Edward R. Chambers and Mr. John G. Baptist, *Managers*.

Liberty, Bedford county, Va. July 31.

DEAR SIR: Sometime during the past year, a Colonization Society was formed in this county, called the "Bedford Colonization Society auxiliary to the American Colonization Society." At the anniversary meeting held on the 21st inst. the following persons were elected officers for the current year, to wit: Thomas L. Leftwich, *President*.—Robert Campbell and William Terry, *Vice-Presidents*.—Joseph Wilson, *Secretary*, and John A. Wharton, *Treasurer*. The Society now consists of about sixty members,—with the most cheering prospects of a large and rapid accession to its numbers, should means, as I make no doubt they will, be used to accomplish so desirable an object.

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The Portland Colonization Society was organized on Wednesday evening by the choice of Ex-Governor Albion K. Paris, President; Rev. Messrs. Tyler and Cox, (brother of the Liberian missionary) and J. Maginnis, Vice-Presidents; John Neal, Esq. Secretary,—with a Treasurer and five Managers. A vote was passed that the Society pledge itself to pay to the African Colonization Society one hundred dollars a year for ten years, on the plan of Gerrit Smith.—*Bos. Merc. Journal*.

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The Colonization Society of Hardin county, Ky. held a meeting on the 4th day of July, at which time a collection was taken up in aid of the cause. The result of this meeting was so gratifying, that a resolution was passed, to hold regular meetings of the Society, on the evening of the fourth Monday of every month. We learn with much pleasure, that this good cause is exciting increased attention in that region.—*Western Luminary*.

—
Wayne County (O.) Colonization Society.

At an annual meeting of the Wayne county Colonization Society, held on the 4th day of July, 1833, at the Presbyterian Meeting House, in Wooster, the following services and proceedings were attended to:

The meeting was called to order by Dr. Hezekiah Bissell, one of the Vice-Presidents.

Prayer by the Rev. G. W. Warner.

The report of the Secretary was then read, from which it appeared that 219 persons had enrolled themselves members of the Society, and that the subscriptions amounted to \$100 98-100, of which the Treasurer acknowledges the receipt of \$67 18 3-4 since the last annual meeting. After which the meeting was addressed by the Rev. William Cox, and the following resolutions submitted and unanimously carried:

Resolved, That we view with feelings of the deepest interest, the principles and efforts of the American Colonization Society, and regard its benevolent and humane operations as being wisely adapted to the present condition of our country and happily calculated to meet the wants and secure the prosperity and freedom of our colored population.

Resolved, That while we take pleasure in witnessing the progress of the principles and labors of the Colonization Society, and would rejoice to see the zeal of its friends greatly

increased, we cannot but lament the dissemination of any opinions which either embarrass or retard its operations.

Resolved, That we recommend to the people of this county the *AFRICAN REPOSITORY*, a monthly periodical devoted to the interests of the American Colonization Society.

Resolved, That the Chairman appoint a committee to wait on the Rev. William Cox, for a copy of the address delivered by him before the Society this day, for publication.

Resolved, That a committee be appointed to report to the meeting, suitable names to be supported for officers of the Society for the ensuing year.

The committee having been appointed, reported the following names, and they were unanimously elected, to wit:
For *President*—Edward Avery.

Vice Presidents—Levi Cox and Hezekiah Bissell.

Secretary—Samuel Quinby.

Treasurer—Moses Culbertson.

Managers—John Sloane, William Larwill, David Robison, John M'Curdy, and Joseph Clingan.

Resolved, That the Secretary forward the minutes of this meeting to the Parent Society, and that the same be published in the papers of this place.

H. BISSELL, *Vice-Pres't.*

Attest.

SAMUEL QUINBY, *Sec'y.*

From the Pioneer.

At a meeting of the Waterloo, Monroe county, Colonization Society, held in the Court House in Monroe county, state of Illinois, on the 4th of July, 1833,

The meeting was opened with prayer by the Rev. John Dew,—after which Mr. David Nowlin delivered an address on the subject of colonizing the free people of color of the United States, and was followed by the Rev. John Dew.

The Society then elected the officers and managers of the Society for the ensuing year.

Mr. Dew presented the following, which passed unanimously:

Resolved, That this Society view with deep and solemn concern and with painful regret the opposition raised to the American Colonization Society by the misguided zeal of the mistaken friends of Emancipation, composing the Anti-Slavery and Abolition Societies of the Eastern States—and that this organized opposition to the cause of colonization should only serve to arouse its friends to more bold and vigorous efforts in its support.

On motion of Mr. Moses Lemen,

Resolved, That a copy of the foregoing resolution, together with a short account of the proceedings of this meeting, be furnished by the Secretary for publication in the *Pioneer*, and another for publication in the *Christian Advocate*.

Unanimously Resolved, That the thanks of this Society be presented to the Rev. John Dew for his able address this day delivered before this Society.

DANL. CONVERSE, *Secretary.*

From the Southern Religious Telegraph, Richmond, Va. July 19.

ROCKBRIDGE COLONIZATION SOCIETY. *Lexington, July 4th, 1833.*

The Rockbridge Colonization Society met this day, to celebrate their seventh Anniversary,—Captain Robert White, President, in the Chair.

The proceedings of the last annual meeting were read.

The Board of Managers presented their Report, which was read by the Rev. Henry Ruffner, and on motion adopted.

The Treasurer, John F. Caruthers, Esq. read his Report, which was received.

The Rev. John D. Ewing offered the following resolutions, which were adopted, viz.

1. *Resolved*, That this Society continues to approve the fundamental principle of the Colonization Society, which limits its operations to the removal to Africa, with their own consent, of free people of color.

2. *Resolved*, That, although as individuals we approve of the abolition of slavery whenever it can be effected by suitable means and arrangements, yet, in our individual and social capacity, we cannot withhold an expression of our disapprobation of any public interference with the slavery of some of the States, except from the people and representatives thereof.

The meeting was addressed by the Rev. John D. Ewing, Edward Graham, Esq., J. McDowell, Jr., Rev. A. B. Davidson, and C. P. Dorman, Esq. On motion it was

Resolved, That the Constitution be so amended as to increase the Board of Managers, exclusive of officers, to twelve, instead of seven.

The Society then proceeded to the election of a Board of Managers for the ensuing year, when the following gentlemen were chosen, viz. Capt. Robert White, *President*; James McDowell, Jr. Esq. *Vice-President*; Rev. Henry Ruffner, *Corresponding Secretary*; J. W. Paine, *Recording Secretary*; John F. Caruthers, Esq. *Treasurer*; Dr. Louis Marshall, Col. S. McD. Reid, Sydney B. Baxter, Esq., Dr. Alfred Leyburn, Rev. John D. Ewing, E. Graham, Esq., Wm. Taylor, Esq., Rev. J. W. Douglass, Samuel McD. Moore, Esq., C. P. Dorman, Esq., John A. Cummings, Esq. and Rev. A. B. Davidson, *Managers*.

On motion, the Society then adjourned to meet on the 4th day of July, 1834.

ROBERT WHITE, *President.*

JOHN W. PAINE, *Rec. Secretary.*

ANNUAL REPORT

Of the Managers of the Rockbridge Colonization Society, for the year 1833.

The transactions of the Managers during the past year have been of more consequence than in any former year. Since our last report, 14 persons of color have emigrated to Liberia from the county of Rockbridge,—12 of them at the expense of this Society. Of the 14, no fewer than 12 were manumitted for the purpose of their being sent to Liberia,—3 were redeemed by private subscription, viz. Isaac Liggins and two children of Brown Colbert: the others were freely liberated by their owners. Information has been

received that they had arrived safely at Monrovia, and were likely to do well.

The expense incurred by the Society for the transportation of 12 emigrants who went out under the auspices of the Managers, have amounted to about \$207, to which other expenses being added, the whole expenditure of the year amounts to about \$312. The payments into the treasury have fallen short of the expenditures by \$68 86 cents. We trust that the members of the Society will promptly pay their arrearages, both to liquidate this debt and to supply funds for the ensuing year.

Considerable aid has been afforded to the emigrants by the Female Colonization Society, and by donations from individuals for the purpose of furnishing them with supplies.

Since the Legislature has made an appropriation of \$18,000 annually for five years for colonizing the free people of color from this state, some may be of opinion that the efforts of private societies like ours, are no longer called for. This may be the case in relation to colored people in Virginia, who were free at the time when the act of appropriation was passed. The public fund will probably be sufficient to transport as many of this class as will consent to emigrate. But slaves manumitted after the passage of the law are excluded from the benefit of the appropriation. Here is left ample scope for the benevolent action of private societies, even within the limits of Virginia; besides the call for aid from other states. The members of this Society will bear in mind that only one fourth of the emigrants hitherto sent from this country, have been such as could not be transported at the expense of the state. Among the many important objects for which the Colonization scheme has been patronized, this has held a conspicuous place in the eyes of many, that facilities might be afforded for the safe, gradual and voluntary emancipation of slaves. Should the societies in this commonwealth now relax in their operations, humanity will mourn, and patriotism will tremble at the consequences. The heretofore free colored population may remove to Africa, but the curse of slavery will grow unchecked over the soil of Virginia, and blast forever the hope of its peaceful and happy removal. We trust, therefore, that no member of this Society will withdraw his hand from our support. The manumission of slaves for emigration is now constantly increasing, and will, no doubt, increase every year, if the means of transportation shall be furnished. Even now the American Colonization Society has more applications for the removal of manumitted slaves than its funds enable it promptly to meet.

We are happy in being able to say that the cause of the Society is gaining strength in every quarter in the Union. Its operations are extending from year to year. The Colony of Liberia continues to flourish, and every thing connected with the grand undertaking of the Society contributes to demonstrate that nothing is wanting to its ultimate and complete success, but a continuance of the same good management, and the persevering and liberal support of its friends.

MANUMISSIONS.

The late Doctor Aylett Hawes, of Rappahannock County, Virginia, has, by his will, manumitted all his servants, except a few old ones, for whose maintenance he has provided. He has also left twenty dollars a head, for defraying the expenses of their removal to the Colony of Liberia. The number of his servants thus liberated, is variously estimated from one to two hundred.—[*Nat. Intelligencer*.

ANOTHER COLONIZATION DEBATE.

Bangor, Me. August 28.—Bangor is all up in arms about Colonization and Abolition—acting over, precisely, the memorable controversy just finished in Portland. The impulse was given on Friday last, by a meeting called, at the suggestion of an Agent of the Colonization Society, I believe, for forming an Auxiliary. The Chairman, Ex-Governor Williamson, immediately made the whole matter, very properly, a subject of general and liberal consultation. Several of the most respectable citizens, including the Bangor Representative, Mr. Kent, a man of excellent abilities, and also Mr. Hill, the Anti-Masonic candidate for Governor, proposed and supported a resolution in favor of the Society. The glove was then taken up by Mr. Lovejoy, teacher in an Institution here. An adjournment took place at the motion of other gentlemen who were evidently getting interested in the business beyond their expectations—for there was little interest in it when the movement commenced—to the Orthodox Meeting House, the largest in the town, for the next evening, (Saturday).—Not yet satisfied on either side, another adjournment took place for last evening, when the town was out again, and adjourned again for to-morrow evening in the Unitarian House—the floor belonging to Mr. Kent.—The debate, I am very happy to say, has thus far, been very amicable, and as candid and calm as I ever have known any debate on subjects so deeply interesting. What the result may be, I cannot predict; but you will soon hear.—*Bos. Merc. Jour.*

From the Correspondent of the New York Commercial Advertiser.

BANGOR, Me. August 31, 1833.

I am happy to be able to inform you, that the great Colonization Debate, which has occupied the busy citizens of this thriving emporium for five or six evenings during the past week, terminated last night in a manner most gratifying to the friends of the cause, as all thorough discussions under such circumstances always have done.

The opposition, though sustained by only a few individuals, was as able as could well be expected in the case of an argument founded on the chimeras of Garrison and the blown-up testimony of the Givins meeting in Philadelphia; but the truth was mighty, and prevailed. The majority in our favor, at the end of the debate, on the passage of the discussed resolution, was beyond all expectation—only seven, I believe, of a meeting-house nearly full, voting against it.

A society was immediately formed, composed of a large number of the most influen-

tial gentlemen of this section. The effect of this debate has been to settle forever the opinions of a large number of people, of all parties and denominations. The Chairman was Ex-Governor Williamson, who is one of the Vice-Presidents of the said society.

American Colonization in Massachusetts.—We learn from the Boston Mercantile Journal, that at the Annual Convention of the Massachusetts Association of Congregational Ministers, held at Dorchester a few weeks since, a resolution was passed, by nearly a unanimous vote, warmly recommending the American Colonization Society to the increased patronage of the public. It is known to most of our readers, that the Congregationalists are the most influential body of Christians in that State, and indeed, throughout New England.

Colonization in Mississippi.—At a Temperance celebration in Amsterdam, (Miss.) a few days since, sundry toasts were drank with *pure water*, among which were the following:

By James Burke.—The American Colonization Society:—The patriotism, benevolence, and humanity, of its original founders, are only equalled by the wisdom, prudence, and discretion of its present Managers. By steadily pursuing its course, may it continue to gain favor in the eyes of the people of this Republic, *until our soil shall be trodden only by the feet of freemen*, and until Religion, science and commerce shall be diffused throughout Africa.—*Bos. Rec.*

AFRICAN COLONIZATION.

The Richmond Whig, commenting on the attempts which are now making to excite hostility against the Colonization plan, and the wild scheme of instant and complete emancipation which is advocated by some, thus refers to the state of public sentiment in the South on this momentous topic. We hope that (as the Editor of the Whig suggests in one part of the article), the efforts of the ultra Abolitionists will have the effect of "quickening the zeal, and animating the activity of the South in favour of African Colonization."

"Another revolution of sentiment almost as remarkable, but much more intelligible, has occurred at the South with respect to African Colonization. Its original opponents, in that quarter of the Union, have generally grounded their arms. Their opposition has been subdued by reason and experience.—They have seen success crown the undertaking; they behold the great good which it is effecting and will effect, to both races, and they have been convinced and converted. Is it for that reason that the Fanatics have thrown themselves against it? In expanded, progressive and permanent benefit to the human race, we believe it the master scheme of this or any age."

African Colonization.—A distinguished lady of the South, who manumitted all her slaves (about twenty) and sent them with liberal supplies to Liberia, and who is now at the head of one of the best Female Schools in the country, in transmitting a donation from her pupils to the Society, says—"I have taught the young ladies under my charge to consider African Colonization as the *first of all causes*; and I am very anxious that their impressions should be strengthened. It is with no lightness of meaning that I say, *God knows* how gladly I would give all that I have to secure its success." Did our rich men cherish similar sentiments, how soon would many Christian colonies show themselves along the African coast, as so many beautiful monuments to the praise of AMERICAN BENEVOLENCE.—*Bos. Merc. Journal.*

NEWARK, N. J. Aug. 14, 1833.

To the President of the Young Men's Missionary Society of the M. E. Church.

By the request of a number of ladies in this town, who are deeply interested in the cause of African education, I herewith enclose the sum of fourteen dollars, which they particularly wish should be appropriated toward defraying the expense of educating a *native African boy*, in the best school in the Colony of Liberia, and also, that, if practicable, he should be named Charles Pitman.

As your Society stands peculiarly pledged to the Liberia mission, and as you are doubtless in constant correspondence with Brother Cox, our much esteemed missionary, you can arrange this matter satisfactorily through his agency. We hope you will excuse our laying this additional burthen upon you.

Very respectfully,

GEO. G. COOKMAN.

DR. D. M. REESE.

P. S. When you ascertain from Brother Cox the amount required to educate a boy in the day-school of the Colony, these ladies propose to make up the sum required annually.

ANNIVERSARY AT MONROVIA, AFRICA.

The last *Liberia Herald* gives an account of the annual meeting of the Monrovia Baptist Missionary Society. An appropriate discourse was delivered by the Rev. C. M. Waring, and a collection taken up in aid of the Society's funds. The annual report of the proceedings of the Society was also read. At a subsequent meeting of the Society, for the election of officers, &c. we notice the passage of the following, among other resolutions:

"*Resolved*, That the Board enter immediately into such measures as may be most conducive to the glory of God among the natives, and the furthering of the object of the Society. And that they proceed forthwith to engage a suitable person, if practicable, to teach and preach among the natives of Big Town, at Grand Cape Mount; praying that God may aid and bless the feeble endeavors of the Society, and open the hearts of his children in America, to send us some assistance for the promotion of this good and great cause."

By a letter from the Rev. C. M. Waring, under date of January 17, 1833, published in the London Baptist Magazine, we learn that the church of which the writer is pastor, consists of 181 communicants; about half of whom are *native Africans*, who had been liberated from *slave-ships* by American cruisers, and sent to the Colony. Thirty-nine of these, the writer states, have been baptised within the last eighteen months: and many more of that class are anxiously inquiring, what they must do to be saved. Mr. Waring regards those of these untutored natives who have become members of his communion, as very consistent and exemplary christians. How feelingly and eloquently do such facts as these speak to the heart of the christians of our country, in favor of that noble scheme of benevolence, the American Colonization Society.—*Western Lum'y.*

From the Onondaga Standard, Syracuse, N. Y.

[The following letters were received in this village last week from Wm. Reynolds, (a man of color) who left this place with his wife and four children about the close of November last, to take passage for Liberia from Norfolk, Va.—from which port he sailed in the brig Roanoke, Captain Hatch, with about 130 other emigrants, on the 4th of January, for Africa. They seem to corroborate the favorable accounts which have been heretofore had of the pleasantness and fertility of the country, and of the flourishing and prosperous Colony:—]

Monrovia, Liberia, March 1st, 1833.

MR. COPP:

Sir—Mindful of your request that I should inform you of my safe arrival, and how I am pleased with the country, I improve the opportunity presented by return of Roanoke to write a short letter. We had a pleasant passage of 42 days from land to land, and by the attention of Captain Hatch, were rendered quite comfortable. Not one of my family were sea-sick a day; and by the favor of God our health still continues, though we do not expect to escape a visit of fever-and-ague, which scarcely ever passes by new comers without a call.

I find, as was represented at home, that religion is flourishing, and christians active.—There is at present some little excitement among sinners at Caldwell and Millsburg.—We have Baptists, Methodists and Presbyterians here, and all seem engaged. At present, I remain at Caldwell, and shall continue to until the fever leaves me. It is very pleasantly situated on the St. Paul's, and might, under suitable agricultural improvement, speedily equal in beauty, any of the river towns in America.

The land about Caldwell is rich and readily subdued; the only source of evil hitherto, I think, arises from neglect of agricultural

improvement. The fruits are various; the orange and lime are found wild, and only need the same care to make them abundant, as is bestowed on the apple in New York.—Lemons, and papua, and cassia, and plantain, &c. are also abundant. Fine-apples cover whole fields, growing wild. The Lima bean and cotton, when planted, continue to bear, I am informed, for several years. I have seen coffee, and cotton, and indigo, wild and abundant—also, pepper of two kinds.—Water-melons and cucumbers, and grapes, are found in some gardens:—thus you perceive we have abundance of fruit to reward the laborer. A farmer on the St. Paul's river told me that from one quart of *Indian corn*, he raised three barrels in one year. There are many cattle and hogs and fowls here, and when more attention is bestowed on the land, rich pasture lands will be abundant. I am informed that 100 miles inland, the cattle are large and numerous.

Chloe Mintus, who was placed under my care by Dr. Smith, was persuaded not to come by some opposers of colonization in the city of New York, where she left me the day before my departure for Norfolk, and I know not where she is gone—I escorted her to the Agent, who was to send back the particulars to Dr. Smith.

With a deep sense of gratitude to yourself and the other friends who assisted me to come to this land of privileges, I desire to tender you all, my sincere thanks.

Yours, most respectfully,

WILLIAM REYNOLDS.

P. S.—You will add to your other favors, by writing to my wife's father, Mr. Archelaus Fletcher, Canandaigua, Ontario county, to inform him of our safe arrival, and that we are all well.

W. R.

[The following is to a colored Friend:]

MONROVIA, March 1st, 1833.

I write a few lines by Roanoke, to urge you to come out to Liberia. The country exceeds what I anticipated while in America.—It is rich and abounds in tropical fruits—it yields a large return to the laborer. The climate is delightful, and the heat not near so oppressive as in our summers and harvesting. The sea-breeze blows here every day, and at night I find a blanket adds to my comfort. A man can get a living and make money here in various ways as in the United States, by trade or farming, &c. I am intending to try farming. If you come at all, come soon; the earliest settlers, we think, will have the best chance. My family is all well and send their respects to you. Remember me to all enquiring friends. Yours, &c.

WILLIAM REYNOLDS.

P. S.—Please write to my wife's sister, Almira Williams, to inform her of our arrival and health.

The Treasurer of the American Colonization Society in New York, acknowledges the receipt of \$1546 from various individuals and societies in that city and state, among which is the following:—from Julia Hubbard, Homer, New York, the result of individual six-penny collections, \$42.—*Bos. Rec.*

EXPEDITION TO LIBERIA.

We have received from Mr. Finley the following account of the expedition which left this city for Liberia, on the 10th of May.—*N. Y. Paper.*

*Office of the Colonization Society, }
NEW YORK, June 11, 1833. }*

The emigrants attached to the first expedition to Liberia fitted out by the *Colonization Society of the city of New York*, left this city on the 10th of May for Philadelphia, and sailed from that city for the Colony, in the brig American, Capt. Abels, on the 12th of May. In this company, there were several interesting persons: among whom I would mention Hezekiah Shepard and family, who came recommended to me by Alexander Proudfit, D. D., and Rev. John Whiton, of Salem, New York, with a pledge to "advance \$100, about the first of August, towards defraying the expense of their passage for Africa." There was also in this company one, who will long be remembered with interest by many who had the pleasure to become acquainted with him in this city. He writes his name Simon *Negro*; and gives the following account of the manner of acquiring his surname:

Simon was originally called Simon the *Negro*, and not having had the fortune to *inherit* a surname, he readily adopted the one which he acquired by *reputation*, as peculiarly appropriate, because descriptive of the race to which he belonged, and of which he had too much noblemindedness to be ashamed. Simon is 67 years of age, and a member of the Congregational church of Littleton, New Hampshire. He brought credentials of his having been an exemplary and active christian. He says that about six months ago, the Lord put it into his heart to go to Africa, and tell of the Lord's goodness to his kinsmen according to the flesh, living in that pagan land. When asked if he intended to preach, he said no; but that he would teach Sunday school and singing school. He is an admirable singer, and *composer of music, and has been accustomed to assist at a prayer meeting.*

A friend who saw the emigrants embark at Philadelphia for Liberia, says that Simon commenced singing Bishop Heber's missionary hymn,

"From Greenland's icy mountains,

From India's coral streams," &c.

to the great gratification of the numerous spectators who had assembled to witness the departure of the emigrants.

Four days after leaving Philadelphia, I received from Simon the following letter, which, at his request, I send you for publication, "that his christian friends may know what has become of him." The letter appears to have been written from Hampton Roads.

Respectfully yours,

R. S. FINLEY.

SIMON'S LETTER.

"May 17, 1833.—I take this opportunity as I am on the great water, to express my love to my dear children. I enjoy myself as for health. I hope you are so. I remember you in my efforts at the Throne of Grace.—

You must bid your farewell. Give my love to all that inquire after me; and I humbly hope that my God, and your God and Father in Heaven, who has protected us so long, will be our guide while we live, and in the hour of death.

My prayers for the church at Littleton, N. H., Fairbanks, pastor; also for the church at Bath, N. H., Sutherland, pastor; also for the church at Haverhill, N. H., Wood, pastor; also for the church at Dalton, N. H., Hutchinson, pastor; also for the church at Guildhall, Vt., Tisdell, pastor; also for the church at Brattleboro', Vt., Magee, pastor.

I am this day to leave the Roads—we are waiting for a wind to sail with—I wish you all well,—while I am looking to the Throne of Grace in great faith, hoping to find Ethiopians stretching forth their hands unto God.

I warn you to repent. I now on my knees pray that you may hear the voice of God this day, and not harden your hearts, but be prepared to meet your God, lest death should come in an hour when you think not.

I now pray for all your ministers, deacons, Sabbath school teachers, and communicants, that you may all be ripened for eternal glory.

Mr. Finley, wrote to Vienna and Maria [his children.] SIMON NEGRO.

P. S.—Simon Negro wishes Mr. Finley to have the goodness to put some of the above in the Christian Chronicle, so that his Christian friends may know what has become of him."

ANTI-SLAVERY MEETING IN LONDON.

The correspondent of the New York Observer in London, gives an account of a very large and interesting Anti-Slavery meeting held at Exeter Hall, about the 1st of April. The Hall was crowded—more than could find a place to stand. Lord Suffield was in the Chair. A most respectable representation from both Houses of Parliament were present; many of whom took part in the discussions. In the speeches there were occasional allusions to the United States, and "in one instance," says the writer—"a tremendous rebuke for the apathy of our citizens on the great subject, as well as their inconsistency; my mortification was extreme: I could not endure the gaze of many eyes, which I knew were turned upon me, and I dropped my head and looked upon the floor for relief; I wished myself away, out of sight and out of mind; and yet I would not have failed to be there for any thing."

After giving an account of the speech of Mr. Buxton, M. P. and its thrilling effects on the immense audience, the writer says—

You need not be surprised, if *within six months* it shall be announced to the world, that *slavery is abolished in all the colonies of the British Empire!*—that within that period, the day of universal emancipation, in these limits shall be fixed! And shall it be, that the British nation shall have done itself this honor, at a time when no one can see the end of slavery in the United States of America! Ever since I have been in Great Britain, I have had more and more occasion

to observe, that the virtue of this community on this subject is far in advance of the same feeling in my own country.

I do not speak from the enthusiasm of the moment and of such a meeting; it was evidently the deliberate and firm conviction of all present, that the time had come for the emancipation of slaves, throughout the British colonies of the western world. The meeting was most respectable. Take the whole assembly, a better representative of public opinion could not have been collected. Earl Fitzwilliam, lately succeeding to his father in the House of Lords and to an immense estate, made a most decided and eloquent speech. His son, Lord Milton, M. P. emulated his father's example. Lord Morpeth, M. P. was eloquent as an angel's tongue, and sustained by the loudest and most decided applause I have ever heard in a like assembly. The Rev. Mr. Cunningham, author of "The Velvet Cushion," Churchman, and the Rev. M. Burnett, Independent, were both characteristically eloquent and well sustained. The speakers were numerous and highly animated, and although it was five o'clock before the meeting closed, no one thought of being tired. The tide of public opinion might be seen, in this assembly, rolling onward with an irresistible flood, never to ebb, till it shall have washed away the stain of slavery from the British name. It was a perfect demonstration of triumph; and no ministry of the crown can stand, that will not attend to the beating of this pulse.

RELIGION IN SOUTH AFRICA.—Perhaps no portion of the unevangelized world is making more rapid advances towards civilization than South Africa. The British government is more enlightened and liberal than in past days. The "Bible and School commission," formed in 1813, have established schools in the principal village of each district of the Colony. In two schools in Cape Town, and twenty-four elsewhere, belonging to the Commission, there are 1,267 scholars. In Cape Town, there are twelve private schools for boys and ten for young ladies: two schools of industry have one hundred and forty scholars; an infant school has sixty pupils; a grammar school, begun in 1824, is supported by government; a college begun in 1829, supports itself, and is the first institution in the Colony which has rendered it unnecessary to send children to Europe for education, and will be the means of raising many competent teachers for the district schools. The Dutch have a school, preparatory to the college, with 180 scholars. All these schools are independent of the various missionary and Sabbath schools. Temperance societies are about to be established in several places. It seems that the Hottentots have frequently been paid for their services in brandy alone. Among the Caffre tribes, occupying several hundreds of miles of the coast from Keiskamma river to the vicinity of Dalgoo bay, there are eleven missionary stations. Thirteen missionaries, connected with these stations, have lately requested the British and Foreign Bible Society to aid them in printing the Bible in Caffre. Many of the stations in Caffreland

have, during the past year, been visited with the special influences of the Holy Spirit. At Lattakoo, 630 miles north-east of Cape Town, a printing press was established in June, 1831, which is now occupied on various small books.

The island of Madagascar is supposed to contain 4,000,000 of inhabitants. The queen, by an order of May 20, 1831, gave the missionaries of the London Missionary Society, liberty to preach, and her subjects permission to act according to their convictions. The printing of the New Testament in Malagasy, and a considerable part of the Old, is completed. The number of scholars in the schools is about 2,500; and of communicants, 100.—*N. Y. Observer* July 18.

Colonization Society.—This Society offers to procure the emancipation of one slave for every thirty dollars contributed in the Northern States. Let no one say this is too much to give for such an object. And let no one claim that the Colonization Society does not lead to emancipation, until it fail to fulfil its pledge. If you assert that slave holders will not emancipate their slaves, for removal to Liberia, you have an opportunity to show the correctness of your assertion. Aid in collecting the funds, and a little time will show the truth.—*Maine Wesleyan Journal*.

ENGLISH LIBERALITY.

Our list of contributions will show, that more than \$2000 have been remitted by the indefatigable Agent of the Society in England, Elliott Cresson, as the proceeds of collections made by the friends of the cause in that country. Surely such an example of generosity from a distant nation, ought to have a powerful effect upon the citizens of our own land. Every thing in the present state of the Society requires vigorous and liberal and persevering action on the part of its friends.

From the New York Observer.

NEW MODE OF SETTLING EMIGRANTS IN LIBERIA.

The present plan of settling emigrants in Liberia is, to put a large number into a building, or receptacle, and sustain them at the charge of the Society for six months; after which time they draw their lands. The consequence of this is, that they either acquire a habit of dependence on the Society for support, or they turn their attention to a petty traffic with the natives as a means of support, to the almost entire neglect of agriculture. Mr. Shephard, one of the Managers of the Maryland Colonization Society, proposes a new mode. His plan is, to have a farm surveyed, a house built similar to those erected by the natives, (which will cost but a few dollars) and a small portion of ground cleared and under cultivation, for every family before their arrival in Africa; and to place the emi-

grants, as soon as they land, in their own houses, and make them freeholders at once,—give them implements of husbandry and a *specific sum* for their support, and thus make it both their interest and pleasure to become cultivators of the soil. A plan resembling

this was recommended many years ago, by the celebrated Captain Paul Cuffee, for the settlement of recaptured Africans at Sierra Leone, and has been adopted with good success. It has proved economical to the government and advantageous to the colonists.

CONTRIBUTIONS

To the American Colonization Society from the 10th to the 31st of August.

Congregational Society, Canfield, Ohio, per Hon. E. Whittlesey,	\$13 60		
contributed by T. Tanner,	1		
Rev. S. Bostwick's (Meth. Ep.) Church,	50	—	15 10
Collections remitted by Dr. George W. Kemper, viz:			
collection at Port Republic, by Rev. Mr. Enos,	6 25		
proceeds of a pair of ear-rings,	82		
collection at Mount Meridian, by Rev. M. A. Dunn,	4 12 1-2		
Thomas Holt, for Repository,	2		
donation by G. W. Kemper,	1 80 1-2	—	15
Donation from the Colonization Society of Greene county, Ohio,	108		
from Philomethan Society, for Repository,	2	—	110
Collection in Cong'l. Soc. Columbia, Pa. Rev. John McKizzick,	8 83		
Fairfield, N. J. by Rev. Ethan Osborne,	15		
Plymouth, N. Y. by Rev. L. Clarke,	5	—	28 83
in cong. at St. George's, Del. by Rev. James C. Howe,	-		7
West Hanover, Pa., by Rev. James Snodgrass,	-		22 50
Fairview, Pa. by Rev. Jonathan Eaton,	-		5
in Episcopal congregation, Cleaveland, O., by Rev. S. Davis,	-		15
Re-payment of discount on Note of \$1000 by Mr. Gurley,	-		10 67
Collections by Rev. Mr. Gurley, as follows:			
Collection at Masonic Hall, Boston,	\$124 35		
deduct expenses of collection,	3 50	—	120 85
coll'n. at ann. meeting of Young Men's Col. Society, N. York,	69 89		
at the Tabernacle Church, Salem,	19 97		
F. W. Holland, of Boston, to constitute him a Life Member,	30		
Miss Mary Peters, of New Haven, Conn.	5		
received from Moses Allen, Esq. as follows:			
Pres. ch. Montrose, Pa. per J. Lyons,	9		
Rev. Joseph Brown, donation,	5		
Presbyterian church, Huntington, L. I.	7 31		
a friend,	10		
cong. in Sheffield, Mass. by Rev. J. Bradford,	15 02		
a boy aged 15 years, voluntarily economised from his weekly allowance for a year; to be appropriated to the payment of an emancipated slave's passage to Liberia, per Rev. C. C. Westbrook,	18		
collection in Moreau, N. Y. by J. E. Holt,	5 67		
Rev. Isaac Lewis, D. D. Greenwich, Conn.	20		
Pres. cong. Orange co. N. Y. Rev. J. B. Fish,	5		
Sing Sing, Rev. J. O. Henry,	15 25		
St. John's ch. Brooklyn, Rev. E. M. Johnson,	14 08		
Ref. Dutch Ch., Harlem, by Rev. C. C. Vermule,	12 48		
New Paltz Circuit, by Rev. E. Washburn,	12 48		
Ref. Dutch Church, Catskill, by Mr. Mesick,	18 25		
Poughkeepsie, Rev. Dr. Cuyler,	21 22		
Kinderhook, H. Blanchard,	12 51		
Bergen, N. J. Rev. B. C. Taylor,	6 62		
cong'n., Stockbridge, Mass. Rev. D. D. Field,	27	—	230 79
received from G. P. Disosway, as follows:			
collection in the Methodist Episcopal church, Amenia, Bedford co. N. Y. Rev. S. Fisher,	12 50		
collection at Hudson, by Rev. S. L. Skilman,	4 83		
Hudson Print Works, Rev. H. Humphrey,	9 77		
Patchogue, L. I. Rev. Samuel Merwin,	8		
Middletown, Con. Rev. B. Creagh,	12 26		
New Haven, Con. by Rev. Wm. Thatcher,	7 67		
Hamden circuit, Con. Rev. A. Bushnell,	2 05		
Hempstead, L. I. N. Y. Rev. N. Bigelow,	21		
donation from William Savage, a book-binder in the Methodist book concern, N. Y.	8		
cash, donation,	49	—	81 27 — 557 27

Collection in Pres'n. congregation, Pittsgrove, N. J. Rev. G. W. Janvier,	10	
Collection in Somerset congregation, Rev. L. G. Gaines,	\$4	
Hopewell do	8	
Montgomery Colonization Society, Ohio,	8	15
Cong'l. church, North Greenwich, Conn. Rev. C. Wilcox,		7
Presbyterian church, Martinsburg, Va.	10	
Berkley co. Col. Soc. J. R. Wilson, Tr., per Rev. W. Matthews,	10	20
Proceeds of a draft from James Mitchell, Esq. of Glasgow, N. B. on		
Messrs. Andrew Mitchell and Co. of New York, for £100 collected by		
him; and £15. 9s. 6d. raised in Perth—say £115. 9s. 6d.		556 67
Proceeds of draft on A. & G. Ralston, Esqs. by Elliott Cresson, Esq. for		
£400, including premium and interest,		1987 27
Collection in Presbyterian church, Norristown, Pa., by Rev. Wm. Powell,		5
Canonsburg, Pa.	\$8	
Canonsburg Sunday School, transmitted by Joseph S. Travelli,	4 32	12 32
Collection in Pres. congregation of Buffalo and Milton Pa. Rev. T. Hood,		20
Pres. cong. Westfield, N. Y. Rev. D. D. Gregory, by O. Nichols,		14
Pres. cong. Cazenovia, N. Y. Rev. E. S. Burrows,		20
Pres. cong. Leesburg, Va.	\$10	
Middleburg, Va.	4	14
at New Castle, Del. by Rev. Robert Semple,		5
Aux. Society Emmetsburg, Md. J. Stewart, Tr. by Lewis Medtart,	\$39 98	
A Congregation in Frederick county, Md. by do.	5	44 98
Collection in Derry and Moorsburg congrs, by Rev. J. B. Patterson,		15
From Wm. Ramsay, Tr. Aux. Col. Society of Israel Township, Ohio; viz:		
Collection by Rev. Gavin McMillan,	\$6 36	
Rev. Alexander Porter,	40 55	
donation by James N. Jeffries,	50	
African Repository, for John Patterson,	2	
Auxiliary Colonization Society, Israel Township,	59	50
Collection in Romney, Va., by Henry Foote,		20
Presbyterian congregation, West Kishacoquillas,	\$7	
congregation, Little Valley, by Rev. Mr. Annan,	8	15
Female Colonization Society, Xenia, Ohio, by Lydia Hollingsworth, Sec.		50
Collection in New Glasgow, Amherst City, and two churches in Nelson		
county, Va., by Rev. C. H. Page,		20
Collection in Leacock church, Pa.	\$6 12 1-2	
Middle Ontario, \$7 31 1-4—Bellevue, \$6 56 1-4—	13 87 1-2	
	\$22	
of which were remitted by Joseph Burr, the balance to be forwarded		
by the first opportunity,		20
Collection in Bellefontaine, Logan county, Ohio,	\$4 70	
from churches,	5 02	
by J. Stephenson, through whom the collections were sent,	28	10
Auxiliary Colonization Society, Bellefontaine, Ohio, per J. Seaman, Tr.		20
Aux. Colonization Society, New Richmond, Ohio, per Robert Porter, Tr.		20
Collection in churches at Norborn, Va. Rev. W. P. Johnson, Rector, per		
J. I. Stull, Esq.		13
Sundry collections remitted by Everard Peck, Rochester, N. Y.		129 41
Miss Little's School, Fredericksburg, Va.		10
Auxiliary Society, Essex county, N. J.—one hundred dollars of which is		
their first payment on the plan of Gerrit Smith, Esq.		300
Transmitted by William M. Pott, Esq.		
Collection in Bap. cong'n. Montrose, Pa. Rev. Davis Dimot,	\$12	
by Sunday School of do.	1	13
Rev. Wm. H. Campbell, to constitute him a Life Member,		20
Transmitted by S. S. Miles, Tr. Licking co. Colonization Society,		
From subscribers to the Col. Society in Licking co. Ohio,	\$11 25	
coll. in Pres. cong. Newark, Ohio, per Rev. William Wiley,	8 75	20
Rev. Joseph Shafer, Newton, N. J. per R. Voorhes, Esq.	\$13 15	
do do do	13 81	
Rev. Mr. Jones, Presbyterian church, New Brunswick,	25	51 46
Collections by L. H. Clarke, Agent, as follows:		
E. Ellsworth, for contribution at Lockport,	\$9	
W. Johnson, contribution, Spring Street church,	16	
Mrs. Bethia Platt, of Fishkill, a donation,	2	
Mr. Hallock, for the African Repository,	10	
collected at Parsippany, N. J.	5 87	
in Rev. Mr. Andrews' church in Hudson,	14	
remitted by Mr. Copp, from Syracuse,	21	
by J. Givan, for collection in Fishkill,	16 46	94 27

Total amount,

\$4,305 75

THE
AFRICAN REPOSITORY,
AND
COLONIAL JOURNAL.

VOL. IX.]

OCTOBER, 1833.

[No. 8.

MR. WHITTLESEY'S ADDRESS.

On the Fourth of July last, the HON. ELISHA WHITTLESEY, a distinguished Representative in Congress from Ohio, delivered an address before the Tallmadge Colonization Society in that State, which is characterised by the strong good sense and enlightened patriotism of its author. We are not acquainted with any paper on the subject of Colonization, which better deserves the attentive perusal and serious reflection of the American people.—Its high merits will be at once perceived in the extracts which we purpose to subjoin.

After some preliminary remarks, the orator proceeds to sustain the following propositions, viz. 1st, that the American Colonization Society merits the confidence of all: 2nd, that immediate abolition should not find advocates with any.

"In discussing these points," says MR. WHITTLESEY,

"It shall be my aim not to wound unnecessarily, the feelings of those who are converts to the new doctrine of abolition: but I will appeal to their sober judgments, and not to their passions, with the hope, that some of them may pause, before they become identified with a party whose predominance will dispense with the celebration of this national anniversary.—The discovery and settlement of America, have produced great changes in the social and political relations of man; and their ultimate consequences, are beyond the foresight of human discernment, or anticipation. While this Republic has been an asylum for the oppressed of all civilized nations, it is a lamentable truth, that a portion of the human family is held in bondage, in contradiction to the annunciation of the Declaration of Independence, that "all men are born free and equal." The first slave ship that entered our waters, ascended the James river in Virginia, in 1620. Why the Supreme Ruler permitted the abduction of the Africans, their transportation to this country, and their bondage, is beyond our finite comprehension: but in this, as in all the ways of his Providence, it is our duty to confide in his wisdom, and to remain firm in the belief, that his purposes will be accomplished. The introduction of slaves into the different colonies, was encouraged by the British Government: and although the Puritans who settled New England, were driven from the altars of their fathers by persecution, even *they* were not conscientiously scrupulous against holding their fellow men in bondage: and if slavery did not exist as extensively in the Northern, as in the Southern States, climate was a more efficient preventive than conscience. The rigor of a Northern climate was not congenial to the blacks; the comparative sterility of the soil, was not inviting to their natural indolence and effeminacy; and the production would not defray the expense of slave-labor—while a Southern climate approximated toward that of Africa, the soil was wrought with less labor, and the productions of the earth were more abundant, and brought higher prices in foreign markets, when they did not compete with those of other countries. Not only did the British Government encourage the introduction of slaves into the Southern States, but it enacted laws, tending to increase the value of slave-labor in the British West India Islands, by imposing heavy duties on the production of those possessions, when imported into the colonies from other countries. Hence, as early as 1733, a duty of nine pence sterling, was imposed on every gallon of rum, six pence on every gallon of molasses, and five shillings on every hundred weight of sugar, when imported into the plantations from other colonies. While this policy was pursued with her colonies, thereby

enriching her treasury and her subjects at home, slavery was not permitted within the kingdom of Great Britain; and it has been the pride of her orators, that "the British law makes liberty commensurate with, and inseparable from, the British soil; which proclaims even to the stranger and the sojourner, the moment he sets his foot upon British earth, that the ground on which he stands is the property of the British people, and that the rights of man are secured by the laws of the British Empire."

Several of the provinces, before the revolution, foresaw the evils of slavery, and presented humble petitions to the Throne, to prevent the importation of slaves. The Burgesses of Virginia, implored the King "to remove those restraints on the governors of the colony, which inhibited them from assenting to such laws as might check so very pernicious a commerce;" and the address contains the following prophetic language:—"The importation of slaves into the colonies from the coast of Africa, has long been considered as a trade of great inhumanity; and under its encouragement, we have too much reason to fear, will endanger the very existence of your Majesty's dominions. We are sensible that some of your Majesty's subjects in Great Britain, may reap emolument from this sort of traffic: but when we consider that it greatly retards the settlement of the colonies with more white inhabitants, and may in time have the most destructive influence, we presume to hope, that the interests of a few will be disregarded, when placed in competition with the security and happiness of such numbers of your Majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects."

"When speaking of the inhumanity of the slave-trade, and the evils it has entailed on the country, those of the present generation are apt to attach the blame exclusively to the inhabitants in the Southern States; whereas, it will be found, on examining the early history of those States, that slavery was imposed upon them, against their remonstrances, and entreaties, by that very government, whose *professed* policy it now is, when slave-labor no longer enriches her, to cut asunder the tie that binds the slave to his master. I have dwelt longer on the origin of slavery in this country, and on the measures of the British Government, than I should otherwise have done, if I had not lately seen a letter written by an American, (whom I suppose to be Mr. Garrison),* in England, giving an account of the proceedings of a meeting of an Anti-Slavery association, in which he says (I cite the sentiment, not having the paper before me, I do not know as I use the exact words), he was ashamed of his country, and hid his face, for fear he should be recognized as an American. I do not envy the feelings of any American, who has thus spoken of his country in the face of the world—of the country that gave him birth, and to whose Institutions he is indebted for whatever he possesses. Ashamed of his country! Yes; of that country that is unrivalled in her free Institutions—in her prosperity—in her enterprises—and in her march of intellect. Ashamed of that country, whose free Institutions are models for those who are regaining their liberty, by disputing "the divine right of Kings!" If he was ashamed of his country, because slavery is tolerated here, and she had been reproached for it by Englishmen, why did he not avail himself of the occasion, to stand forth in defence of his country's honor, and trace the evils of slavery to the British Government, which forced them upon us, against our remonstrances, and our humble petitions? Why did he not crimson the cheeks of a British audience, by adverting to a treaty made by their government with Spain in 1713, stipulating to import 144,000 negroes to be held in perpetual slavery? If he had done this, it would have been in time for him afterwards, to have proclaimed, he was ashamed of his country, and have hid his face in view of her dishonor!

"Slavery was legalized in most if not in all the States, at the commencement, and until after the close of the revolution; and at the South, property to a large amount was vested in slaves. The number of slaves in the middle and Eastern States, was comparatively small; and early measures were taken by a part of them, for a gradual emancipation of those they held in bondage. The whites were sufficient for all the purposes of agriculture, commerce, and manufactures; and the immediate removal of all the blacks, would not seriously have affected any of those great interests; nor was the individual loss of property very great, when the abolition of slavery took place. Notwithstanding the rapid increase of the white population in New York, and the great disparity between the number of the whites and the blacks, still slavery has existed there until within a very short period. During the war, and under the confederation, the States retained their sovereignty and power over the subject; and it was not until the formation of the Constitution, that the power to check the slave-trade was relinquished to the general government. There are those in this audience whose ages warrant me in saying, they know from having lived at that period; and those who have since come upon the stage, must have learned from their general reading, that the articles of confederation were found to be wholly inadequate for the purpose of either conducting our internal concerns, or maintaining our commerce abroad, or for discharging our duty towards the Indian tribes—and that the period for forming a General Government, was looked for with the deepest solicitude, by most of those who had been the most conspicuous in conducting the nation through the war. Mutual jealousies and conflicting interests existed, and to allay the one, and conciliate the other, put in requisition, all the wisdom, intelligence and prudence, that so pre-eminently distinguished the statesmen of that period. Each State was sovereign, and political power was to be so adjusted, as to impart to the general government sufficient to answer the great ends of its creation, with the least violation of the rights of the States, of which the object of the grant was susceptible. The number of slaves at the formation of the Constitution, in the States of Maryland, Virginia, Delaware,

* Professor Green, in a subsequent address, said the person alluded to was not Mr. G. but an American from Massachusetts. The error is corrected.

North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia, exceeded six hundred thousand; whose value to the owners was more than one hundred and eighty millions of dollars. The States were embarrassed by a protracted war, that had wasted their finances, and heavily taxed human life in achieving their independence. If the abolition of slavery had then been demanded, the convention that met at Philadelphia on the 14th of May 1787, to form a Constitution, would not have remained in session a day. The present generation cannot form an accurate idea of that important crisis, without attentively examining the resolutions passed by the Legislatures of the respective States, approving the call of a convention. The independence of the States had been acknowledged; but there was no controlling power over them; civil divisions were engendered; they were not secure at home, nor respected abroad. The language of the Virginia act, expressed the almost universal sentiment that then prevailed throughout all the States. "The crisis is arrived at which the good people of America are to decide the solemn question, whether they will by wise and magnanimous efforts, reap the just fruits of that independence which they have so gloriously acquired, and of that union which they have cemented with so much of their common blood; or whether by giving way to unmanly jealousies and prejudices, or to partial and transitory interests, they will renounce the auspicious blessings prepared for them by the revolution, and furnish to its enemies an eventual triumph over those, by whose virtue and valor, it has been accomplished. The same extended and noble policy, and the same fraternal and affectionate sentiments, which originally determined the citizens of this commonwealth to unite with their brethren of the other States, in establishing a federal government, cannot but be felt with equal force now, as motives to lay aside every inferior consideration, and to concur in such further concessions and provisions, as may be necessary to secure the great objects for which that government was instituted, and to render the United States as happy in peace, as they have been glorious in war."

"It was not until after the adoption of the Constitution, that the European powers, and particularly Great Britain, abandoned the fond hope, that we should not be able to establish a general, or maintain a republican form of government.

"A perplexing and difficult question to dispose of by the convention, was the basis of representation; but no one presumed to doubt the master held his slave, as an article of property wholly without the power of the general government to control; while the political weight which should be given to him, was deemed to be within the scope of the powers of the convention, and to be settled by compact. You all know the representation for the slaves was fixed at three-fifths. Taxation, without representation, had been one of the grievances complained of by the colonies; and if the slaves had been excluded from any representation, the free States, to preserve the semblance of consistency, must have discharged the debt of the revolution, and have borne in all after times the expenses of the government, according to the representation of the white population. If the abolition of slavery had been proposed, the South would have insisted on an equivalent, which was without the power of the other States to have yielded or given.

"Why the slave-trade was not prohibited, at the formation of the Constitution, is less satisfactory to my mind. The committee of detail to whom the drafting of a Constitution was referred, consisted of Mr. Rutledge, of South Carolina; Mr. Randolph, of Virginia; Mr. Willson, of Pennsylvania; Mr. Gorham, of Massachusetts; and Mr. Ellsworth, of Connecticut.—A majority of this committee was from the non-slaveholding States. The committee reported on the 6th of August 1787, after the convention had been in session near three months, and after the various propositions and amendments had been freely and at length discussed. The 1th section of the 7th article was as follows: "No tax, or other duty, shall be laid by the Legislature on articles exported from any State, nor on the migration, or importation, of such persons as the several States shall think proper to admit: nor shall such migration or importation be prohibited."

"On the 21st of August, a motion was made to insert the word "free" before the word "persons," so as to restrict the prohibition to such "*free persons*" as the several States should think proper to admit. This motion was not decided; nor do the journals show by whom it was made; and on the next day, this section with others were referred to a committee appointed by ballot, consisting of one member from each State. This committee consisted of Mr. Langdon, of New Hampshire; Mr. King, of Massachusetts; Mr. Johnston, of Connecticut; Mr. Livingston, of New Jersey; Mr. Clymer, of Pennsylvania; Mr. Dickinson, of Delaware; Mr. Martin, of Maryland; Mr. Madison, of Virginia; Mr. Williamson, of North Carolina; Mr. Pinkney, of South Carolina; and Mr. Baldwin, of Georgia. On the 24th of August, Mr. Livingston reported the following, as a substitute for so much of the 4th article of the 7th section as was referred to the committee: "The migration or importation of such persons as the several States now existing, shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Legislature prior to the year 1800; but a tax or duty may be imposed on such migration or importation, at a rate not exceeding the average of the duties laid on imports." On the next day the time within which slaves might be imported was extended to the year 1808. New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, voting in the affirmative; and New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Virginia, in the negative. The section was further amended without a division, by inserting a clause that Congress might impose a tax of ten dollars for each person, so imported; and the section thus amended was agreed to, without a division, as it now stands in the Constitution. It thus appears, that the importation of slaves without restriction, was recommended by a committee, a majority of whom was from the free States; that afterwards, a member from New

Jersey made a report limiting the period to 1800; that all the New England States, represented in the convention, voted to extend the time to 1808, while Delaware and Virginia voted in the negative. If the New England States had voted in the negative, the proposition would not have been carried. I have not concocted these facts, by way of censure, or reproach; for more enlightened, patriotic and benevolent men, never represented New England in the national councils, than those who participated in the formation of the Constitution. It is a subject of deep regret, however, in which the Southern States participate, that the slave-trade was not prohibited by the convention, from and after the adoption of the Constitution.

"The different censuses show the number of slaves to be as follows:—

"In 1790, 697,697; in 1800, 896,849; in 1810, 1,191,364; in 1820, 1,538,128; and in 1830, 2,011,320.

"The alarming increase of slaves, had attracted the attention of several distinguished gentlemen at the South, long before the formation of the Colonization Society, in the winter of 1816 and '17. Various projects were suggested, and among them was one to colonize the free blacks on the Western vacant lands. This was objectionable, as they might in the process of time become dangerous neighbors. Another was to make an arrangement with the Colony at Sierra Leone. Mr. Jefferson opened a correspondence with the company, under a resolution passed by the Legislature of Virginia in 1801; but without success. Dr. Thornton, of Washington, in 1787, made arrangements to plant a Colony on the Western coast of Africa, by emigrants from Massachusetts and Rhode Island, which failed for want of funds.—The idea of colonizing the free people of color, and such as might be emancipated for that purpose, has never been abandoned by very many of the distinguished men in Virginia, from the time it was suggested by Mr. Jefferson in 1777, to the present time; and the cause has, during all this period, gained strength.

"Various causes have conspired to retard the prosecution of a plan, prompted by a sense of justice, the peace and happiness of the white population, and the most enlarged philanthropy. From the peace of 1783, to 1787, we had no General Government; and the States, as well as individuals, were employed in repairing the losses sustained by the war. After the adoption of the Constitution, several years were consumed in organizing the Government, and suppressing internal dissensions. From the commencement of the French revolution, to the dethronement of Buonaparte, the European powers were engaged in desolating wars, except at short intervals; and during the same period, our own commerce was swept from the ocean by the two great belligerent powers; or suffered to perish by the enactment of our own Government; and we were involved in a war of near three years continuance. Until peace was restored, the time was not propitious for maturing any extensive scheme for ameliorating the condition of any large portion of the human family. More has been accomplished since 1815, to elevate the moral character of man, in the establishment or extension of Bible Societies, Sabbath Schools, foreign and domestic missions, education and temperate Societies—and for the relief of the indigent in the organization of humane associations—and for reclaiming the vicious, in the establishment of houses for juvenile delinquents, in the principal towns and cities—and for relieving the distressed, in the establishment of hospitals and asylums—than was accomplished in the previous century. Miracles have not been wrought; but the deaf and dumb have become learned in the sciences, and the blind have been taught to read; whole tribes and nations in the South seas have been Christianized—the ignorant have been instructed—the intemperate have been reclaimed—and the indigent and distressed relieved.—The policy of Kingdoms and States, has radically changed. Formerly, all difficulties between sovereign powers, not arranged by treaty, were decided by force; now, wars have nearly ceased, by appealing to reason, and a moral sense of right and wrong, or by the arbitrament of another sovereign power. Such is the era in which we live. Among the most important of all the associations, of which our own time imparts any knowledge, or history records, whether considered as an act of justice to the degraded, and enslaved African, or in the light of the most liberal and enlarged philanthropy, or as the means of civilizing and Christianizing one hundred and fifty millions of human beings—is the Colonization Society.

"Peace, having removed the many obstacles created by a state of war, against restoring to Africa her long oppressed sons, the Rev. Robert Finley, a respectable clergyman in New Jersey, "of great humanity and benevolence," took the first efficient step to organize an association for colonizing free people of color on the Western coast of Africa. He was a man of untiring perseverance, of the most active zeal, of exemplary piety, of sincerity and humility, and well qualified for so great a work. He had bestowed upon it much deep reflection; and having come to the conclusion that the plan was practicable, and that the benefits would be unspeakably great in reference to the country, to the blacks themselves, and to Africa, he repaired to Washington, in December, 1816, for the purpose of enlisting several distinguished men to second his views. He went from house to house, and from chamber to chamber, to bespeak for his project a favorable consideration. His efforts proving successful, he called a meeting and organized a Society, on the 28th of December, 1816. True, he did not long survive—but he saw in prospective the slaves freed from their bondage, and restored to the land of their fathers, and Africa raised from her degradation, to take her stand among the nations of the earth. He was not permitted like Moses from Mount Nebo, to see the gloomy land, with his natural eye; but like Moses he died with the full assurance, that Africa would be reclaimed and redeemed. He might have said of Africa as Moses spake of Israel: "Happy art thou, O Africa; who is like unto thee, O people saved of the Lord, the shield of thy help, and who is the sword of thy excellency! and thine enemies shall be found liars unto thee, and thou shalt tread upon their high places."

"At this meeting Bushrod Washington presided, and it was composed of gentlemen from different sections of the United States, whose confidence was strengthened, by the zeal and full assurance of the reverend progenitor of the scheme. Fame will claim this little band as hers, and the name of Finley will be inscribed high on her roll. The novelty, and vastness of the undertaking, precluded for a while, the adoption of any efficient measures for commencing the Colony, farther than to prepare the public for co-operating in it. The scheme was without governmental patronage, and without funds; and had nothing to recommend it, but its own intrinsic merits. It had to encounter prejudices of opposite characters. At the South, it was represented to be a scheme of the free States, to lessen the political power of the slaveholding States, and to spread a general discontent among the slaves, which in time would break out into open and devastating rebellion. At the North, it was said, the scheme originated with the slaveholders, whose motives were to send off a few of the more enlightened free blacks, that they might rivet more firmly the fetters of the slaves. The war left us burdened with a national debt, of about \$130,000,000, and the people greatly embarrassed by speculations in bank stock, and other property, and by overtrading. Property throughout the country in five years fell fifty per cent. in value, and in very many instances our most enterprising citizens, who had fondly anticipated they were accumulating fortunes, on being pressed for their debts, learned with sorrow they were bankrupts. The Society depended on voluntary contributions to prosecute her designs, and these could not be obtained, for the reasons assigned. In no wise daunted by these embarrassments, several pious, patriotic, humane, and benevolent persons, were unremitting in their devotion to the cause. Knowing its success, under Providence, depended wholly on public sentiment, they spent much of their time in removing the prejudices, which designing or misguided men had excited against it, and in demonstrating the practicability of planting a Colony on the shores of Africa; and in enforcing the benefits that would follow to this country, to the blacks, and to Africa. Never have exertions been crowned with more favorable results. Opposition has been arraigned before the judgment seat of reason, and has confessed her error; and prejudice, the most unconquerable enemy to the success of any benevolent measure, has yielded to the light of truth. There are some lamentable exceptions to these remarks.

"Fourteen States have passed resolutions approving the plan of Colonization, and almost every ecclesiastical body in the United States, has recommended the Society to the patronage of the Christian community."

After noticing the labours of Messrs. MILLS and BURGESS; the Act of Congress of March 2nd, 1807, prohibiting the slave-trade after the time limited in the Constitution should expire; the purchase and colonization by the Society of thirty-eight Africans imported into the United States in violation of that Act, who but for the interposition of the Society, would have been doomed to perpetual slavery under a law of Georgia, in the early efforts of the Society; the treaty made in December, 1820, by DR. AYRES and LIEUTENANT STOCKTON, for the site at Cape Montserado; from which period, MR. W. remarks, "the efficient operations of the Society should be dated;" the intrepidity and invaluable services of MR. ASHMUN; the exertions at home of BISHOP MEADE, MR. KEY, and other eminent friends of the Society, MR. WHITTLESEY thus sketches the progress of the Colony:—

"In 1821, the Colony consisted of 140, and in 1824, of 240, and in 1832, of 2061, exclusive of 400 captured Africans, who were restored to their country at the expense of the U. States. The number of scholars taught in three schools, on the 2nd of January, 1832, was 175; and the branches taught were spelling, writing, arithmetic, geography and grammar.—The Colony now falls but little, if any, short of 3000. The commerce of the Colony is in a most prosperous and flourishing condition. The exports consist principally of dye woods, ivory, hides, gold, palm oil and rice, whose value in 1831, amounted to \$88,911, and were considerably more than the value of the exports from the whole of the Connecticut Reserve by the Lake, in any one of the first twenty years after the settlements commenced. Coffee, and the tropical fruits, grow spontaneously, and the soil and climate are favorable to the culture of cotton. The name of Liberia was given to a site at Cape Montserado, at the seventh anniversary of the Society, on the 20th of February, 1824—and denotes "a settlement of persons made free." The designation was given by Robert Goddard Harper, of Baltimore, a man eminent for his talents, for his private virtues, and public munificence."

After adverting to the early disasters and ultimate success of the scheme of colonization; to the British Colony at Sierra Leone; and to the inadequacy of the laudable efforts of missionaries to the civilization and Christianization of Africa, the orator thus proceeds:—

"It is computed there are in Africa 150 languages spoken, of which 70 only are known to the civilized world. If you send civilization by Africans, not merely as missionaries, but by the formation of colonies, you disarm jealousy and discord, and you inspire that confidence, which will alone insure success. The influence of the Colony has already had the most happy effect upon two of the neighboring tribes, whose kings have sent their children to the Colony, to be instructed in the schools, and to be taught the mechanical and agricultural arts. The negroes are a simple, honest, inoffensive, but timid people, without a single trait of the

savage ferocity that distinguished the aborigines of this country. Their kindness and hospitality to the Landers, generally, would do honor to refined society. They have towns and villages, whose markets are supplied with corn, rice, beef, mutton, different kinds of fowls, fish, butter, cheese, palm oil, beans and peas; and in some of the larger towns, thousands attend the market in a day. Bohoo, more than thirty days travel from the coast, in the kingdom of Yarriba, is enclosed by three walls, and in circumference is about 20 miles. It is not as compact, as the towns and cities in more civilized and commercial countries; but its population is vastly beyond what we have been accustomed to think any town in the interior of Africa possessed. The land in many parts of Western Africa lately explored, is of a deep rich soil, and will not lose by a comparison with the richest sections of England. The late explorations of western and central Africa, have furnished us with much information essentially necessary in the prosecution of the system of colonization. Is the plan of restoring the negroes to Africa chimerical? and if so, wherein? There is a grandeur in the conception, that throws into the shade the establishment of all other colonies, of which history gives us any account. A people have been torn from their country by violence, and have been sold into bondage. At a time when their labor is productive—when more than five hundred millions of money is vested in them, it is proposed to restore them by their consent, to their country and to freedom: and not only so, but to instruct, civilize and christianize them. Let your contemplations extend to the termination of but one century, and see the rich and fertile lands of Africa partitioned into farms, and cultivated by an intelligent, moral and industrious people. See her coasts, her bays, her inlets, and her noble rivers, whitened with the sails of every nation; not for the purpose of capturing her sons, but in the prosecution of a legitimate commerce. See her villages, her towns, and her cities rising into splendor, administering to the comforts and convenience and luxury of her inhabitants. See that vast continent divided into different Republics! Go to her Halls of Legislation, and listen to the wisdom of her lawgivers; and to her Courts of Justice, and examine the pure ermine of her Judges! Enter her Temples, and mingle in the devotions of the Altar, and see the prediction verified, that “the Heathen shall cast their idols to the moles and to the bats.”

“I am incapable of drawing even a faint outline of what Africa will be in a century, if this plan of colonization shall be prosecuted. It is in our power to repair, in a great measure at least, the injuries, that not only this country, but all other nations have inflicted on Africa. The United States was the first power that declared the slave-trade piracy, and provided by law for the punishment of the offence by death. We have exhibited to the world how odious we consider this traffic, by declaring the perpetrators of it to be outlaws, and by subjecting them to the same punishment, that is inflicted on the enemies of the human race.

“Let us not stop here, but march on in the van of other nations in the great work of rescuing Africa from the deep night that has so long enveloped her in more than Egyptian darkness. “The valley of the Nile, was once the cradle of commerce, the arts and sciences; Syria and Greece and Italy, were indebted to Africa” for whatever of renown they possessed. Let this nation in the ardor of her youthful enterprises, restore to Africa the arts and sciences, of which she has so long been bereft.

“Do any of you doubt the practicability of civilizing Africa? Why is this more difficult than to civilize people in other quarters of the globe? The most enlightened, polished, intelligent and refined portions of Europe, tradition and history inform us, were more savage and barbarous than Africa now is; and more can be achieved by the combined efforts of the people of the United States in a single year, to reclaim Africa, than it was in the power of any nation eighteen centuries ago, to have performed in the period of fifty years.

“It has been said the condition of the blacks at the Colony, is more miserable than it was in this country. On this point, I only ask you to examine the evidence, and decide the question as you would if you were called upon to decide a contested question in the jury box, or to administer justice on the bench. Thus situated, you would examine the testimony with care, and if you found it conflicting, you would ascertain the number of the witnesses called by each party, their means of knowing the facts about which they were called to give testimony; and you would become thoroughly acquainted with their characters, and the motives that might influence them in perverting the truth.

“Were I concerned for the Colony, I would present to you the testimony of Dr. Ayres, Mr. Ashmun, Dr. Randall, and Dr. Anderson, Agents for the Society, who resided at Liberia, and must have been intimately acquainted with the condition of the inhabitants, and with their comforts or their wants. They died martyrs to the cause, and their testimony is consecrated by their dying declarations. Mr. Ashmun in the last supplication he audibly addressed to his Heavenly Father, a few hours before his death, while “the perspiration flowed from his pallid brow, and every feature expressed death,” thus presented the Colony for the benediction of that Being into whose presence he was sensible his disembodied spirit would soon appear:—“O bless the Colony, and that poor people among whom I have laboured.”

“I would present the testimony of Lieut. Dashiell, and of Richard Seton, of the United States, and Lieut. Gordon of the British Navy, and of three missionaries from Switzerland, and of several others, who have voluntarily met death in the service of a cause they believed demanded the sacrifice. I would ask you to listen to the testimony of Captains Spence, Stockton, Nicholas and Kennedy, of the United States Navy, and to Captains Sherman and Abels, and to the Agents that have been sent from different sections of the United States, by the colored people, for the purpose of obtaining correct information, and to the most intelli-

gent of the colonists, and to the testimony of Mr. Devany, high-sheriff of the Colony, taken before a committee of the House of Representatives, in May, 1830. If you scan the characters of these witnesses, you will find them unimpeached, and unimpeachable. The testimony of some of them, has been given under oath; of others, under the weight of no ordinary confidence reposed in them; and again, of others on their death-beds—a situation the most likely to elicit the truth. I would challenge my opponent in the face of this testimony (if he had not left the court) to bring forward his witnesses. And who do you think they are? A few discontented colonists, such as you find in every new settlement; who are too lazy to work, destitute of economy, and would have found fault with Providence, if they had been placed in the garden of Eden: or a few fanatics, whose intellects on some subjects are partially deranged: or a few editors, who cannot support a newspaper without creating, and keeping up an excitement. There may be some politicians offered upon the stand, who would be glad to see the government tumble into ruins; and perhaps some who are slaveholders, and slave-dealers, who have become alarmed from the apprehension, that the moral influence of the Society will eventually rid the country of slaves. To all these witnesses, except the first class, I would object, on the well-settled principle, that hearsay testimony is inadmissible. They know nothing themselves in the case.

"There is not a person here, unless his judgment is blinded by prejudice of no ordinary kind, who would not give a verdict in favor of the Colony without leaving the box. When I speak of fanatics, I do not include all who are opposed to the Colonization Society.—There are many men who have honestly formed the opinion, not from evidence, but from the declarations of others—that the Officers and Managers of the Colonization Society, have been guilty of a dereliction of duty, or that they have been governed by sinister motives, and do not desire to lessen the evils of slavery; but whose object they think is, to perpetuate slavery, by sending off the most intelligent free blacks. I would request such persons to ascertain, who the officers of the Society have been, and now are, and what foundation there is for so serious a charge. You will find them men of pure characters, of strict integrity, and of disinterested benevolence and humanity. Men who have rendered important services to the country; in her councils, in the field, on the bench, in the halls of Legislation, and in the desk. The first President was Bushrod Washington; after his death, Charles Carroll was appointed; and after his death, James Madison, who is now in office.—Among the Vice-Presidents, I will enumerate Judge Marshall, Gen. La Fayette, Henry Clay, Bishop White, Daniel Webster, Charles F. Mercer, President Day, Bishop McKendree, John Cotton Smith, and Theodore Frelinghuysen.

"The Managers sustain the highest respectability, and have bestowed years of labor in the cause, without any pecuniary compensation. Their reward is the approbation of their consciences, and the consoling reflection, that they have discharged their responsible duties with zeal and fidelity, and with an eye single to the benefit of the African race. The Secretary is the Rev. R. R. Gurley, who with the other officers named, is ex-officio a member of the Board of Managers. He has devoted several years of his valuable life in advancing the cause of colonization; and a more pure, upright and benevolent man I have never found; and to him, as much as to any one man, is the world indebted for the present flourishing condition of the Colony.

"These are the men, with their compeers, whose motives are condemned without the slightest evidence; the more effectually to awaken your jealousy, and to cause you to withhold your confidence and support from the Society. If it was the object of the officers and Managers to rivet more firmly the fetters of the slaves, as you have been told it is, by a man whose testimony stands before you impeached, why, I ask of you, have they rescued the captive Africans from the operations of the laws of Georgia, and returned them to their country? Why have they encouraged, and still do encourage the manumission of slaves, on condition of their being sent to Africa? Of all the falsehoods that have been fabricated to deceive a humane and confiding people, this is the most infamously base; and is so proved to be, by every act of the Society. The act of May, 1820, declaring the slave-trade piracy, owes its existence to Charles Fenton Mercer, an officer of the Society. He followed this up by a resolution he introduced into the House of Representatives, "requesting the President of the United States to enter upon and to prosecute from time to time, such negotiations with the several maritime powers of Europe, and America, as he may deem expedient, for the effectual abolition of the African slave-trade, and its ultimate denunciation as piracy, under the laws of nations by the consent of the civilized world,"—which passed almost unanimously towards the close of the 17th Congress. Immediately after the passage of this resolution, Mr. Adams, then Secretary of State, opened a correspondence with Mr. Canning, the British Minister at Washington, and with the European and American Governments, with the view of bringing about some general concert of action by the civilized powers of the world, to put a stop to the nefarious traffic in human beings. The British Government was unwilling for a while to give up her favorite proposition, of stipulating for the right of search—a principle most odious to us. This government was informed by Viscount de Chateaubriand on behalf of the French government, that such was the influence of the slaveholders in her colonies, that no minister in France was strong enough to carry our proposition through the chamber of deputies.

"Most of the European and American powers have, however, entered into such stipulations.

"Notwithstanding these arrangements were the most energetic that could have been devised, and although they have been executed by some of the powers in good faith, it is a

well ascertained fact, that the slave-trade still exists to an extent that shocks humanity.—It is computed that there have been annually for several years, 100,000 slaves deported from Africa. The number of slaves captured by British vessels, and emancipated, in nine years, from 1819 to 1828, according to Mr. Walsh, was only 13,281. The heart sickens in reviewing the wrongs of Africa. It is stated in the *Encyclopedia Americana* "that within two centuries and a half, Africa has contributed forty millions of vigorous men to the slave-trade, and notwithstanding is any thing but depopulated."

"The trade is arrested along the coast for about two hundred miles, extending to the north of Sierra Leone, and south of Liberia. Experience incontestably establishes the fact, that no other mode will stop this inhuman traffic, than by establishing colonies along the coast. Do you desire it should be terminated? Are your feelings shocked that so many human beings prematurely suffer the most excruciating death, by being crammed into slave ships, "enclosed under grated hatchways between decks, where the space is so low that they set between each others' legs, and stowed so close together, that there is no possibility of their lying down, or at all changing their position night or day," where they scarcely have food enough to sustain animal life, and where a drop of water is as earnestly supplicated, as it was by the rich man in torment? Or do you revolt at the idea, that the survivors are to waste their lives in bondage? If so, enlist under the banner of the Colonization Society, and you will effectually put a stop to a repetition of these cruelties. Not only will Africa be civilized, and the slave-trade abolished, but this country will be freed of this caste of our population by the operation of the Society, and in a manner entirely acceptable to the slaveholders, and without producing any commotion; and without violating any feature of the Constitution. The Society is constantly gaining strength at the South, the field of its operations; and the hearts of thousands are inclined to free their slaves, when the funds of the Society shall defray the expense of their emigration. Although it appears to very many, even of those who are in favor of colonization, that but little has been done for the time the Society has had an existence, my own opinion is, that as much has been accomplished as is consistent with the welfare and perpetuity of the settlement. The emigrants should be sent no faster, than they can be provided for when they arrive, and not in such numbers as to endanger the peace and good order of the government. I am firm in the belief, if it was thought advisable in relation to the Colony, to press emigration, and the Society had funds at its disposal, that ten thousand slaves would immediately be offered by their owners, on the condition they should be sent to Liberia. There is no want of subjects, nor will there be at any time hereafter; but they will be gratuitously offered as the cause of colonization shall progress in Africa.

"The liberal appropriations made by the States of Maryland, Virginia, and Kentucky, in aid of colonization, are cheering indications, that the time is not far distant when the blacks will be removed from these States, and their places supplied by a more useful, industrious and intelligent population."

On the subject of immediate abolition, MR. WHITTLESEY takes and fully sustains two objections to that scheme; 1st, that it is not practicable: 2nd, that if it were, it is not expedient.

"1st, it is not practicable; and 2nd, if it was, it is not expedient. It is not practicable, without the consent of the slaveholding States, which cannot, under any circumstances, be obtained either by persuasion or force. I have touched on the condition of the States before the Constitution was formed, and we all know the general government was established by the people of the respective States; each State surrendering a part of its sovereignty, for the general benefit of all of them. We have seen that the interest the master had in his slave, was guaranteed to him by the Constitution, and that the value of this property at this time amounts to more than five hundred millions of dollars. The holders of this property would not generally surrender it at once, because in very many cases, bankruptcies must inevitably follow: but more weighty objections exist with them; which are that the slaves are in a better condition than they would be, if they were suffered to remain in this country; and that both castes in the proportion they exist in the Southern States, could not live together in a state of freedom.

"The abolitionists demand, that the entire value of the property invested in slaves, shall be immediately sunk to the owners. And when is this demand made? After the slaveholders have borne on the principle of representation, their proportion of the debt incurred by the revolutionary war, and the late war with Great Britain. It seems to me it would have been more magnanimous, more in accordance with the principle of justice and good faith, if the demand had been made, when, if it had prevailed, the slaveholding States would have been obliged to have discharged these debts according to the ratio of the white population. Do they propose to give any compensation for this sacrifice of property? or to grant any equivalent, so that the States shall be placed on a footing of equality as they were before the Union was formed? I have heard of none. All must perceive the loss falls on one portion of the United States. If the slaves must be immediately emancipated, inasmuch as the evil is national, ought not the owners to be paid their value from a fund to be raised by levying direct taxes? As the holding of slaves by others, is made a subject of conscience, no honest man, who views the circumstances attending the holding of this species of property, and is willing to apply the golden rule, "do to others as you would wish to be done by," will object to pay his proportion of such tax, if by his influence the slaves are to be emancipated. The whole white population of the United States, according to the last census, is

10,526,248; and of Ohio, 628,093; and of Portage county, 18,527; and of Tallmadge, 1,218. The amount to be paid by the State of Ohio, is \$44,072,168; by Portage county, \$689,077-52-100; and by Tallmadge, \$58,171 68-100. The tax on every white person in the United States, if paid per capita, is \$47 76-100. The estimate of the value of the slaves is taken, from what I believe was the lowest value fixed by the commissioners under the treaty of Ghent; and it is the lowest amount paid by the United States, for negroes captured by the Indians.

"I will leave it to yourselves to estimate the amount each one is to pay according to the value of his property. If you consider this tax onerous, how much heavier will the burden be, if borne by the least populous section of the United States; and aside from the property vested in slaves, the least able to bear it. If there was no other impediment in the way, than the amount of property that is involved, you could not prevail on the Southern States to emancipate their slaves at once. We should not do it, if we were in their situation. If persuasion will not effect the object, force will be then recommended; and when this shall be exercised in a matter clearly without the Constitution, the Union will be dissolved of course. This will be the inevitable result, and still, the slaves will be held in servitude. It was from the firm conviction; that this would follow, that I was led in the fore part of this address to admonish you, to pause before you became identified with a party, whose predominance will dispense with the celebration of this national anniversary."

MR. WHITTLESEY apprehends the most alarming consequences to the Northern States, from a separation of the Union, thus produced, and pertinently inquires,

"But aside from these forebodings of violences, what privileges are the blacks to enjoy when they shall be emancipated? Are they to have the right of citizenship? If so, they are to be represented in Congress, to hold offices, and to have their due influence in administering the government. Are you willing to commit your destinies in any manner to them, and to mingle your counsels with theirs, on the great questions of peace and war?"

DR. TODSEN'S OBSERVATIONS.

The subjoined article is from the pen of Dr. GEORGE P. TODSEN, one of the Colonial Physicians in the service of the American Colonization Society. The opportunities for accurate observation which Dr. T. has enjoyed during a residence of several years at Liberia, and his reputation as an experienced and successful Physician, will render his remarks peculiarly interesting to persons desirous of emigrating to the Colony, as well as to those who are already members of it.

Clothing.—A good supply of clothing will add greatly to the comfort and health of the emigrants while on their passage and after their arrival in Liberia. Many emigrants have heretofore, under the idea of going to a country that has neither winter nor even cool weather, left all their woollen clothing behind; bringing with them but thin and light cotton articles, such as are only worn in the United States, during the hottest months of summer.—This impression that good winter clothing is at no time necessary in Liberia, is a very serious error, and one that has exposed many new comers to a great deal of suffering and sickness. The fact is, that from the beginning of the rainy season, till somewhat after the commencement of the dry season, (six months), a cloth coat and pantaloons, woollen stockings and flannel shirts, are as necessary and render a man as comfortable in Liberia, as in Virginia during the months of October and November. Above all, those who in the United States were liable to colds and coughs, and found relief from wearing flannel and cotton shirts, ought to be advised to supply themselves sufficiently with these articles, as they will experience a return of those complaints during the rains; and should they be seized with the African fever during that season, have all the symptoms greatly aggravated by neglecting to wear the proper clothing as directed.—Cotton shirts should be at all seasons preferred to linen. A direction, which, to persons unacquainted with the climate and diseases of Liberia, may appear unnecessary; but which, if observed, will save the new emigrant a great deal of suffering and loss of time, is, that no emigrant should neglect wearing shoes and stockings. The feet and legs of persons resident in tropical climates, but especially of those on the coast of Africa, unless supported by a moderate degree of pressure from well-fitted shoes and stockings, independent of the greater liability to bruises and external injuries which often are the first cause of the most inveterate sores and ulcers, are, especially after attacks of fever, much more disposed to oedematous swellings; which latter also have a great share in producing and continuing running sores. The great protection the wearing of shoes and stockings affords against the bites of mosquitoes, mangrove and sandflies, which are not among the least frequent causes in the generation of cracca, (itch, the African), as well as other cutaneous disorders and ulcers, ought not to be overlooked,—not to mention the great assistance towards the promotion of cleanliness and its beneficial results which they afford.

Washing and Fumigating the Cloths of the Emigrants before they embark.—Before the emigrants are placed on board of the ship, all articles of bedding and clothing belonging to them, ought to be carefully washed, aired and dried. It is not safe to trust the faithful performance of that important duty to the emigrants themselves. All blankets, flannel shirts, petticoats and woolen stockings, ought, after being well washed, to be exposed while wet, to the fumes of burning sulphur, with a small proportion of nitre. This may be easily done in the following manner.—Take several large hogsheads which must be open at both ends, place each of them vertically on bricks, so as to elevate them a little above the ground, for the admission of the air necessary for the combustion of the sulphur. The blankets, &c. having been dipped in clean water, and being wrung sufficiently to prevent any dripping on the sulphur, are to be laid on the upper end of the hogsheads, and sulphur, powdered with one-tenth of powdered saltpetre, well mixed, being put on pieces of sheet tin or iron, or in earthen vessels, the sulphur is ignited and placed under the hogsheads and blankets. Any vermin, spots and filth which may have remained on the blankets, &c. after being washed, will be effectually removed by the fumigation; they will become as white as when new; no moth, after that, will infest them; and above all, the communication and continuance of loathsome and infectious disorders which woolen clothing, especially such as come in actual contact with the skin of the poor (for evident reasons), are so apt to produce, will be effectually prevented.

Change of Clothing on Board.—Every emigrant while on board and after his landing in Africa, ought to change his linen at least twice a week; and on board every facility ought to be afforded for washing and airing the clothing of the emigrants, many of whom, from poverty, are limited to a few pieces, placing it out of their power to make a decent appearance, unless the above privileges are allowed them.

Rations and Drink on Board.—The rations heretofore allowed to the emigrants (while on board) by the Board, have been very judicious and liberal. Perhaps a small addition to the molasses, vinegar or lime juice—and a little porter, tea and coffee, in case of sickness, should be allowed. Two quarts of water for every adult, and somewhat less for children, is a good daily allowance (not including the water consumed in cooking). During sickness, an additional quantity ought to be allowed. The customary mode among emigrants on board, of forming messes of ten or twelve persons for the reception and cooking of their rations, is, perhaps, as good an arrangement as can be made. More than two warm meals a day, are not necessary, and ought not to be cooked.

Bathing and attention to Cautelins on Board.—When the vessel which conveys the emigrants shall, on leaving the United States, during the winter months, have advanced towards a Southern latitude, and the thermometer shall have risen above 75 degrees, hogsheads placed on each side of the fore part of the vessel, should be filled with salt water; sails should be arranged in such a manner as to separate the sexes, and exclude the bathing from the sight of the crew; and all emigrants, young and old, excepting only such as are laboring under diseases which preclude the use of the bath, ought, twice a week, to enter it. It will, at first, require some coercive measure to enforce compliance; for there exists among the ignorant, the poor, and the slovenly, a great dread of water; but after the first trial little or no resistance will be made, for the beneficial result will be loudly proclaimed by all who have made a trial of the bath. The benefits resulting to the emigrants from this practice of bathing (which, if the weather permits, ought to be pursued at least every second or third day) are immense. The debilitated, after long continued diseases, gain strength very rapidly after a few trials of it; the most feeble constitutions acquire new life and vigor. To those afflicted with rheumatic and scrophulous complaints, it always affords relief, and often performs astonishing cures. The surprising effects the marine bath has on the whole family of cutaneous disorders and ulcers of the most chronic and inveterate character, I had a fine opportunity of witnessing during my voyage to Africa in 1826, when I conducted 140 liberated Africans to Mesurado. Many of these people laboured under cutaneous diseases and ulcers, of very old standing. A woman between 60 and 70 years had not a spot 4 inches in diameter on her whole body that was free from the most disgusting sores. She landed, after a passage of seven weeks, with the rest of her country people, at Mesurado, perfectly cured of all her sores. This woman, as well as all the other emigrants, afflicted with the most disgusting diseases and sores, owed their recovery principally to the constant application of salt water to their sores, and to moderate pressure of bandages. I look on the rigid and regular observance of this practice of bathing, on board of vessels conveying emigrants, as one of the utmost importance. It keeps the emigrants not only clean, prevents in a great measure the generation of contagious fever, which on board of vessels and jails, have proved so destructive to human life; but leaves them on their arrival in Africa, in such a condition of vigor and health, as enables them to resist for a longer time the deleterious effects of the climate; and even after their being attacked with fever, it has a salutary effect on their recovery.—There is scarcely an instance of death among emigrants on board of vessels where my advice as to bathing, was followed. Such emigrants as on board of the vessel which conveyed them to Africa, have experienced the good derived from bathing, are willing and ready to continue the practice after their arrival, and are amply rewarded by health and sound limbs for their trouble, if such it can be called.

It is scarcely necessary to remark that the places occupied below deck by the emigrants, ought to be daily cleaned and washed. Chloride of soda or lime, when sprinkled below and put into the pumps, will destroy the offensive smell of bilge water and other impurities; but as potent agents against disagreeable effluvia, more reliance is to be placed on the strictest

attention to cleanliness and constant ventilation, than on chloride of lime. In fair weather, all who are able ought to pass the whole day on deck. The hatches ought to be thrown open, and wind sails admitted to keep up a constant current and admission of air. Care should be taken that all places after being washed, should be wiped as dry as possible, as the humidity otherwise produced, acts injuriously on health.

At night no Emigrant ought to be permitted to sleep on Deck.—The considerable height of temperature in the steerage, increased by the number of emigrants, induces most of them to pass their nights on deck. This is attended with much danger to them, on account of the heavy dews and fogs that descend on them, besides the circumstance of the greater frequency of heavy rains during night on approaching the coast of Africa. It is desirable that the emigrants at all times, but more especially if they approach the coast of Africa during the rainy season, should take great care not to expose themselves to the rains; the deleterious effects of which, even at sea, ample experience has fully proved. To persons labouring under measles, while on board, or having passed through them sometime before their leaving the U. States, and who still experience some of the accompanying symptoms, as colds, coughs, bowel complaints, &c. those rains are almost certain death. The ship "Jupiter" lost several of her emigrants from the combination of those causes. These emigrants were seized with the measles while at Norfolk, and retained when put on board of the ship many of the subsequent symptoms. The ship approached the coast in the very height of the rains; and those children and adults who had been much exposed to showers, died with a single exception, a few days after their arrival at Cape Mesurado, of catarrhal and bowel complaints (principally of the latter).

Sea-sickness and Costiveness.—These are the principal complaints which to persons not habituated to a sea-faring life, prove in some instances troublesome. The first, sea-sickness, generally effects its own cure by the act of vomiting. Where, as during a very heavy gale, and in persons possessed of certain constitutional peculiarities, it still continues, a recumbent posture with the free admission of air generally affords relief; and where no costiveness exists, a tablespoonful of lime juice mixed with a little molasses and water; to which a teaspoonful of salt-of-tartar ought to be added, and the whole drunk while in a state of effervescence, will greatly allay the distressing sensations about the region of the stomach. Porter also and good brisk cider give great relief. Costiveness at sea is always more effectually removed by mild laxatives, than by aloetic, mercurial and the more drastic purges. It may not be deemed unnecessary here, to advert to the greater desire among colored people, on the slightest occasions, either to drug themselves, or make application to others for medicines; which, unless on proper occasions, should not be given to them, as they tend manifestly to the injury of their constitutions. The great importance of the most rigid observance of cleanliness has already been mentioned; but it may not be amiss to add how essential to the preservation of the health, both of the emigrants and of the crew, and to the prevention of contagious diseases on board, the utmost attention to the immediate removal of all excrementitious matter is.

Caution to Emigrants against exposing themselves on their arrival in Liberia to the Night-air.—This is a subject of most vital importance to all emigrants and visitors to the Colony. On it, or on a correct understanding of the agency and effects of the night-air, on new comers—and, above all, on the most careful observance of the precautions and directions which result from a just and rational view of it, depend the lives (without exaggeration) of nine-tenths of all new settlers. To the errors, neglect and prejudices on this subject, which, till within a few years so generally prevailed in the Colony, and even influenced the mind of the inestimable Mr. Ashmun, (as may be seen in his reports to the Colonization Society, where he gives it as his opinion, that the night-air in Liberia is perfectly harmless)—a great deal of suffering and mortality which formerly existed among the Colonists, can be traced. But even at this time, after much and sad experience, strong enough to convince the most skeptical—not merely confined to Liberia, to Sierra Leone, or to the coast of Africa, but existing, modified by climate and other circumstances, in every quarter of the globe: neither the deplorable facts nor the measures of precaution have received that attention and support in the Colony, which they so forcibly demand. Let the emigrant on his arrival not be surprised to find among the old settlers many an unbeliever in the fatal consequences of exposure to the night-air. Let him beware how he accepts the well-intended but fatal invitation—to take a walk in order to enjoy the "refreshing evening-air"—to spend the evening at the house of some of his friends—nay, even how he yields to those who urge him to attend or preach at meeting-houses after night. The great and long continued excitement and subsequent debility, (these meetings in the Colony are attended with more enthusiasm and to a later hour than is usual in the U. S.) render the new settler still more susceptible to the deadly vapors he inhales while he returns to his residence. How any resident in the Colony of the best reflection, can witness the uniformly admitted fact, that strangers (Americans and Europeans) who are more readily and severely affected by the climate, than the people of color, remain for months at Mesurado, attending daily to their pursuits on shore, and escape all disease by the simple precaution of returning on board of their vessels before sunset, and of never going on shore till after sun-rise: how this fact can be admitted, and the injurious effects of the night-air, as it exists on land, (for to this only the remarks are confined) is surprising; the more so as it is known that a single night's exposure on shore brings on the fever in its most destructive form. What places this matter at once beyond all misapprehension and doubt, is the well-known fact, that during night the wind blows uniformly from the sea, and consequently prevents all access of the noxious vapors of the land to the

vessel. These remarks, it is hoped, will be sufficient to convince every reflecting being of the danger connected with exposure to the night-air, and render every emigrant willing to submit to the rules and precautions necessary for the preservation of his life. One of the most injudicious practices which prevails in Liberia, is that of sleeping with open windows and doors. If the night-air is admitted to be injurious to persons awake, there are abundant facts to prove that its effects are doubly fatal during sleep. It is strongly recommended to every new comer, not only to shut his windows and doors before he retires to sleep, but to be careful in doing so at sun-set. He will find few evenings and nights where the observance of this advice will incommode him. The more cautious he is in avoiding the morning, evening and night dews, the longer will he escape the fever; and the longer he escapes it, the milder will be its attack, and the less the danger from it.

(TO BE CONTINUED.)

SOME BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE STATE OF THINGS IN LIBERIA, AFRICA.

[The following statement, is made by an aged and pious Colonist, who has resided several years in Liberia. We have conversed fully and freely with him on the affairs of the Colony, and place much reliance on his practical good sense.]

I will first mention that the land is good and brings forth abundantly. Rice is the staff of the land. Indian corn will grow; also sweet potatoes; and cassadas in great abundance.—The cassada is a root that grows in the ground like the potatoes, except that it grows long like your arm; in substance it is much like the Irish potatoe, and is good for bread. The fruits are very good, such as plantains, papaws, bananas, oranges, pine-apples, guavas, limes and sousop. The last is a very nice fruit. Very good garden vegetables grow more and more plentiful; say tomatoes, radishes, cabbages, cale, mustard, Cayenne pepper, arrow root, ground peas, Indian peas, beans, snap beans, watermelons, cucumbers, pumpkins, turnips, &c. &c. The land varies in its appearance; some is high, some low, some rocky, some smooth, some sandy, some of a dark black soil, some clayey, white and yellow, good for brick. Our trees for timber grow principally in large swamps, such as mangrove, redwood, brimstonewood, white oak, poplar, plum-tree, cotton-tree, hickory and palm-tree. We have also coffee-trees and the sugar-cane. The most durable timber is the mangrove and redwood. I think nearly all sorts of vegetables that grow here, will grow well in Africa. To secure a crop, the land must be cleared in the dry season and made ready for planting. In clearing, we cut down the trees and brushwood, and burn them. The dry season is one fall month, the three winter months and part of two spring months. It will do to plant cassadas soon after Christmas, and continue to plant them until spring. The rice and corn should be planted in the second spring month. You may be very busy the last spring month to prepare your gardens for the rainy season. Our settlers have begun to plant the sugar-cane and coffee-trees, and I think they may both be cultivated to profit. Palm-trees grow wild. Pine-apples grow wild, and may be cultivated well in gardens. Our precious fruits require to be cultivated and tended that they may thrive well. The settlers need a good supply of broad weeding hoes, good and strong, logwood axes, whip saws, hand saws, crosscut saws, drawing knives, hammers, nails, &c. &c. Our greatest difficulties arise from the delay in the distribution of the lands to newly arrived emigrants, and to the distance of the receptacles from such lands, which prevents new comers from going upon their lands until after they have done receiving rations. If these evils could be remedied, it would enable them to get along much better. The settlers have also been burdened by the arrival of so many widows and children who are unable to provide for themselves after they have received their rations.—If some person or persons should be authorized to help and assist in establishing such persons, aid them to build their houses and afford them a good supply of tools, it would be of great benefit to them and the Colony. Should all these persons work together on some one farm, they would do better than now. All that should be raised above what is necessary for their support, could go to the assistance of new comers through the hands of the Stewards.—Thus those who are now a burden, could help to maintain themselves.

If the new emigrants could on their arrival, be fixed nearer to their lands, it would be a great advantage to them, in enabling them to get forward in their affairs. As concerning the climate, I will make some statements. It is warm the whole year; but the warmest time is not warmer than the warmest season at Washington. The health of those who have become seasoned to the climate, I think is as good as people enjoy in the United States.—The mortality among new comers during two or three years after I went out, was great; but since we have opened our lands, and enjoyed good medical attendance, the danger is much lessened. It would be a great benefit, I think, if the emigrants could be well supplied with vegetables and molasses, so that their diet, during several months, might be light, as it could hardly fail to promote their health. Those from the Southern States, I think, may now, with proper caution and attendance, get pretty safely through the sickness. The services of our Physicians have proved useful, and such persons should always reside at the Colony.

SOLOMON BAYLEY.

THE COLONIZATIONIST.

The September number of this periodical, is equal in interest to any of its predecessors; and confirms the expectation which they had created of its being a zealous and efficient friend to the cause of Colonization. We extract from it the REV. MR. PEARL'S classification of the opponents of the Society:—

OPPOSITION TO THE COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

MESSRS. EDITORS:—My former communication will lead you to expect a description of the different classes of persons enlisted in opposing the Colonization Society. It has been my object to meet and converse with such, as extensively as the labors of the agency would allow, believing that those who differ on any subject, may be profited by a kind interchange of sentiments, and that it is exceedingly desirable for the friends of the colored race to act in harmony for their welfare.

Permit me to remark, in the first place, that the number of persons opposed to the Colonization Society is much smaller than a reader of the Anti-Colonization publications might suppose. A considerable number who had been currently reported as opposers of colonization, I found to be firm friends. Several complained of unkind treatment in being thus reported, stating that they had given no occasion for it. Others had been in doubt for a time, after hearing addresses, or reading the pamphlets in which the Society was attacked, but, after examining the subject thoroughly, became more decided friends of colonization than before. A number of men who had become so much enlisted as to oppose the Society in discussions of lectures, and to assist in circulating the *Liberator*, have become decided friends of colonization. A larger number who had been reported as opposed to the Society, I found were only in doubt in regard to some points or possible bearing of the Society, and yet had no idea of abandoning it.

But among the small number I have been able to find there is much diversity of feeling, and indeed, several distinct classes. Some have always been opposed to it, not from examination but from an aversion to all benevolent Societies. The greater portion, however, profess to have been converted from what they consider the error of colonization, by the addresses and writings of Mr. Garrison, or other Agents of the New England Anti-Slavery Society. Of these there are several classes.

The first I shall mention embraces those, who without a thorough investigation, had indulged very sanguine expectations of the success of the Colonization Society. They perhaps gave addresses or contributions several years since, expecting the Society would do *all that could be done for the colored race*,—that nothing else need be done for the emancipation and elevation of those who remain in this country, and that, with an occasional celebration, a liberal supply of good wishes, and an annual contribution, the Colonization Society, with a wonderworking power, would transport the whole free colored and slave population, to an African paradise. But after watching the Society for several years, they find their predictions not yet fulfilled. The Society has wrought no miracles, and after ten or twelve years it has removed but about 3,000. Thus they come to the conclusion *that the Society never can accomplish the entire removal of slavery*. Supposing that others have patronized it with the same mistaken visionary views, they were prepared to be carried away with the attacks upon the Society, and to believe that the nation has been *'deceived and misled'* by it.

2. Another class embraces some elderly men, who, from benevolent feeling, were jealous of the Colonization Society at its commencement. They were anxious for the speedy abolition of slavery, and perhaps had been members of Abolition Societies which were then nearly extinct. They saw that no pledge was given by the Society to aim at emancipation, and that many of its first officers were slave-holders. These circumstances, together with the sentiments expressed by some who assisted in forming it, led them to fear that the Society would tend to perpetuate slavery. As the Society moved forward and became popular, their opposition diminished, and some were induced to examine its publications, and became moderate friends. A few of this class became contributors especially for the transportation of slaves liberated for this purpose. When Mr. Garrison commenced the *Liberator* they were disposed to patronise it for the purpose of promoting immediate emancipation, and also from sympathy for him, occasioned by his imprisonment, and the hostility manifested towards him by slave-holders. His attacks on slavery revived all their former feelings, and when he commenced his attacks on the Colonization Society, they were sufficiently excited to follow him in this.

3. Another class is composed of young men who have never given much thought to the subject till recently. They have considered slavery a very bad thing, and colonization a good thing, but have known or cared little about either. They have recently been excited by addresses or publications of Anti-Colonizationists, and have obtained their knowledge of the Society from its opponents; or, if they have, since becoming excited, examined the publications of the Society, it has been under unfavorable circumstances for ascertaining the truth. Very few can find access to any considerable portion of the publications, or time for a thorough examination of them. Some are much more fond of excitement, than

of calm investigation, and more easily affected by violent attacks upon the Colonization Society, than the plain history of its operations. Some of this class are inconsiderate as to consequences, and engage in the opposition more from love of excitement than abiding principle. Others are conscientious young men, but are too strongly excited to investigate thoroughly or act prudently.

4. A fourth class of opposers, is composed of such as are hostile to Bible, and Tract, and Missionary Societies, and have vented their hostility against those Institutions till they have despaired of overthrowing them. It seems as if they had some hope of destroying this Society, which has been approved by almost all the good people engaged in the others, and then by standing on its ruins they can hope to attack the others more successfully.

5. Another class consists of men who are not directly hostile to benevolent Societies, but are exceedingly glad of an excuse for doing nothing to aid them. They admit that efforts to relieve, enlighten, and save men are needful, and conscience will sometimes extort from them a reluctant fourpence-halfpenny, but they are very grateful to the man who will convince them that a given object has no claims upon their charity, and thus enable them to keep their money with a quiet conscience. If they can invent sufficient objections to hold themselves in a state of suspense, it answers all practical purposes.

6. A sixth class is made up of men who are devoted to the interests of a party, and are ready to seize upon every existing excitement, and every excitable subject, for the promotion of party purposes. They would keep men in hot blood, either because they can manage them better in this condition, or they love to sport with violent passions, or would sink into insignificance if they could not excite discord enough in the community to attract a certain kind of notice.

7. Another class consists of those who deal in violent invective against slave-holders, and can have no patience with those who hesitate to apply the epithets, 'kidnapper,' 'thief,' 'man-stealer,' &c. to every man who holds a slave, whatever be the motives which prevent immediate emancipation. These persons adopt the sentiments of Mr. Garrison. 'I am determined nevertheless to give slave-holders and their apologists as much uneasiness as possible. They shall hear me, and of me, and from me, in a tone and with a frequency that shall make them tremble.'* If friends of colonization doubt the justice or expediency of violent denunciations, or if they admit any palliating circumstances connected with slavery, or manifest a spirit of kindness and forbearance, or a regard for the harmony of the nation, they are considered the 'apologists' of slavery by this class of men, and the American Colonization Society is therefore denounced as apologising for slavery and slave-holders!

8. Another class embraces a considerable portion of the colored people in New England. They have been told, 'that those who have entered into this CONSPIRACY AGAINST HUMAN RIGHTS are unanimous in abusing their victims; unanimous in their mode of attack; unanimous in proclaiming the absurdity, that our free blacks are natives of Africa; unanimous in propagating the libel, that they cannot be elevated and improved in this country; unanimous in opposing their instruction; unanimous in exciting the prejudices of the people against them.' LIBERATOR, April 23d, 1831.

They have been addressed in the following language:—'Abandon all thoughts of colonizing yourselves, as a people, in Africa, Hayti, Upper Canada, or elsewhere. Every intelligent man of color whom the Colonization Society induces to go to Liberia, ought to be considered as a traitor to your cause.' Address before the free people of color in Philadelphia, New York, and other cities. June, 1831. By WM. LLOYD GARRISON, p. 17.

'The supporters of the African scheme do not hesitate to avow, that the whole colored population must be removed to Liberia. But how do they expect to accomplish this design? By putting on knapsacks and pointing bayonets at your breasts? No: but by adopting another plan which is about as cruel and effectual.'—*Ib.*

'Now it is time to stop: it is time to resolve on death sooner than transportation.'—*Ib.*

'The American Colonization Society is putting the lash upon your bodies. "Strike higher!—lower!—higher!" you cry: it accommodates you by taking off the flesh from your neck to your heels: but I think there will be no pleasing you, until it throw its bloody whip aside, heal your wounds, and pay you for its abusive treatment.' Address before the African Abolition Freehold Society, Boston, July 16, 1832. By WM. LLOYD GARRISON, p. 19, 20.

Such sentiments are from the man whom they consider their best friend, and who encourages them to expect the time, when 'Our state and national assemblies will contain a fair proportion of colored representatives,' and that they will be able to intermarry with the whites and be on terms of perfect equality. Thus they get the impression that the friends of colonization are their enemies, and anxious 'to turn them off to die like old horses,' or drive them out of the country.

These classes embrace all the opposers of colonization of whom I have a distinct recollection. This sketch must necessarily be imperfect, as it would be impossible in a short compass to describe all the characteristics of each individual, or class, and some persons combine the peculiarities of two or more classes. I leave your readers to make their own comments, and if they chance to be among the opposers of colonization to decide in which class they belong or whether they are embraced in either. In a future communication I will endeavor to give you the general sentiments of the friends of colonization, so far as I have been able to ascertain them.

Yours sincerely,

CYRIL PEARL.

* Garrison's address to the free people of color. Preface.

From the Huntsville (Ala.) Democrat.

COLONIZATION OF THE FREE COLORED PEOPLE.

No. IV.

Sentiments of distinguished Gentlemen at the North.

In my last number, from the length to which it had already been protracted, I did not furnish the extracts from speeches of distinguished public men in the North, tending to show the state of public sentiment *there*, in relation to colonization. Although the *abolitionists* are in that quarter of the Union—speaking and writing in a style of violence and abuse, which, perhaps, the laws cannot restrain, but which I shall feel, by no means, justified in imitating; yet, do I most honestly entertain the opinion, that the intelligent and virtuous of that country deprecate their rashness and mischievousness, and are striving with a sincerity that I cannot question, to keep down the baleful influence of the abolition-propagandists. To this point, the following remarks of Mr. Knapp of Massachusetts, are not inapplicable.—They are to be found in a speech delivered by that gentleman, at the *anniversary* of the American Colonization Society, held in January, 1827.—“Sir, this Society has sprung up from the immediate spot where those evils most abound—from the slaveholding States.”—“They [his countrymen] hated slavery, but they loved union and harmony more; nor did they desire to compromise the latter in their endeavors to remove the former;—and in any efforts to ameliorate the condition of the degraded African, they did sincerely desire, that the rights and feelings of all might be regarded—and that no infringement of the social compact should be involved—they wished even more, that no suspicion of such an infringement should be entertained, fully sensible of the delicacy of the subject.”

The Hon. Mr. Storrs, representative in Congress, from New York, on a similar occasion in 1829, said—“He was quite sure, that in the Northern States, there was no opinion generally prevailing, that, immediate, absolute and universal emancipation was desirable. There might be some who were actuated by pure motives and benevolent views, who considered it practicable; but he might say, with confidence, that very few, if any, believed, that it would be truly humane or expedient to turn loose upon the community more than a million of persons, totally destitute of the means of subsistence, and altogether unprepared in every moral point of view to enjoy or estimate their new privileges. Such a cotemporaneous emancipation of the colored population of the Southern States could only bring a common calamity on all the States, and the most severe misery upon those who were to be thus thrown upon society, under the most abject, helpless and deplorable circumstances.”

The Hon. Mr. Bates, one of the Massachusetts representatives in Congress, in an address delivered before the Society, at its anniversary meeting in 1831, remarks—“That they in Massachusetts were willing to follow in the path which we might trace for them,—to labor in such a cause, whenever and wherever and however we might direct, without wishing to dictate or advise. That it was an object deep in the hearts of many of the people of his State, but one with which the people of the South are best acquainted, and in which most interested—and, therefore, that they were content to act in entire subordination to the views of the Society.”

Col. Benham, of Ohio, in an address delivered on the same occasion, declared, “as much as this Society desires to ameliorate the condition of that degraded *caste* of human beings, and to check the growth of that moral and political evil which awakens so much concern, he trusted, she would ever sedulously abstain from taking a step calculated, in the remotest degree, to jeopard the domestic tranquillity of any portion of the Union.”

The Hon. Edward Everett, of Massachusetts, in a speech before the Society at its fifteenth anniversary, says—“That evil, (the presence of the free colored people) we of the North have been, for the most part willing to leave to those whom it most concerns.”

Mr. Webster, in his reply to the Hon. Mr. Hayne, in the celebrated debate on Mr. Foot's resolution, says—“There is not, and never has been, a disposition in the North to interfere with these interests (connected with slavery) of the South. Such interference has never been supposed to be within the power of Government, nor has it been in any way attempted. It has always been regarded as a matter of domestic policy, left with the States, themselves, and with which the Federal Government has nothing to do. Certainly, Sir, I am, and ever have been of that opinion. The gentleman, indeed, argues that slavery in the abstract is no evil. Most assuredly, I need not say, I differ with him, altogether and most widely on this point. I regard domestic slavery as one of the greatest of evils both moral and political. But, though it be a malady, and whether it be curable, and if so, by what means; or on the other hand, whether it be the *vulnus immedicabile* of the social system, I leave it to those whose right and duty it is to inquire and decide. And this, I believe, Sir, is, and uniformly has been, the sentiment of the North.” “The domestic slavery of the South, I leave where I find it—in the hands of their own Governments.”

In the “*Christian Spectator*,” before referred to, there is a more recent review of the rapsodies of Mr. Garrison and of his fellow-laborer Mr. Stuart. The number for March last, in the concluding remarks on Mr. G.'s pamphlet, has this language—“When we next cross his track may we find him exhibiting more modesty, more meekness, more candor, more wis-

dom, and more logic, than we now discover in his productions. We hope, especially that as he grows older, he may acquire more suavity of temper, and more gentleness of manner. The style which he employs—we beg his friends and advisers candidly to ponder this remark,—is not the style to do good with. Satan cannot cast out Satan. Such wrath and railing, such recklessness and coarseness of vituperation, as fill his writings, may inflame but cannot enlighten, may irritate and enrage, but cannot convince. We believe that cool and patient argument may do much, even with slave-holders; we are sure that “sound and fury” can do nothing but mischief. We cannot doubt, that the efforts of this writer and his coadjutors are disastrously delaying the arrival of that hour, when public sentiment, in the slaveholding States, shall turn with a rapid and irresistible tide against slavery.”

With the following extract from a *charge* delivered by Judge Thatcher of the municipal Court of Boston, to the Grand Jury, in March 1832, I will conclude the present number.—In citing it, I offer no opinion as to the correctness of the legal principles which it enforces, but with this single purpose, of showing, that an officer in a high judicial station in Massachusetts, was desirous, by a novel at least not to say forced construction of the criminal powers of the Court in which he presided, to punish, by indictment in that commonwealth, the publishers of certain incendiary pamphlets issued from a press in that city, and having for their object the stimulation of our slaves against their masters. “Every good citizen must, I think,” says he “wish that harmony may subsist between us and the citizens of all the other States. But, how is this Union long to be preserved, if those who enjoy its benefits cherish towards each other mutual hatred? If publications which have a direct tendency to excite the slave population of other States, to rise upon their masters and to involve their families and property in a common destruction, are here published and circulated freely, may not the citizens of those States well imagine, that such publications are authorized by our laws? If such publications were justified and encouraged here, it would tend to alienate from each other the minds of those, whose best political happiness and safety consist in preserving in its full strength the bond of the Union.”

“Believing, that the laws of Massachusetts are not liable to this reproach, I deem it my duty to express to you at this time, my opinion, that, to publish books, pamphlets, or newspapers designed to be circulated here and in other States of the Union, and having a direct and necessary tendency to excite in the minds of our citizens deadly hatred and hostility against their brethren of other States, and to stimulate the slave population of those States to rise against their masters, and to effect by fire and sword their emancipation, is an offence against the peace of this commonwealth, and that it may be prosecuted as a misdemeanor at common law.”

J. G. BIRNEY,

Gen. Agent of the A. C. Society.

June 4, 1833.

[From the *National Intelligencer*, September 11.]

FURTHER EXPOSURE:

On the 17th ult. we published a contradiction by JAMES PRICE, one of the three colored men of Maryland who went to Liberia to ascertain and report on the state of that Colony, of certain statements falsely alledged to have been made by him to the Philadelphia Convention of free people of color.—We have now received, in the Maryland Messenger, the contradiction of JOSEPH WHITTINGTON, another of the three, to whom the most unfavorable statements respecting the Colony were ascribed by the Conventionists. As the fabricated statements imputed to these men have been extensively published, and were well calculated to effect the design of rendering the colonization scheme unpopular, we deem it proper to insert Whittington's contradiction, as we did that of his colleague. This latter was made in the presence of the Auxiliary Colonization Society of Worcester county, Maryland.

SNOW HILL, Md., Aug. 21st.

At a meeting of the Board of Managers of the Worcester County Colonization Society, the following proceedings were had:—

Mr. Joseph Whittington, a free colored man, who had been engaged by his free colored friends in Worcester county, with the approbation of this Board, to visit Liberia and report upon the condition of the Colony, and the prospects it holds out to emigrants, appeared before the Board, and offered a Report, which he stated had been prepared in Liberia, and which, on motion, was read.

After the report and answers to numerous questions, (which would occupy more space than we spare to the subject), this statement follows:—

An article in the United States Telegraph, of the 26th of July last, entitled “Latest Mis-

sonary Intelligence from Liberia," then being read to Mr. W.—he declared that he had never stated to the meeting mentioned in the said article, "that the women and children who emigrated from Maryland in the ship Lafayette, were met very soon after arriving, by the Pestilential disease of the Colony, and cut down on the right hand and on the left,"—that he had never stated that of the 150 emigrants transported in the vessel that he went in, "those who had not died were very ill,"—and he never stated that he thought "they could never recover,"—that he never stated that he was informed that "more than one half who are transported die within 6 or 8 months after arriving in the Colony,"—that he never stated that "old people and little children very seldom live to get seasoned, which takes them from 6 to 10 months, and that whether they are seasoned or not, at the expiration of six months they are turned out by the officers of the government to become Paupers or starve; or bask in the rays of the burning sun until Death, with all its terrors kindly relieves them,"—that he never stated that "widows and all females without husbands are deprived of the right of holding property,"—but did say that "lands were not allotted to single women by the Society,"—that he never stated that the Colony had taught some of the natives "to understand the English language well enough to decoy their brethren away and sell them for slaves,"—that he had never stated "that he did not believe that there had been one bushel of Rice or Coffee raised in the Colony, and that he never could see or hear of its growing there,"—that he never had said that "they have tried to raise Corn, but it was in vain," that it always "blasted before it comes to any thing,"—that he never had said that "Rice sells at 20 cents per pound, Coffee at 60 cents per pound, and Pork \$25 per barrel,"—that he never had said that "the Colony cannot flourish under such embarrassments,"—that he had not said that "people were not always allowed to give correct information respecting the Colony,"—that he had not said that "persons who reside in Liberia cannot write to their friends in this country and give them facts respecting the Colony, unless they send their letters privately,"—that he had not said that "all letters known to be destined from the Colony are examined,"—and that he had never said that "it was very difficult for emigrants to return."

Test,

LEVIN WHITE, *Recording Secretary.*

August 21st, 1833.

I, Joseph Whittington, having heard read the foregoing Record of the proceedings of the Board of Managers of the Worcester County Colonization Society, do certify, to all whom it may concern, that the proceedings therein stated are true, as therein stated.

JOSEPH WHITTINGTON,

X

his mark.

JOHN C. HANDY, }
L. P. SPENCE, } *Witnesses.*

LATEST FROM LIBERIA.

The Liberia Herald for July and August contain much interesting intelligence in regard to the Colony.

A free school for the benefit of recaptured Africans has been in successful operation for some weeks under the care of Rev. James Eden. Mr. Savage, also, who had recently arrived as Agent for the emigrants, by the Ajax from New Orleans, was making arrangements to establish a Manual Labor School at Millsburg; and the Editor thinks he may have the credit of establishing the first Institution of this kind in Africa. He dwells also with great apparent pleasure, on the project of the MASSACHUSETTS FREE SCHOOL, which he hopes will be vigorously pursued.

We select the following advertisements as illustrating the business of the Colony:—

Commission Business.—The subscriber respectfully informs his friends and the public, that he has built on Water street, No. 320, a large Stone Ware House, convenient to the water's edge, where he intends carrying on the commission business; and is now ready to accept of any vessel or vessels, whose masters wish to have their business done. The said house is quite convenient for storing Tobacco, Flour, Beef, Pork, Lard, Butter, Molasses, Sugar, &c. And on the upper floor, Dry Goods and Crockery Ware. And withal he is a licensed Auctioneer.

HENRY S. NELSON.

MONROVIA, August 5th, 1833.

DAILEY AND RUSSWURM, offer for sale the cargo of the Schr. William Tompkins from Norfolk, Va. consisting of 23 Hhds. dark leaf Tobacco, of superior quality; 350 Bbls. provisions, consisting of Mess prime Pork, Beef, do. Mackerel, No. 2; Shad and Herrings and Lard; 125 Bbls. superfine family Flour; 199 Springfield Hams; 425 Kegs assorted Nails; 200 Boxes yellow Soap.

MONROVIA, LIBERIA, August 6th, 1833.

The fast sailing coppered and copper fastened Schr. Rebecca, Hall master, will sail alternately from this port, for Windward and Leeward, and will take freight on moderate terms; for which or passage, apply to
DAILEY & RUSSWURM.

The following notification shows that the Colonists are not inattentive to military organization:—

General Orders.—Commanders of the different Corps of Monrovia, will cause their companies to parade on the Saturday preceding the second Monday in August, in Broad street, precisely at 9 o'clock, A. M.

N. B. A Battalion Court Martial will be held at the Town House, at 10 o'clock, A. M. on the second Monday in August. By order of the Major,

JACOB W. PROUT, A. M. F. L.

The Herald gives the following information concerning the Grand Bassa settlement:—

"The present number of settlers amounts to about 175, and many of the first 33, who were the pioneers about ten months since, are now settled on their own town lots. The town is laid out on a tongue of land, on the Little Bassa side of the St. John's river, and presents a fine appearance from the ocean. It is within a short distance of the native town of our friend 'Bob Gray of Grand Bassa,' who considers himself highly honored in having Americans so near him, and renders himself 'troublesome a plenty,' as the natives say, to those in authority, from his daily visits.

"Between the two towns, is the ancient Devil Bush of the Grand Bassa people, which they have reserved in their sale of lands to us. It is not used now, and is revered by the natives only for what it has been, as our friend Bob Gray will at any time sell to any of our settlers there, any particular tree he may stand in need of for one bar.

"It is evident to the most casual observer, that the natives in the vicinity of our settlements, are gradually becoming more enlightened, and consequently less observant of their superstitious notions and idolatry. Such is the case of our friend Bob Gray, who speaks as lightly of the sanctity of the devil's bush as we would, and considers it as a mere humbug for the more ignorant and superstitious. It is pleasing to reflect that the spot, near which the nameless bloody rites of Moloch have been perpetrated for centuries, is soon to be the site of a mansion house, which is now erecting by the direction of the Rev. Mr. Cox, missionary from the U. States.

"The St. John's river is the boundary line between Little and Grand Bassa, and is navigable for small vessels about six miles—perhaps more. There are three branches, viz. Main Branch, in which are Factory Island, and three small islands running N. E.; Benson's Branch, which has an S. S. E. direction; and Mechlin's Branch, which runs nearly in a N. W. direction toward Bullom Town. It is a noble river, and during the rains a great body of water must descend to the ocean from the highlands and mountains in the interior. There is about twelve feet of water on the bar at the river's mouth. Its banks are well stocked with timber, and trees from mangroves, we believe; and its waters well filled with fish of various kinds, and oysters. Black perch have been taken there as heavy as 20 pounds."

The Herald thus speaks of the prospects of the Colony, and the proceedings of the Anti-Colonizationists in the U. States:—

If we could only receive the same support and countenance from the mother country that Sierra Leone does, for a few years, we could demonstrate pretty clearly to the people of color in America, that our Colony holds out greater inducements to new comers, than any other region to which they can emigrate.

We perceive in Mr. Garrison and others, a spirit of opposition to the operations of the Parent Society; but what is to be done with the poor persecuted man of color, while this contest about the best plan for improving the condition of his race generally, is being debated and settled?

Is he to sit down—or stand in places where even room enough for either is denied him? Is he to listen to arguments which in the end will only make his situation more miserable; or is he to suffer for him to take his little all and remove to a land where all for which he sighs in vain is guaranteed to him; and should he even, like the prophet, only see the land, to be enjoyed by his children after him.

We copy the remarks of the Herald concerning the missionary efforts of the Colonists:—

According to the resolutions of the Managers of the Board of Domestic and Foreign Missions, in the Town of Monrovia and Colony of Liberia, held on the 17th of May, 1833, at the African Baptist church, Adam W. Anderson, by proposal to said Board, was unanimously appointed a missionary by all means, to locate himself, for the space of one year, at Grand Mount, West Africa, among the Vye people, to teach children of the natives, as far as possible, the English language, and to preach, when opportunity would offer itself, to the natives of the tribe. He will leave Cape Mesurado in a few days, in prosecution of so noble and important duty. O! may much good be done through his instrumentality, and that both himself and people, that the Saviour of mankind might receive abundant honors and glory for ever. His great name.

On the 27th of June, the ship "American" arrived at Monrovia from Philadelphia, with six emigrants.

The *Liberia Herald* mentions the death of King Tom Bassa, of Little Bassa, and expresses the fear that from the many candidates for his seat, the Little Bassa country, upon which the colonists depend chiefly for the article of camwood, would become the scene of civil commotions.

Information has since reached the U. States, that Ca Bai, a brother of the predecessor of Tom Bassa, has been elected King of Little Bassa.

The Colonial Agent, Dr. Mechlin, whose arrival in the U. States, may be daily expected, gives the following information, in a letter dated on the 31st of July, concerning the brig *Ajax*, and her passengers:—

"The brig *Ajax* arrived here on the 11th inst. with 120 passengers out of 150, having lost 30 by the cholera and other diseases before she left the American coast. The remainder were landed in good health. We had their baggage washed and fumigated, before it was permitted to be brought into the town; nor have we at present any apprehension of the disease making its appearance."

DEATH OF DR. BALCH.

The death of the Reverend STEPHEN B. BALCH, D. D. has cast a gloom over the community of which he had so long been a useful and instructive member. While his family and immediate friends seek a melancholy consolation for his loss in the recollection of his virtues, that loss is felt with emotions scarcely less keen by the Managers of the American Colonization Society, of whom he was an efficient and zealous associate. Though he descended to the tomb covered with the honors of a green old age, such was the continued vigor of his faculties, that they might almost fancy him to have died at the period of only mature manhood. Within a less time than three weeks next before his decease, he had participated in their deliberations, enforcing the lessons of wisdom and experience with the ardor of youth.

The sense entertained by the Board of the bereavement which they have met with, is expressed in the proceedings of which an account is subjoined.

Extract from the minutes of the Board of Managers of the American Colonization Society, at a meeting held the 7th day of October, 1833.

Whereas, this Board, by that solemn event of Providence, which has removed from the midst of them, the venerable STEPHEN B. BALCH, D. D. are called to mourn the decease of an early, firm and able friend of the great cause in which they are engaged; therefore,

Resolved, That this Board will ever cherish an affectionate remembrance of that sound discretion, sterling integrity, active benevolence and elevated piety, which distinguished the character of their departed friend.

Resolved, That in testimony of their respect and affection for the virtues of the deceased, this Board will wear crape on the left arm for thirty days.

Resolved, That the members of this Board sincerely condole with the family and friends of the deceased under their heavy bereavement; and that a copy of these Resolutions be communicated to the widow of the deceased.

We add, from the Frederick (Md.) Examiner, an interesting biographical sketch of the venerable deceased.

DIED—on Sunday morning, the 22d of September, at 9 o'clock, the Rev. STEPHEN B. BALCH, D. D. of Georgetown, D. C. His mortal career was terminated as he was about setting out for the church to perform his official duties, and instead of spending the holy day in the services of the sanctuary below, he was summoned to participate in the joys of a never ending Sabbath, in "a temple not made with hands, eternal in the heavens."

The subject of this sketch was born about 87 years since in Hartford county, Md. whence, at an early age, he emigrated with his parents to Georgia. Here he remained until in the fall of 1772; he became a student at Princeton College, where he graduated in 1774, in the same class with the late Hon. Brocholst Livingston, of the Supreme Court of the U. States, under the care of Dr. Witherspoon, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence.—During this period, he prepared himself for the holy ministry, but at the same time imbibed his political principles at the altar of his oppressed country. He was then, and remained to the last pulsation of his heart, a firm, undeviating, undaunted, Whig,—the ardent admirer of him who was "first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen." Returning to the South after graduating, in the latter part of '74, he was soon after qualified

for his vocation and entered on its duties. The blood of his countrymen shed in the spring and summer of '75, on the plains of Lexington and the heights of Bunker, aroused the colonies to arms and impelled our deceased friend to aid and assist by every honorable effort, in the accomplishment of one of the greatest political revolutions recorded in the history of men. During the social war in the Carolinas, he endeavored on the one hand to soothe the angry passions which lighted up the flames of intestine strife among kindred and brethren, and on the other, often from the sacred desk, rallied our dispirited troops to the standard of their beloved country against the common foe.

On one of these occasions, just before the battle of King's Mountain, where his congregation was somewhat divided, such was the state of feeling, that Gen. Williams (who, with Shelby and Campbell, led on the Whigs in that conflict) acted as clerk, and read out the hymn, clad in full regimentals, with loaded pistols in his belt, and a sword by his side.—Emigrating to Maryland while the war was progressing, he taught school at the head of Patuxent. From his door he could behold the British in their barges, carrying on their depredations. He was at once appointed Captain of a volunteer company composed chiefly of his own pupils, and repeatedly marched in pursuit of the enemy, counteracting his schemes and frustrating his views. For these services he lately received a pension under the Act of Congress of June, 1832. Sometime in 1780—81, he became pastor of the Presbyterian church in Georgetown, and so continued for a period of nearly fifty five years.—During the course of his well-spent life, he educated seventy-four youths for the ministry, a considerable number of lawyers, several judges and members of Congress and the State Legislatures. They loved him with undivided veneration. Such was the vigor of his constitution, that he outlived all the grown inhabitants of Georgetown except one; and to hundreds and thousands he performed the last rites of friendship.

"Beside the bed where parting life was laid,
And sorrow, guilt and pain by turns dismayed,
The reverend champion stood. At his control
Despair and anguish fled the struggling soul;
Comfort came down, the trembling wretch to raise,
And his last faltering accents whispered praise."

The life of Dr. Balch was often chequered with many severe trials, yet his fortitude, piety, resignation and cheerfulness forsook him not. Keeping his eye steadfastly fixed on his sacred calling, he was to his expiring moments faithful to his master. The younger part of society venerated him for his virtues, united with suavity and kindness of manner which imparted great weight to his admonitions; the middle aged looked on him as a sterling friend and counsellor, and the venerable sires of his day, among whom was the amiable Major Graham, lately of this city, esteemed him for his long-ried services and unsurpassed virtues. Such is a faint outline of the character of this apostolic man. He is now gathered to his fathers and "left alone in his glory." His memory is embalmed in the hearts of his people and friends, and he has sunk to rest like the sun without a cloud to hide his lustre.

INTELLIGENCE.

MR. CRESSON.

We have received letters from Mr. ELLIOTT CRESSON, the Agent of the Society in Great Britain, as late as the 26th August, at which time he was in London. This zealous friend of Colonization was to have embarked on the 8th inst. on his return to the United States, after having accomplished as much for the good cause, as could have been done by any individual similarly circumstanced. On his return home, the Public may expect a full account of his labours. Meanwhile we may remark that though consummate success was denied to them by yet unsubdued prejudices abroad, which anti-colonization missionaries from home omitted no effort to feed and to exasperate, Mr. CRESSON has, nevertheless, besides obtaining pecuniary aid

for the Society, wakened in the public mind of Great Britain a spirit of inquiry into its true character, and a disposition to judge of it with candor, that cannot fail to produce results, salutary as they will be important. The domestic crusaders against Colonization, who followed Mr. CRESSON to England, have shown as little regard for the reputation of their country, as for that of him who was the meditated victim of their pursuit. Though their abuse of this amiable person must, except on one supposition, have injured their own characters, it has so far benefited *his*, as to evoke for him, from distinguished individuals and journals in Great Britain, expressions of respect which might otherwise have been deemed unnecessary.

ANTI-SLAVERY AND COLONIZATION MEETINGS AT HUDSON, OHIO.

On the 29th of August last, the day succeeding the commencement of the Western Reserve College, a number of the friends of the colored people from different parts of the Reserve, assembled at the meeting-house in Hudson. "Two Constitutions" says the official account,

"Were presented with a view to the formation of a Society. One of them constructed on the plan of uniting all the advocates of Anti-Slavery principles in a Society to be called 'The WESTERN RESERVE ANTI-SLAVERY AND COLONIZATION SOCIETY,' was fully considered in a discussion of three hours and rejected."

"The Constitution of the Western Reserve Anti-Slavery Society was adopted."

From an Editorial article, explanatory of these proceedings, in the Hudson Observer and Telegraph of Sept. 6, we extract the following passages:

It will be seen by comparing the two Constitutions, that every material point was conceded to the Abolitionists, except simply recognizing the right of those who chose it, to give for colonizing those who desire to emigrate, instead of denouncing the whole system of Colonization. In all other points of importance the two parties agreed. To obviate all difficulty on this point, the Society was not to be auxiliary to any other; but every individual and auxiliary Society, was to choose its own channel through which its benefactions should flow. On such a plan it was hoped that a compromise of feeling and effort might be made.

But after a full and kind exhibition of the whole subject, and a discussion of nearly an hour and a half on the Constitution presented by the friends of union, during which they were repeatedly told by the other party, that there could be no more union or coalescence between the parties than between fire and water, the time arrived to which the Board of Trustees of the College had adjourned to attend the meeting; and having been convinced by this time from the remarks of the other party that no union was likely to be formed, they together with a large number of other gentlemen friendly to union peaceably withdrew, according to a previous understanding. Others not acquainted with this agreement, hoping still to obtain their object by gentle persuasion, remained and discussed the subject still further. They continued dropping away a few at a time till most of them had retired, before the final vote was taken. At the commencement of the meeting it was stated by a speaker on the opposite side, and no doubt correctly, that there was a majority of more than two to one in favor of union.—With the exception of the young men and lads belonging to College, there was probably three if not four to one; and no one we will venture to say was converted by the discussion—most certainly we have heard of none; and yet instead of taking advantage of

their numbers, the friends of union agreeably to their previous intentions quietly withdrew, (except a very few who had not been apprized of this agreement), when they saw, that no compromise could be effected.

With this explanation the public will understand in what sense and how the *first Constitution was rejected*, after a discussion of more than three hours. It is not our intention to criminate the Secretary; for he assures us, that he was unacquainted with some of these facts, and that he would have been willing to alter his statement, had not copies been sent to other papers before he presented one to us. This explanation seemed necessary to let the public know, that the first Constitution was rejected not by a change of sentiment or overpowering of numbers, but by the voluntary withdrawal from the meeting of those who presented it.

From this historical sketch, viewed in connection with the two Constitutions presented at the meeting, our readers will be able to form some just opinions respecting the *spirit* by which the two parties are actuated. We shall make no comments; the facts will speak for themselves.

The Western Reserve College, of which mention is made in the foregoing extracts, has been extensively represented at the South as being a nursery for educating Abolitionists, (we use the term in its sectarian or party sense), and as being under the patronage and control of one or more of their leaders. We have taken some pains to investigate the facts connected with this accusation, and are enabled to state them, from an authentic source, as follows:—

When the Faculty were chosen, the Abolition question was not agitated in reference to their appointment, and three out of the four, including the President, an able and popular instructor, with some of the tutors, became the zealous advocates of Immediate Abolition, and used strenuous, and to a great extent, successful efforts to convert the students to their own creed. The Trustees, who had not supposed that these gentlemen would pervert their connexion with the College to the purpose of introducing that distracting question within its walls, on finding the error of this reasonable calculation, first adopted such mild measures as, it was supposed, would deter them from going farther out of the line of their academical vocation; but finding such measures to be ineffectual, intimated to them, that their voluntary retirement from office, would prevent a painful

resort, on the part of the Board, to a harsher alternative. Two of them, availing themselves of the suggestion, resigned; the third, the Rev. Charles B. Storrs, the President of the College, was then absent on account of ill health, and has since died, greatly regretted by all his friends; and Mr. Nutting, the only remaining member of the Faculty, was understood to have regarded with great pain the course of his Colleagues on the subject under view.

The project of converting the College into a Seminary for educating Abolition Missionaries, who should spread their creed over the country without regard to public safety or constitutional duty, has thus been resisted, and we trust effectually, by the firmness of the Trustees.

As illustrating sentiments entertained at Hudson, the seat of the Western Reserve College, on the subjects of Slavery and Colonization, we copy from the Observer and Telegraph of the 12th ult. an account of the proceedings of a public meeting recently held at that place:—

"A numerous and respectable meeting of the citizens of Hudson friendly to the cause of the American Colonization Society, was held in the Congregational meeting-house in said town, on Saturday the 7th of Sept.

"The meeting was organized by calling Benjamin Whedon, Esq. to the Chair, and appointing Dr. Lorenzo Warner and L. W. Hall, Esq. Secretaries.

"The object of the meeting having been explained by Dr. Israel Town, it was voted, that a committee of seven be appointed, to draft and report resolutions, as expressive of the general views of the meeting, upon the subject before them: Whereupon, David Hudson, Esq. Capt. Heman Oviatt, Van R. Humphrey, Esq., Mr. Oliver Clark, Dr. Wm. Noble, Dr. Israel Town and L. W. Hall, Esq. were appointed said committee.

"After a short absence, the committee returned, and by David Hudson, Esq. their Chairman, reported to the meeting the subjoined Preamble and Resolutions. The meeting was addressed by Van R. Humphrey, Esq. and others, in support of the Resolutions, and in behalf of the general interests of the Colonization Society: Professor Wright and one other gentleman, addressed the meeting in opposition thereto. The Resolutions were finally adopted by an almost unanimous vote, and are as follows:—

PREAMBLE.

"Whereas, this meeting being impressed with the transcendent importance of the present and perpetual union of these United States, and of

le Institutions

which have sprung up under and are protected by our Federal Constitution, the high and acknowledged charter of our political liberties, does deplore the occurrence of any and every event calculated to weaken or dissolve that union, sap the foundation of those Institutions, or bring that Constitution or any of its provisions into disrepute among the people—either by withholding obedience, under the name of nullification, to the general laws of the land, or attempting injuriously to intermeddle with the rights of others in a manner not sanctioned by our great political compact: And whereas, with a view more particularly, to exhibit the sentiments of this meeting on the subject of the immediate abolition of slavery, which has lately produced some excitement in this section of the country, therefore,

"Resolved, That notwithstanding we regret the existence of slavery any where, and more especially in any part of this Union, yet we as frankly state, that it is neither within the legitimate powers of Congress, nor the legal energies of the non-slaveholding States, to dissolve the relation of master and slave, it being a matter within the exclusive control of each State in which it exists.

"Resolved, That we conceive the doctrine of immediate abolition, as at present understood and advocated, to be in direct contravention of the spirit of the Constitution, and opposed to the best interests of the white, no less than to the black population of our country.

"Resolved, That the scheme of Colonization is a noble enterprise, and commands itself to the confidence and support of the community, as in its tendencies not only calculated to relieve the thousands of our coloured population from their low and degraded condition, but also to throw the light of civilization, and the benign influences of christianity over the vast continent of Africa.

"Resolved, That this meeting, regretting as it does, the evil of slavery, cannot forbear to express its strong anxiety for the prosperity and furtherance of any measure consistent with the Constitution and laws of the country, and of the rights of the masters, speedily to remove the evil forever from the Union.

"BENJ. WHEDON, *Chairman.*

"LYMAN W. HALL, }
"LORENZO WARNER, } *Secretaries."*

ANTI-SLAVERY PROCEEDINGS IN NEW YORK.

On Wednesday evening, the 2nd inst. a large concourse of the citizens of New York assembled at Clinton Hall, in pursuance of the following notice:

OG—The friends of the immediate abolition of Slavery in the United States, are requested to meet at Clinton Hall on Wednesday evening, 2d October, at 7 o'clock, to form a New York City Anti-Slavery Society.

JOSHUA LEAVITT, }
WM. GOODALL, }
WM. GREEN, JR. } *Committee.*
JOHN RANKIN, }
LEWIS TAPPAN. }

The assemblage being informed that the Trustees of Clinton Hall had closed their doors against any meeting which might convene under the foregoing notice; those present organized in the passages of the building, by calling General Robert Bogardus to the chair, and appointing M. C. Patterson, Esq. and Mr. P. P. Parsells, Secretaries. On motion, it was then resolved to adjourn to Tammany Hall.

The large room in that well known establishment was soon filled to overflowing; when the following resolutions were introduced by F. A. Tallmadge, Esq. with a short but appropriate address; and being seconded by John Neal, Esq. of Portland, Maine, who also made some pertinent remarks, were unanimously and enthusiastically adopted.

Resolved, That our duty to the country, and our Southern Brethren in particular, renders it improper and inexpedient to agitate a question pregnant with peril and difficulty to the common weal.

Resolved, That it is our duty as citizens and Christians to mitigate, not to increase, the evils of slavery, by an unjustifiable interference in a matter which requires the will and cordial concurrence of all to modify or remove.

Resolved, That we take this opportunity to express to our Southern Brethren, our fixed and unalterable determination to resist every attempt that may be made to interfere with the relation in which master and slave now stand, as guaranteed to them by the Constitution of the United States.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be presented to Messrs. Howard & Lovejoy, for the gratuitous use of their room on this occasion.

Resolved, That these proceedings be signed by the Chairman and Secretaries, and published in all the daily papers.

ROBERT BOGARDUS, *Chairman*.

M. C. PATTERSON, } *Secretaries*.
P. P. PARSELLS, }

The advertisement of this meeting produced a general and deep excitement in the city of New York, which was increased by a large placard, posted throughout the city in the following words:

NOTICE.

TO ALL PERSONS FROM THE SOUTH.

All persons interested in the subject of a meeting, called by

J. Leavitt, W. Goodell, W. Green, Jr.

J. Rankin, Lewis Tappan,

At Clinton Hall, this evening, at 7 o'clock,
Are requested to attend at the same hour and place.

MANY SOUTHERNERS.

New York, Oct. 2d, 1833.

N. B. All citizens who may feel disposed to

manifest the true feeling of the state on this subject, are requested to attend.

The advocates of immediate abolition, finding themselves debarred from the use of Clinton Hall, silently retreated to Chatham street Chapel, where they appointed JOHN RANKIN Chairman of the meeting, and ABRAHAM COX, M. D. Secretary. They then proceeded to organize themselves into a Society called the "*New York City Anti-Slavery Society*," to pass resolutions, and to elect the following officers:

ARTHUR TAPPAN, President.

WILLIAM GREEN, Jr. Vice-President.

JOHN RANKIN, Treasurer.

ELIZUR WRIGHT, Jr. Cor. Secretary.

CHARLES W. DENISON, Rec. Secretary.

JOSHUA LEAVITT,

ISAAC T. HOPFER,

ABRAHAM L. COX, M. D. } *Managers*.

LEWIS TAPPAN,

WILLIAM GOODELL,

The New York American, a leading print in New York, in commenting on the foregoing proceedings, pertinently suggests that the true course "to show that Mr. Garrison and his abettors do not represent in any calculable degree the sound public opinion of New York on the subject of slavery," is "*by aiding and sustaining the Colonization Society*"; and intimates its regret that "every man of the immense number—five thousand, it is said—assembled at Tammany Hall to pass the resolutions we published yesterday," had not contributed "his one dollar, or his ten dollars, according to his means, to the fund of the Colonization Society." This seasonable hint will, it may be hoped, be attended with salutary results.

COLONIZATION MEETINGS.

On Wednesday, the 9th inst. a public meeting was held at the Masonic Hall in the city of New York, to aid the American Colonization Society.—It is stated to have been one of the largest meetings ever held in that city for a benevolent object. The Mayor of the city presided, and the meeting was addressed by the Rev. Mr. GURLEY, Secretary of the Society; Chancellor WALWORTH, DAVID B. OGDEN, Esq., the Rev. Dr. HAWKS, the Hon. THEODORE FRELINGHUYSEN, HUGH MAXWELL, Esq., ROBERT S. FINLEY,

Esq., Agent of the New York Colonization Society, WILLIAM DUER, LL. D., President of Columbia College, and the Rev. Dr. McCARTEE. We regret that the report of the proceedings reached us too late, to enable us to make room for the addresses delivered by these gentlemen. The following resolutions were adopted:

Moved by Chancellor WALWORTH, and seconded by D. B. OGDEN, Esq.

1. *Resolved*, That in the judgment of this meeting the principles and measures of the American Colonization Society are favorable to the union and happiness of our country, as well as conducive to the relief and improvement of the whole African race.

Moved by Rev. Mr. HAWKS, and seconded by JOHN BALTON, Esq.

2. *Resolved*, That the establishment of Christian Colonies of free men of color on the African coast, promises the largest and most enduring benefits to Africa, and to the general cause of humanity and religion.

Moved by Hon. THEODORE FRELINGHUYSEN, and seconded by Mr. SAMUEL WARD.

3. That at the present crisis, the friends of the American Colonization Society are urged by the most weighty considerations, to explain its views, make known its success, and aid its resources.

Moved by HUGH MAXWELL, Esq. and seconded by JOHN DUER.

4. That a subscription be now opened with a view of raising 20,000 dollars or more in this City and State, to aid the objects of the American Colonization Society; and that the Managers of that Society be requested, as soon as practicable, to establish at Cape Mount, or on some other portion of the Liberian Territory, a settlement to bear the name of New York.

Moved by President DUER, of Columbia College, and seconded by P. P. PEAR, Esq.

5. *Resolved*, That a committee be appointed to devise and execute such measures as they may deem expedient to carry into speedy and complete effect the object of the meeting.

Moved by the Rev. Dr. McCARTEE.

6. *Resolved*, As the sense of this meeting, that one of the most interesting features of the Colony at Liberia, is its being instrumental to the introduction of the Gospel into Africa; and that, sustained as it is by the efforts of a Christian community, a fundamental principle in the management of its affairs, and especially of its internal police, should ever be the recognition and influence of the Christian religion.

7. *Resolved*, That the proceedings of this meeting, agreed by the Chairman and Secretaries, be published in the papers of this city, and that the speeches of the gentlemen who have addressed the audience, be requested for publication, under the direction of the committee just appointed.

The following gentlemen constitute the committee under the 5th resolution:

Elisha Tibbits,	Gurdon Buck,
Dr. Samuel Akerly,	Nathaniel Weed,
G. P. Dissoaway,	Charles H. Russell,
Moses Allen,	H. Booraem,
Jasper Corning,	Wm. A. Duer,
Wm. B. Crosby,	M. C. Vanschaick,
George Griswold,	T. D. Doremus,
John J. Bailey,	J. B. Varnum,
Dr. J. M. Reese,	David Lee,
Robert Gray,	B. L. Woolley,
John W. Leavitt,	James M'Call,
John P. Stagg,	Wm. Couch,
John R. Peters,	Abijah Fisher,
Charles Oakley,	Pelatiah Perit,
Joseph Kernonchan,	Fred'k. A. Tracy,
Isaac S. Hone,	Dennis Davenport,
R. T. Haines,	James Boorman,
Francis Olmsted,	Samuel Ward.

President DUER was appointed Chairman.

(Signed) GIDEON LEE, Chairman.

WM. BARD, } Secretaries.
GEO. GRISWOLD, }

The amount of contributions and subscriptions ascertained at the close of the meeting was \$3,406.

ALBANY COLONIZATION MEETING.

A public meeting of the members of the New York State Colonization Society, and the friends of the cause, was held in the South Dutch Church, on Tuesday evening, Oct. 1st. GIDEON HAWLEY, Esq. in the absence of Chief Justice SAVAGE, President of the Society, was called to the Chair, and JOHN P. NORTON appointed Secretary.

Rev. Dr. FERRIS implored the Divine blessing. Rev. J. N. DANFORTH, General Agent of the National Society, then addressed the meeting at some length, demonstrating the benevolence of the Colonization system; what it had done, and what it would do, if vigorously supported by the American people.—Mr. A. D. Williams, Colonial Vice-Agent, followed in an animated speech, which was listened to with interest; and in that part of it which represented the horrors of the slave-trade, and the part he had taken in rescuing the victims of cupidity and cruelty, he drew the tender tribute of "some natural tears" from bright eyes in the assembly, as well as from beneath more manly brows.

Mr. J. T. NORTON then offered the following resolutions:—

Resolved, That this meeting, having heard the statements of the gentlemen who have addressed them, are fully satisfied of the importance of the efforts of the American Colonization Society, and that it is our solemn duty, as men and as Christians, to co-operate with them.

Resolved, That it is desirable the city of Albany should raise a sum sufficient to transport to the Colony in Africa, ONE HUNDRED colored emigrants; it being understood that a large number are ready to take their departure whenever the means can be provided; and that the sum of THIRTY dollars will send out one emigrant, and maintain him in the Colony six months.

The motion was seconded by Rev. JOHN N. CAMPBELL, who begged leave to add the following resolution, which he enforced by a few spirited remarks:—

Resolved, That it be required of the Board of Managers at Washington City, that the emigrants who shall be sent out in this expedition, shall be persons of good moral characters and steady habits—that if it be possible, one or more teachers shall be of their number—that they shall go out as an ORGANIZED TEMPERANCE SOCIETY; and that if it be not inconsistent with the regulations of the Society, they shall be established in a separate settlement, to be called ALBANY.

Mr. CORTLANDT VAN RENSSLAER then rose and moved the following resolutions, which were supported at some length by an interesting address on the high importance of complete instruction for the mass of mind increasing on the shores of Africa.

WHEREAS, the prosperity of every Republic, greatly depends, under God, upon the efficiency of its means of instructing and enlightening its citizens: AND WHEREAS, the Republic of Liberia is one, in the prosperity and good government of which, the people of this State continue to feel the deepest interest: AND WHEREAS, the system of education, which is the glory of New York, would be instrumental, under a superintending Providence, in producing equally great and beneficial results on the coast of Africa: Therefore,

Resolved, That, with the permission of the Parent Society, and in co-operation with the citizens of Liberia, we will assist in laying the foundation, and rearing, the structure of a complete system of education within the limits of their territory.

Resolved, That as the commencement of the enterprise, measures be immediately taken to establish a HIGH SCHOOL in the Colony, with special reference to the education of teachers for the common schools, now, or hereafter to be, in operation.

Resolved, That a correspondence be immediately opened with the Liberians, under the direction of the N. Y. State Colonization Society, for the purpose of obtaining such information as, from time to time, may be necessary to secure the great objects in view.

Resolved, That other towns and cities in the State be earnestly solicited to co-operate with the State Society, in carrying forward this great enterprise.

The resolutions were seconded and ably advocated by Rev. E. N. KIRK.

The meeting was one of profound interest, and must have the happiest influence in the city—an influence which, it is hoped, will not be bounded by the limits of the city of Albany, but will extend throughout the State.

Upwards of SIX HUNDRED DOLLARS were subscribed at this meeting, as an opening sum towards the three thousand proposed to be raised for the ALBANY emigrants.

The following gentlemen were appointed a committee to carry the resolutions of the meeting into effect: Harmanus Bleecker, John T. Norton, James King, Ambrose Spencer, John Townsend, Benjamin F. Butler, Israel Smith, Israel Williams, Ira Harris, E. V. De Witt, Daniel D. Barnard.

The meeting was concluded with prayer by the Rev. Mr. CAMPBELL.

(C) Any donations towards this object may be left with ISRAEL SMITH, (Smith & Porter) 394 South Market street.

COLONIZATION SOCIETY.—On Sunday and Monday evenings of last week, we, in common with a large number of our fellow citizens, had the pleasure of hearing the views of Mr. Finley, Agent for this Society, stated in two eloquent lectures; one at the First Presbyterian church, the other at the Bleecker street church. It has seldom fallen to our lot to be more interested than we were on those occasions. He dealt principally in facts that had fallen under his personal observation,—every one of which spoke volumes. Whether Mr. Finley gave us a view of the sunny side only, is not for us to say. Certain it is that his facts and arguments flatly contradict what we have heard from the lips of the Abolitionists. But if the facts stated by him are truly illustrative of this great cause, it is without exception, the most magnificent enterprise in which man ever engaged. This cause has lately received new impulse from the fact that the operations of the Society have been violently opposed. It is a question calculated to enlist the warmest feelings of the philanthropist, and has arrested the attention of the legislative bodies of the Southern States. We have no doubts that slavery will be removed from this land as fast as possible without doing violence to the law and constitution. Let the work go on.—*Eluc.*

Unca, October 1st, 1833.

FROM LIBERIA.

From the Frankfort (Ky.) Cross, Oct. 10.

The following is an extract from a letter lately received by Mr. T. A. Mills, Corresponding Secretary of the Kentucky Colonization Society. It is written by the young gentleman who went out in charge of the late expedition from this state, and contains the only certain intelligence we have yet received.

Monrovia, Liberia, July 19, 1833.

DEAR SIR—We arrived in this port on the 11th instant, and were detained about a week before landing, as the government boats were employed in conveying an expedition down the coast to Grand Bassa. Having had the Cholera on board, we were forbid landing at the usual place, and were under the necessity of having every thing washed and fumigated, before proceeding to Caldwell. We were much afflicted on our voyage, having lost twenty-nine, many of whom were children, (five only excepted) who died with the whooping cough, and worms. The Cholera raged for about fifteen days, and seemed as though it would sweep every thing before it. The emigrants now are mostly in good health and spirits; and are in a fair way to be pleasantly and profitably located, most if not all of them, at Millsburg. The list of deaths, with the diseases, have been furnished to the governor, and will appear in his next annual report.—From reports circulating in this place, many of the emigrants fear they may come to want,

but I have not, after much inquiry, been able to find one industrious person who did not feel that he was able to obtain a comfortable livelihood by his labor. On the whole, I am better pleased with the colony and its location than I expected to be, and my expectations at first were not very low. The colonists, who for the first six months are supported by the Society, have enough to render them comfortable, though some two or three persons are dissatisfied. They draw their rations every Saturday for the ensuing week, which consists of pork or beef, meal, flour, rice, and molasses or sugar, and in quantities which our most respectable emigrants say are abundantly sufficient.

Although, as I have stated, that no industrious man in health need come to want; yet, as health in this country is very precarious for the first year or eighteen months, each emigrant should be furnished with at least a few pounds of tobacco and a few yards of coarse cotton cloth or check, to aid them in case of absolute want; especially they should be provided with hoes, axes, spades, hammers, &c. &c. as many of these things cannot be obtained in the public store. A little additional expense in cloth or tobacco will render those comfortable who otherwise must suffer, and this expense should not be spared though the number of the emigrants would be thereby diminished. A liberal supply of woollen clothes for the rainy season should also be sent out with each expedition, as the climate is far from being uncomfortably warm.

I had almost forgot to mention the attention paid to the emigrants by Capt. Taylor. It is my opinion that you will not be able to find another man who will accommodate himself more for their comfort.

Sincerely yours,

A. H. SAVAGE.

MR. T. A. MILLS.

LETTER FROM A COLONIST.

The subjoined letter, addressed to a gentleman in Georgetown, D. C., is from a respectable coloured man, formerly a resident of this District. He emigrated from it about a year ago to the Colony, in poverty; but by industry and attention to business, has been able to lay the foundation of a solid independence:

Liberia, Grand Bassa, July 27, 1833.

Dear Sir,—I have taken this opportunity of informing you of my health and happiness.—I am well at present, and hope this may find you the same. I am yet remaining at Grand Bassa, and much better pleased than I was the time I wrote you before. My views as respects agriculture, I have carried into full operation. The corn which I tried, I raised to be as good corn as I have seen in the United States, and I have procured enough for the next crop. I have also cultivated the American watermelon, and it grows very well in this country. I have also laid down the founda-

tions of my houses, one 18 by 20, the other 12 by 14. This I have done during the eight months I have resided in Grand Bassa. My object in writing these few lines, is to show that there can be a living made in Africa, provided health can be preserved. It is true that we have many cases of sickness and death in this settlement, but I do not think as many as at Cape Montserado or Caldwell. We have had as many as eight deaths during our residence in this place, and principally children. Sickness in this country often occurs from eating improper fruit, such as pine apples, bananas, and palm wine, all of which I find injurious. I hope you will do what you can for Grand Bassa. The prospect before us authorizes the belief that we can supply a return cargo of one or \$2000 in camwood and palm oil in exchange for flour, sugar, molasses, domestic cloths, beads, pipes, tobacco, powder, beef and pork, &c. I find that we have made friends with all the surrounding tribes. I am happy to inform you that I have found a friend in Mr. John B. Russwurm of Monrovia, to whom you recommended me. The first time I made my appearance at Cape Montserado, after having resided at Grand Bassa 6 months, he opened his doors to me and gave me credit for the amount of one hundred and sixty dollars, of which I have, in one month and a half, nearly made my returns. My best respects to Mr. Gurley, my worthy friend. I hope you will forward my wife as quick as possible.

Yours respectfully,

HANSON LEIPER.

From the Christian Advocate, (New York), July 12, 19.

LIBERIA MISSION.

The Rev. Melville B. Cox, who left America in November last, for the Colony at Liberia, on the western coast of Africa, has forwarded, by the Jupiter, his first report to the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church. It is a document of considerable length; and is accompanied by another document of forty or fifty pages, entitled, "Sketches of Western Africa," addressed to the editors of the *Christian Advocate and Journal*.

We had the pleasure of an interview with Mr. Williams, the vice-agent of the Colony, and acting governor. He has come to the United States on some business, a part of which is to obtain ordination as a minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church, which we presume he will obtain, as he has the regular papers and vouchers for that purpose. Mr. Williams has been in the Colony two years: was converted in the Colony. We learned from him that Mr. Cox had regularly organized the Methodist Episcopal Church in Monrovia; that there was a church also at Caldwell, and another at Millsburgh; besides three of other denominations in the Colony. Mr. Williams mentioned also, that a camp meeting had just closed, the first ever held in the Colony, at which there was a gracious revival, about twenty-five or thirty having been converted to God. They have a Sunday school and a day school.

It will be seen from the extracts which we give below, from Mr. Cox's letter, that he has purchased the mission house formerly built in the Colony, and that he proposes the establishment of three more missionary stations; one at Grand Bassa, about seventy miles from Monrovia; one at Grand Cape Mount, about fifty miles; and one at Sego, in the very heart of Africa, on the Niger.—This last mission Mr. Cox proposes to call the "Myrick Mission," in reference to the late Mr. Myrick of Petersburg, Va., who left a large legacy to the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, expressing a wish that it might be the means of establishing a foreign mission.

Mr. Cox also deems it necessary that a school should be connected with each mission station, and that there should be a school of more extensive arrangements on the model of the Maine Wesleyan Seminary. His remarks on this matter we think judicious; though it will be a question whether the Missionary, or the Colonization Society ought to establish this school. The whole report is under the consideration of a special committee of the Missionary Society, and all these plans suggested by Mr. Cox, will be examined, and decisions be had on them. In the mean time we proceed to give some extracts from the report:

N. B.—Mr. Cox sent home a trunk of curiosities to the Missionary Society, among which is a beautiful copy of the Koran, in Arabic, which he procured on the Gambia.

To the Board of Managers of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church at New York.

Dear Brethren:—I am sure you will join me in grateful acknowledgments to a gracious God for my safe arrival at Liberia. It is of his mercy I am here—to Him be all the praise.

Of my voyage I will here only say, it was a stormy and a long one. We were more than two months from coast to coast, and more than four to Cape Montserado. But, thank God, we are here—here safely.—Though more than two months on the coast before our arrival, not one of our number were lost, until we were safely set on shore at Monrovia. Since then death has taken one from our company; one that was too far gone, however, with the pulmonary consumption, long to have survived in any climate. With this exception, we are all as well as "new comers" in general. Some have had slight attacks of the fever, which, it is said, all must have; the remainder are waiting, some patiently, others anxiously, their seasoning. For my own part, I have no painful fears upon the subject. God, I know, has both life and health in his keeping—what is good, that will he do. I have had too many instances of his goodness in my rather lonely enterprise, to be at all afraid to trust in him now.

In view of much friendly advice that has been given me, by those better acquainted with the climate than myself, I have as yet done but little. Thought, however, has not been idle. I have been planning and watching the openings of Providence, and praying

for the direction of Almighty God, without whose aid the best-concerted plans and utmost vigor of strength I know are but as ropes of sand. His light, and his only, I intend to follow. And as Methodism has hitherto been the child of Providence, wherever established, so here I trust it will be planted with his own hand. With these convictions, and by a train of circumstances, which I think singularly and clearly providential, I have been led to purchase a mission house at Monrovia, for which I am to pay five hundred dollars. Though I have done it on my own responsibility, I have great confidence to believe that you will not only approve but commend the courage which sustained me in doing it.

The house was built by the lamented Ashmun, and three lots beside the one on which the house stands, were, by him, assigned for missionary purposes. At his death he gave the house in fee simple to the Basle mission, and by consequence, on some mutual agreement between them and him, they became possessed of the land also. One of these missionaries is now at Sierra Leone, and hearing that the house was for sale, and presuming what I have found to be true—that houses would be rented with much difficulty—I sought an interview with him, and, after some conversation, proposed purchasing it, provided, on seeing it, it should suit the interests of our mission, with the understanding, however, that we should become possessed of the land also.

Presuming that our missionary society has never been legally incorporated; I shall take good care that the house and premises are properly secured to individual members of the board for the benefit of the mission. For its payment I shall draught, payable at thirty days after sight, on the Young Men's Missionary Society, with the hope that it may be made the occasion of a special meeting; at which perhaps a collection may be lifted that will more than cover its amount. Sure I am, could they see our Colony as it is; could they have but one bird's-eye view of the magnitude of our mission, as seen from Cape Montserado, of Africa, and the millions that are perishing for the lack of knowledge in its vast wildernesses, they might take up as many thousands as it is hundreds, in New York, alone. There is not in the wide world such a field for missionary enterprise. There is not in the wide world a field that promises to the sincere efforts of a Christian community a richer harvest. There is not in the wide world a spot to which Americans owe so much to human beings, as to this same degraded Africa. She has toiled for our comfort; she has borne a galling yoke for our ease and indulgence; she has driven our plough, has tilled our soil, and gathered our harvests, while our children have lived in ease, and been educated with the fruits thereof. Shall we make her no returns? If she has given to us "carnal things" can we do less than return her intellectual and spiritual things? God help us to do it, nor to think we have done enough, until Africa is redeemed.

WHAT I WANT TO DO.—I want to establish a mission at Grand Bassa, a very promis-

ing settlement, about seventy miles to the eastward of Monrovia. Our Church has children already there who have emigrated from America. They need our care—our instruction. Religion in our colored friends from home, has not been sufficiently fortified with principle, to withstand the temptations, and to meet the difficulties, which will necessarily occur in a land of pagan idolatry and heathen superstition. I have thought, too, that *through them*, perhaps the Gospel might be the more readily communicated to the natives around them. Added to this, the place is very easy of access, is better suited to the interests of agriculture than perhaps any settlement yet made in the Colony; and the natives are said to have a strong desire to learn, and to be possessed of much more than ordinary innocence and docility of character.

I have already engaged a person to build a small house and a cane or log church, near the centre of the settlement; the whole of which will cost perhaps one hundred and fifty or two hundred dollars, over thirty of which I have already advanced. The governor has kindly offered an acre of land to build them on, which of itself, in the course of a few years, will cover the expense.

A mission of still greater importance I propose to establish at or near Grand Cape Mount, about fifty miles to the windward.—As you will perceive, we intend to line the coast. And I do pray that it may be with such a moral power as shall effectually put a stop to the cursed practice of slave stealing, which I regret to say is still carried on between this and Sierra Leone, and between that and the Gambia. As yet no colonists have settled there, but the king is exceedingly anxious for a missionary who will teach his children "Book," and the natives are represented as being far more intelligent than at any place under the protection of the Colony. The spot from appearances as I passed it, and from representation, I should think healthier than this, and as a mission for the instruction of natives offers, in my view, greater advantages than any place south of Sierra Leone.

I shall employ my own time for the present in visiting the different stations, learning and arranging some one of the native languages, establishing and visiting the schools, and preaching as my health will permit.

The "Myrick mission," must be established at Sego, on the Niger. And there is no place to which I shall look for happier results than from this far-famed river. I had fixed on Sego as a place for missionary exertion, before I received brother Hall's letter mentioning your intentions. It is in the very heart of Africa.

To get there, we must ascend the Gambia as far as Tenda, whence it is but about ten* days' walk. There is a factory at Tenda, and before we arrive there will be another at

Sego, owned by Mr. Grant, an English merchant at Bathurst. He is very friendly to Methodism,—I am personally acquainted with him, and, if the board desire it, I will meet the missionary selected for this spot, at the Gambia or here, and accompany him to Sego, see him well settled, and return. I am also personally acquainted with the governor at the Gambia, with several of the merchants, and trust that my visit there left a favorable impression on the community in general.—Either or all I am sure will afford every facility in their power to promote the interests of both learning and religion in the benighted region with which they are surrounded.

In selecting a man for this station in particular, great care will be necessary. Do not send a boy, nor one whose character is unformed or unsettled. He will be exposed to many privations, hardships, and temptations; and, besides, Africans pay almost as much deference to age as did the Jews anciently.—Send one well acquainted with Methodism, and one well acquainted with theology in general. Added to these, and to all these tempers, self-sacrifice and deep devotion, which should characterise all missionaries, it would be well if, before he leaves, he would devote a few months, at least, to the study of the Arabic language. He will there be constantly coming in contact with Mohammedans, and a knowledge of Arabic would very much exalt him in their estimation. And though others seem to think the conversion of these next to an impossibility, I know of no other class to which I would sooner go with the story of the cross for success, than to these same sons of the prophet. They have now some knowledge of God, and their absurdities would soon yield to truth. Difficulties would, no doubt, occur at first; but once gain access, and you have the whole man—a mighty host at command—and more intellect than perhaps can be found in the same number of souls in all uncivilized Africa.

SCHOOLS.—I wish to connect with each of the missions named, a small school, at first to be under the immediate tuition of the missionary; afterward, as the labors of the station may increase, to be under a regular teacher. I scarcely need say, that in all uncivilized countries, but little progress can be made in religion or learning unless they go hand in hand, as soon as we can *speak to them*, appeal to the heart, but let it be sustained by another to the head.

A school of still greater importance than all these, I wish to establish some where near Monrovia, Caldwell, or Millsburg,—a school that shall be properly *academical* as well as "primary." For my model I have selected the *Maine Wesleyan Seminary*. The object will be to unite under one roof, religion, art, science, and industry. This is just what Africa needs. It struck me with great force on my passage here, and observation on the coast has but strengthened the conviction. Nothing, I am sure, short of something of this kind, can meet wants such as are here found. The natives, of course, have no habits of well-directed industry: they know but little of agriculture, and every thing like art is done at immense labor, and these all come within the

* If this be true, my map and maps in general are in error. They mark the distance between Tenda and Sego much farther. I had my information from a merchant who frequently trades with the natives of the place.

purview of our mission. If we christianize them,—if the one could be done without the other,—and have them to mingle with the common herd, we shall spend our strength for naught. They must be both christianized and civilized before our work will be well done.

The great difficulty in instructing the natives here, has been to keep them entirely from native influence. For the want of this much labor has been, if possible, worse than lost. For this evil, the seminary proposed will be a sovereign remedy. It is intended that all the natives who may attend it, shall be bound to the society until they are eighteen and twenty-one; that they in particular shall become properly "institution scholars."—Half of their time will be devoted to manual labor; the remainder to study. With a seven or ten years course like this, *habitué*, to say nothing of religion, will become nature, and the mind too well enlightened and disciplined, and the taste and feelings too much refined, not to revolt at the thought of retrograding to its former barbarism. But, should God in mercy, as we doubt not he will, bless the scholars with a saving knowledge of Christ, they might then be trusted any where, and many among them would no doubt be raised up as able ministers of the New Testament, who would go forth into the wildernesses, whence they had been gathered, weeping, bearing precious seed.

Moreover, the interests of the Colony, in the most emphatic manner, require such an institution. It is not enough that one, two, or a dozen of well-educated colored men are sent from America; though we have not now one third of that number. Parents want something *here*, to which they can look for an education for their children that will fit them for every thing useful in business, and, if desired, all that is necessary as preparatory to a regular collegiate course. The wants of Africa as a whole call for it. The safety of Gospel doctrines and Gospel institutions calls for it. At present the *intellectual* are more pressing, if possible, than even the moral wants of the Colony.

There is too, I am glad to say, among the colonists in general, especially in the late Charleston expedition, an ardent thirst for knowledge, and a strong desire for an institution of the kind. In conversing a few days since with a pious mechanic upon the subject, "I would," said he, "willingly give a year's labor for a year's instruction."

Schools and colleges to educate them in America, will not answer our wants. We need to breathe and to feel the atmosphere of such instructions here. It would awaken a still deeper thirst for learning. It would arouse much in intellect that is now as dormant as inert matter, excite a laudable emulation, and secure the education of many a promising youth here, whose genius and talents might otherwise be unknown.

The teachers of this institution should be *white* men, at least the principal. There are now no white teachers here.

To establish a seminary of this kind, I know it will cost money. But at this moment ten thousand dollars might very easily be raised for such a purpose.

Let an agent be appointed for the work, whose sole duty shall be to travel and take up collections for it, for one year, and I should be almost willing to become responsible for the balance that might be necessary.

The religious state of the Colony I must defer for a future communication. My mind is too much burdened with the care of properly organizing the Church, of regulating the Sabbath school, and of settling some difficulties which occurred before my arrival, and perhaps I have not sufficiently caught the spirit of the times, to do it accurately.

I cannot close this without mentioning that I am much indebted to the Wesleyan missionary at the Gambia, also those at Sierra Leone, nor would it be just to omit the names of the Rev. Messrs. West, Raban, Metzger, Graham, and Kissling, of the Church of England. From them I derived many of the facts in the few "sketches," I have made.—Mr. West, the chaplain of St. Mary's, in particular, in addition to his christian courtesy to myself, just before I left him, handed me a purse of about twenty dollars, to be distributed among our emigrants.

I will only add, that I believe our mission to be admirably timed. Earlier might have been fatal—later, the ascendancy lost. The field is wide, and I believe ripe for the sickle. Should our lives and health be preserved, you may calculate on a success that will justify any effort in sustaining the mission, which religion or humanity can make.

Commending it all to God, I am, dear brother, your obedient servant in the Gospel,
MELVILLE B. COX.

Monrovia, April 8, 1833.

—
Monrovia, May 4, 1833.

DEAR SIR—I forgot to state in my last that the mission in Grand Bassa will be placed in charge of a *colored* Brother. Could we find men suitable, it would probably be for the interest of the mission, as well as the colony, and the interest of our colored friends in general, to call as many of them into the field, as *auxiliaries*, as could conveniently be supported. Their constitutions, it is thought by some, are better suited to the climate than that of the white man's, and it would have a tendency to allay the many petty and fearful jealousies that exist here against *white* influence. The whole colony, with a few exceptions, seems strangely fearful of the authority of white men in any form. Time and patience, and love, however, I doubt not, will soon correct the evil.

The brother who will be placed in charge has a wife, but no children. I propose to give to him two hundred dollars a year. This at Bassa will be nearly equivalent to four hundred dollars here. Provisions of every kind which Africa affords, can be bought there at fifty and a hundred, nay, many things at two hundred per cent. cheaper than here. Two hundred dollars, with the privilege of living in the mission house, free of rent, which I am building there, I think will make him quite comfortable. His name is Isaac Liggings. He can *preach well*, uses good language, is deeply pious; but reads only ordinarily well, and writes but poorly.

It is a time of much sickness, suffering and death in the colony, more so than for any time for several years past. Brethren, pray for us, that the clouds which seem to be gathering around us may be dissipated, and that this land of darkness may yet become as the garden of the Lord.

In great weakness, I am, dear brother, yours in the labors and sufferings of the Gospel of Christ,
MELLVILLE B. COX.

Since the foregoing article was in type, the melancholy news of Mr. Cox's death reached the U. States. This event led to the following proceedings on the part of the Young Men's Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church, which we extract from the N. York Christian Advocate and Journal, of the 27th ult.

**DEATH OF THE REV. MELVILLE B. COX,
MISSIONARY TO LIBERIA.**

By the arrival of the brig American, Capt. Abels, from Monrovia, which place he left on the 15th of August, we have received the painful intelligence of the death of Rev. M. B. Cox, missionary of the Methodist Episcopal Church to Liberia.

Mr. Cox sailed from Norfolk, Va., on the 6th of November last; and after a long passage, during which the ship visited St. Jago, one of the Cape de Verdes, Sierra Leone, and the mouth of the Gambia, he arrived at Monrovia on the 11th of March, his health being considerably improved during the voyage.

He met with a kind reception at the Colony, and immediately entered on the duties of his mission. On glancing his eye over his assigned field of labor, he saw that much was needed to be done immediately. His first object was to organize the people of his charge as a branch of the Methodist Episcopal Church. This done, he next turned his attention to the missionaries who were expected soon to follow him, and assigned to each his particular charge, purchased the Basle (*Swiss*) mission house, and to a considerable extent explored the situation and wants of the Colony. For information on these and other points, we must refer to his report to the Board of Managers, and the Sketches of Western Africa, lately published in the Christian Advocate and Journal.

Soon after his arrival at Monrovia, Mr. Cox was taken down by the fever, and his debilitated constitution was unable to resist its successive attacks. He was confined to his room for the greater part of his time there, although at times he appeared to be convalescing.—He, on Sabbath day, the 21st of July,

"His body with his charge laid down,
And ceased at once to work and live."

We are indebted to the kindness of Mr. Savage, a teacher at Caldwell, for nearly all the information we have respecting the state of his mind during the three or four last days of his life, which was that of confidence in the mercy of God, through the blood of Christ.

This Providence, to short-sighted mortals, so mysterious and dark, shall be overruled for

the furtherance of the Gospel and the interest of the mission in Africa.

While the Society offer their gratitude to Almighty God for His mercies, they are on this occasion called to the mournful duty of paying a tribute of respect, due to their late beloved missionary. They are persuaded that the friends of missions will sympathize with them in this expression of their feelings, bestowed upon the memory of this excellent and devoted man. He has fallen in his glory, and in his holy work.

In behalf of the Board,

GABRIEL P. DISOSWAY, *Chr. Sec.*

New York, Sept. 21st, 1833.

We are enabled to present to our readers an account of the last hours of this devoted missionary, extracted from a letter from Mr. SAVAGE, the gentleman mentioned above, dated Monrovia, July 22d, 1833:—

"When I first came on shore, having a package to deliver to brother Cox, I took an early opportunity to call, having previously understood that he was sick. He seemed much gratified to see me and spoke with freedom and apparent ease on all subjects connected with the mission, expressing regret that the assistant missionaries had not arrived, and mourned over the low state of religion in that place. On enquiry whether he intended to return to America, he hesitated, but finally said he did not know. At this time he seemed quite cheerful, and his nurse informed me that he appeared much better than he really was, probably owing to his having heard from America.

"On my calling again, he seemed to regret my intention of returning to America, and urged the necessity of more laborers in this part of the vineyard. Before I left him his spirits seemed depressed, and on asking the reason, he replied that he never had any doubts of his acceptance with God, as he had long since entered into covenant with Him; nor did he now distrust the Divine Mercy; but that he sometimes doubted whether he was in his proper sphere of labor; for said he, "though I know that my motive was good in coming to Africa, I may have erred in judgment as the best of men may sometimes do." I have strong attachments in America. He then spoke with emphasis on all subjects connected with his mission, and more especially the schools, one of which was about commencing at Grand Bassa, and seemed to lament that a teacher had not arrived.

"On my return from Millsburg, where I had been absent about 3 days, I found him much worse, having had a relapse of the fever. At his request, I concluded to remain with him until Monday, this being Saturday. He was now so feeble as to be able to say but few words. Though he seemed desirous if possible to return home, he appeared resigned to the will of God, and seemed conscious of the near approach of death. On my asking if there was any person he wished to see, he replied, every thing is arranged; and added, my whole trust is in God. Mentioning the infinite love and condescension of the Lord Jesus in giving himself for his re-

bellious creatures, he said—"All my hope is in and through Him." When near his end and unable to speak, except in monosyllables, he said I am not afraid to die! Though from the nature of the disease respiration was difficult, and he apparently suffered much, yet he uniformly said that he felt no pain.—Soon after the above remark, he appeared engaged in prayer, and then articulated several times in succession, come! come! as if wanting to say come Lord Jesus and come quickly. Reviving a little, he pronounced distinctly "pen," which I immediately stepped aside to procure, but supposing I did not understand him, he said "ink," both of which I brought to his bedside, but he was so overcome by this exertion, that he could say nothing more, except at intervals come! come! This was about 1 o'clock. About 3, he turned on his side and seemed easy; but this tranquillity was the moment of his departure. The mortal conflict was closed, and he breathed his soul into the hands of his Redeemer, leaving Africa and his friends to mourn their loss. He died on Sabbath the 21st of July."

Postponement of the Western Expedition.

At a meeting of the Board of Managers of the Kentucky Colonization Society, convened in Frankfort, Oct. 8th, 1833, the following preamble and resolutions were adopted, viz:

WHEREAS, from the general prevalence of the Cholera throughout our country during the past summer, it is deemed impracticable to fit out another expedition to Liberia in November next, as was contemplated by a former resolution of this Board passed on the 13th day of April last—

Resolved, That the fitting out of said expedition be postponed until the next spring, to rendezvous at Louisville, Kentucky, on the 1st Monday in March, 1834, and that our Agent and Auxiliary Societies be requested to adopt such measures as shall in their opinions be best calculated to carry this resolution into effect.

Rev. W. P. Macknight, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, has been duly appointed an Agent of this Society, and as such is respectfully recommended to the public generally, and to the friends of the cause in particular.

By order of the Board of Managers.

A. WINGATE, *Rec. Secretary.*

NEW ENGLAND MISSION TO LIBERIA.

Agreeably to notice, the public meeting of the Young Men's Methodist Foreign Missionary Society of New England, was held last evening at the Broomfield Street Church; and such was the interest felt in the exercises of this occasion, that long before their commencement that spacious building with all its aisles, galleries, entries, and every nook and corner about it where a spectator could station himself, were filled to overflowing. The missionaries (who will leave in the Jupiter from Norfolk) were the Rev. R. Spaulding, the Rev. S. O. Wright, their wives, and Miss S. Farrington. Mr. Wright had intended, we believe, to go to Cape Mount and Mr. S. to Grand Bassa, but the recent decease of Mr.

Cox must probably render their precise destination undetermined till they arrive on the coast. The exercises having commenced with an original hymn by a full choir, prayers were offered by the Rev. R. Anderson, Secretary of the American Board of Foreign Missions, and addresses made by the Rev. Messrs. Wright, Spaulding and Burrill of Ipswich.—These were of the most solemn and affecting character.—[*Boston Mer. Journal*, Sept. 30.]

POETRY.

The following production of Mrs. SIGOURNEY's gifted pen, graces the last number of the Colonizationist:—

MISSIONS TO AFRICA.

OH AFRIC!—fam'd in story,
The nurse of Egypt's might,
A cloud is on thy glory,
And quench'd thine ancient light;
Stern Carthage made the pinion
Of Rome's strong eagle cover,—
But brief was her dominion,
Lost is her trace of power.

And thou—the stricken-hearted,—
The scorn'd of every land,
Thy diadem departed,
Dost stretch thy fetter'd hand:—
How long shall misery wring thee,
And none arise to save?
And every billow bring thee
Sad tidings from the slave?

Is not thy time of weeping,
Thy night of darkness o'er?
Is not Heaven's justice keeping
Its vigil round thy shore?
I see a watch-light burning
On lone Liberia's Tower,
To guide thy sons returning
In Freedom's glorious power.

Thy pyramids aspiring
Unceasing wonder claim,
While every age admiring,
Demands their founder's name;
But more enduring glory
Shall settle on his head,
Who blest Salvation's story
Shall o'er thy deserts spread.

THE EXPEDITION TO THE NIGER.

A Liverpool paper says: "Letters have been received from Mr. Lander, dated Fernando Po, May 9. Our readers have been already informed of the expedition having entered the river Niger. It appears that the crew had caught the Fever on the coast, and that they carried the infection with them. During the first month not less than twenty deaths occurred among the persons composing the expedition; in the second five. Of the officers only three remained alive, namely, Messrs. Laird and Lander and Lieut. Allen.

Mr. Lander left the steamboats on the 14th of April, about 400 miles up the Niger, opposite the mouth of Lake Tschad. The object of his voyage to the coast was to procure necessaries, &c. The country on the banks of the Niger was found to be highly fertile, and

capable of being made to produce all kinds of tropical fruits, &c. The natives had received the expedition in the most friendly manner, and an amicable intercourse between them had taken place. One of the native kings or chiefs had visited the steamers, and was surprised and delighted with what he saw. He returned the compliment by inviting the officers to an entertainment on shore. At this *fete* his majesty produced two men, whom

he was about to offer as a sacrifice in honor of the visit of the white men. He was, however, entreated to spare the victims, and yielded to the entreaties of his new friends with a truly royal grace. The letters speak very confidently of the ultimate success of the commercial objects of the expedition. Had it not been for the ravages caused by the fever, the most complete success would, are now, have attended the enterprise.

CONTRIBUTIONS

To the American Colonization Society from the 1st of Sept. to the 9th of Oct.

George Burwell's subscription on plan of G. Smith, per Bishop Meade,	\$100	
Subscriptions by sundry individuals in Bishop Meade's congregation,	126 62—	226 62
Collection in Methodist Ep. church, Trenton, N. J. Rev. T. I. Thompson,		5
Aux. Col. Society of Wadsworth, Ohio, per A. Dickinson, Esq.		22
Collection in Ridley creek church, Delaware,	\$5	
Lower Brandywine do. do. by Rev. T. Love,	4—	9
St. Paul's church, Norfolk, Rev. E. Boyden, Rector,		16
Eben. Rhoades, Esq. Boston,		100
Female Col. Society of the Great Valley Baptist church and congregation, Pa. per		
Leonora Fletcher,		100
John T. Clark, Esq. of Mount Laurel, Halifax county, Virginia,	\$40	
Mrs. Priscilla Clark,	10—	50
M. Dering, Esq. Tr. Monongalia Col. Society,		30
Collection in Paterson, N. J. by Rev. Samuel Fisher,		20
Amount remitted by Hon. E. Whittlesey, viz:		
Collection in 1st Congregational Society, Hudson, Ohio,	\$20	
Oliver O. Brown, Esq. of Hudson, Ohio,	20	
Collection at a meeting of the Youngstown Sabbath School,	3 50	
in Youngstown Presbyterian church, Rev. Mr. Stafford,	5 50	
Hon E. Whittlesey, on account of Repository,	1—	60
Collection in Baptist congregation, Stockton, N. York, Rev. J. Bailey,		10
Remitted by I. W. Davis, Esq. Tr. Albemarle, Va. Col. Society, viz:		
Collection by Rev. Z. Meade,	\$22 50	
" " F. Bowman,	8 63	
" " B. Fickland,	5	
Contribution by members of the Society,	3 87—	40
Collection in Middle Spring Presbyterian congregation, Rev. John Moody,		15
in congregations of Lower & Middle Tuscarora, Juniata county, Pa.		18
John Patterson, Tuscarora Valley, Pa. for African Repository,		2
Contribution by A. W. Porter,		100
Collections in congs. of Mount Pleasant & Sawicklys, Pa. Rev. A. O. Patterson,		18 65
James Williamson, Roxboro, N. C. \$3—for Repository \$2,		5
Aux. Col. Society of Virginia, per B. Brand, Tr.		278
Collection in Presbyterian church, Jonesborough, Tenn. by Rev. H. M. Kerr,		15
Donation by do.		5
Collection in Trinity church, Rutland, Vt. per C. Rodenbaugh, Esq.		12
E. F. Backus, subscription on Gerrit Smith's plan,		100
Collection in Trinity church, Upper Marlboro, Md. by Rev. John Swan, Rector,		8
in Presbyterian church, Trenton, N. J. Rev. Eli F. Cooley, per I. Hill,		6
Contribution from Eastern shore of Maryland, by "A Friend to the Society,"		50
Gen. John H. Cocke's subscription on the plan of Gerrit Smith,		100
Collection in Methodist Ep. church, Alexandria, by Rev. C. A. Davis,		12 87
Collections transmitted by Rev. S. Patton, viz:		
Rev. I. M'Daniel, Frailley's, Russell county,	\$1 56	
Rev. S. Patton at Rye Cove Camp Ground, Scott county, Va.	7 31	
at Reedy Creek Camp Ground, Sullivan county, Tenn.	12 56—	21 48
Collection in Methodist Protestant ch. Georgetown, D. C. Rev. Thos. H. Stockton,		50
in Presbyterian church, Jamaica, L. I., N. Y., Rev. Elias W. Crane,		25
at Millerstown, Pa. Rev. William Paxton,		10
Female Aux. Society, Albemarle county, Va. (\$30 of which is to constitute the		
Rev. Z. Mead: a Life Member) per Mrs. Susan B. Terrill, Tr.		82
Collection in Methodist Episcopal ch. East Baltimore station, Rev. David Steele,		28
Colonization Society, Lynchburg, Va. by E. Fletcher, Esq. Tr.		120
Collection in Carmel meeting house, Clermont county, Ohio,	\$2 26	
Carmel Col. Society, per Rev. A. L. M'Lain,	27 74—	30

Total amount,

\$1,226 57

THE AFRICAN REPOSITORY, AND COLONIAL JOURNAL.

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"THE PROTEST."

A transatlantic "PROTEST" against the American Colonization Society, which it seems, was published in the London Christian Advocate, in compliance with a request from Mr. W. L. Garrison, has been circulated in this country with a diligence indicating that strong reliance is placed on it. The grounds of this reliance may be presumed to be either the facts and arguments of the paper referred to, or the names of the individuals by whom it is subscribed. In the eye of reason, the first only of these topics would, perhaps, appear worthy of regard; but a bare inspection of the "Protest" manifests that the last was expected to be received as the criterion of its value. We concede, in the outset, that so far as *authority* merely is concerned, the British Protest is a formidable document. Of its signers, all may be supposed, and a majority are known, to be more than ordinarily respectable: many of them are, on distinct accounts, prominent individuals; and one had long before acquired a reputation, elevating his motives far above suspicion, and rendering any errors of judgment which, as a member of the human family, he was liable to fall into, a delicate and almost forbidden theme. To WILBERFORCE it may well be forgiven that near the close of a long, an eminent, and a virtuous life, he should, in a single instance, yield his judgment to the appliances which beset it; and deeply must it be regretted that the brief space which followed before his death afforded him no available opportunity to re-examine the prejudice. Blessed be his spirit, and honored be his memory!

Whatever perils may betide the Colonization Society from the signatures to the Protest, none need be feared from its contents. Mr. W. L. G., to be sure, in a letter transmitting it to the London Editor, vaticinates in a cloudy metaphor, that it will be "a millstone about the neck of the Colonization Society, sufficiently weighty to drown it in an ocean of public indignation."—In homelier style we venture to predict, that if the action of the public is to be influenced in any considerable degree by its judgment, the Society will escape the threatened doom, and the Protest will be pronounced a harmless composition.

The notion of this "PROTEST" was probably suggested by a proceeding bearing that name, of occasional occurrence in the British Parliament. The liberality and vagueness of its denunciations permit, however, the reader to suspect that, in part, at least, it was borrowed from a marine Protest, in which the notary protests, not only against human beings, but against the winds and the waves. A Parliamentary Protest is generally accompanied by an exhibition of the *reasons* on which it is founded; a feature of the original which it has, in the instance under review, been deemed unnecessary or imprudent to present in the copy. This significant part of a PROTEST is here substituted by some "motives," "excuses," "opinions," "convictions," "objections," "beliefs," &c. &c., which it is our purpose to state, and briefly to examine.

1. The signers of this document say, "*We feel bound to affirm, that our de-*

liberate judgment and conviction are, that the professions made by the Colonization Society of promoting the abolition of slavery, are altogether delusive."

It may be regretted that the propriety of distinctly indicating the terms of the "professions of promoting the abolition of slavery," alleged to have been made by the Colonization Society, had not occurred to the distinguished Protesters: as in that case its advocates might better understand the charge of "delusion" which they are called on to suffer or repel. If by this charge it be meant that the "professions" made by the Society that its scheme exerts a powerful, though collateral influence in abolishing slavery with the consent of the slave owners, "are altogether delusive," we answer, that the proposition is hazarded in the face of authorized statements averring that, in the opinion of the Society, such is the tendency of the scheme; in the face of a host of facts testifying to the correctness of this view; in the face of declarations, of which the truth is neither denied nor deniable, that slaveholders offer to manumit their slaves on the condition of emigration to Liberia, in numbers too great for the means of the Society; in the face of the otherwise unimpeached personal respectability of those whom it charges with deception; and without the adduction of a solitary fact conflicting with this mass of evidence! When, therefore, the distinguished Protesters say that they "**FEEL BOUND TO AFFIRM** that [their] deliberate judgment and conviction are, that the professions made by the Colonization Society of promoting the abolition of slavery, are altogether delusive," every candid mind must consider the rule of ethics which prescribes so singular an obligation to be as incomprehensible as it is severe.

2. "*We cannot, however, refrain from expressing our strong opinion, that it is a settlement of which the United States ought to bear the whole cost. We never required of that country to assist us in Sierra Leone; we are enormously burdened by our own connection with slavery.*"

That the citizens of the United States would be materially benefited by the consummation of the colonization policy, is certainly true: This consideration constitutes a leading argument in favor of the policy: And on the rule of *quid pro quo*, the citizens of the U. States ought to pay the whole price for the benefit received. But this is a light in which it was hardly to be expected that the subject would be regarded by some, at least, of the distinguished Protesters. Are the citizens of the United States the only party who are to derive advantage from the success of the colonization scheme? Are the recovered liberty of the African, his restoration to the land of his fathers, his moral and intellectual elevation, the diffusion of letters among ignorant tribes, and the planting of the Christian cross over the ruins of a cruel idolatry—are all these benefactions to pass for nothing? or is the only practical enterprise hitherto devised for attaining these results, to be deemed unworthy of sympathy and co-operation in every clime? Such questions meet their fit answers in the speeches of the lamented WILBERFORCE;—one of the most magnificent offerings ever laid by genius on the altar of philanthropy. These triumphant addresses, spoken when British oratory was at its zenith, commanding applause from men in whose ears yet lingered the echoes of Murray's and of Chatham's voice, dividing with the eloquence of Burke and Fox and Sheridan, its claims on public admiration, and even taking from Pitt himself a part of his dominion over the "willing soul,"—breathe, in every sentence a spirit of enlarged, nay, universal benevolence, which rebukes forever the narrow dogma of the Protesters.

But, say these eminent persons, "we never required of [the U. S.] to assist us in Sierra Leone." And because the people of Great Britain did not "*re-quire*," and perhaps did not need American aid in establishing the Colony at Sierra Leone, it is deduced as a corollary, not only that the people of the U. States, who do need any assistance they can obtain for their Colony at Liberia, should not ask such assistance, but that when some of our transatlantic brethren are willing to afford it, others of them are under a moral necessity of choking, if they can, the stream of private benevolence by a "*Protest!*"—

A more palpable *non sequitur* was never pressed into the service of any cause. This is done, too, though the Protesters were aware, (for a contrary supposition would imply a deficiency in their knowledge, but ill consorted with the plenitude of their denunciation,) that the peculiar history and condition of the United States, in regard to African slavery, presented unsurmountable obstacles to speedy unanimity at home on any scheme for getting rid of it; and of course gave any proper and practical plan tending to such an object a fair claim to consideration among the pious and the humane abroad. If any thing were wanting to enforce this topic, the Protesters might have found it in the fact of which they have been recently impressively reminded by able writers in their own country, that whatever may be the evils of American slavery, these evils are part and parcel of our inheritance from our British ancestors. Grateful as we are to England for many and glorious portions of that inheritance—for her noble literature—for the maternal example of her industry and her greatness—for the transmitted blessings of civil and religious liberty—and for the free spirit which gives assurance that these blessings will be permanent—deeply grateful as we are to England for all these things, we have never yet thanked her for having introduced negro slavery into these States. Nay, farther; we have prayed her to forbear that mournful gift; and our colonial archives are not without precedents of “*Protests*” against it, as unavailing as they were earnest.*

It is hardly necessary to be observed, that this allusion is prompted by no unfriendly feeling towards England or any of her inhabitants—by no desire to retaliate the unkindness of the London manifesto. But it seems pertinent to remind the distinguished signers of that document, that there is nothing in the historical relations between our country and theirs, which so fetters their free agency as that they “*cannot refrain*” from interposing the weight of their authority between the benevolence of their fellow-citizens and the efforts of the American Colonization Society. The people of the U. States are also “*enormously burdened by their connexion with slavery:*” a connexion by no means of their own seeking.

3. The Protesters “*maintain*” that the Colony “*was formed chiefly to indulge the prejudices of American slave-holders.*”

The “*prejudices*” of an American slave-holder were of course supposed by the Protesters to be in favor of retaining his slave property. Now, as the proved tendency of the colonization scheme is to voluntary manumission, the Protesters must be understood as calling on us to believe that the Society was formed chiefly to “*indulge*” American slave-holders with a mode of abandoning property which their “*prejudices*” made them desirous of retaining. If this conclusion is to be avoided by a less literal interpretation of the passage, what, we ask, shall that interpretation be? What means this vague charge on the *motives* of the founders of the Society? It is susceptible of no imaginable construction which will not put directly at issue the *veracity* of both the founders and the friends of that Institution. They have deliberately, repeatedly, and in various forms, proclaimed to the world what those *motives* were; and if they are to be believed, the *motives* were pure, patriotic and benevolent; *motives* of which Christian charity was a powerful element. An imputation on motives thus vouched for, should not have been lightly made. Unsustained as it is by either argument or fact, it can derive significance from no authority, however respectable; though it is not impossible that the value of any authority less imposing than that of the London Protesters, might itself be affected by the character of the imputation. It may, we trust, be intimated, without offence, to these eminent persons, that among the originators and supporters of the American Colonization Society, are names illustrious as

* From the colonial remonstrances against the importation of slaves, may be cited the petition of the House of Burgesses of Virginia. The first slave ship that entered our waters, ascended the James river in that State, in the year 1620. Two extracts from the petition referred to will be found in the parts of Mr. WHITTLESEY’S late speech, published in our October number. See *African Repository*, Vol. 9, p. 326.

even the proudest of their own; and abundantly guarantying the purity of any enterprise which they engage in.

So far as the motives of slave-holding friends of colonization can be inferred from their conduct, there is certainly no room for distrust. One-third of the Colonists are manumitted slaves.

4. The Colony *"is regarded with aversion by the coloured population of the United States."*

Facts set forth in former numbers of this Journal, prostrate this assumption. It is true, that of our coloured people, those who live here in idleness, are reluctant to go where they are expected to rely ultimately on their own industry for the means of subsistence; others, from insensibility to the attractions of liberty; others again from never having reflected seriously on the subject; and a yet more numerous portion from the misrepresentations with which they are incessantly plied by the adversaries of colonization. On the other hand, the Society has, from the period of its going into full operation, received more applications from free people of colour to be enrolled in the Colony, than its means have enabled it to grant. The Protesters, it would seem, "maintain" that the coloured people who wish to emigrate to Liberia, ought not to be gratified in the wish, because others of their class prefer staying in the U. States in a condition of slavery, or of a *quasi* freedom often but little preferable, and sometimes not even preferred. With the same propriety might it be contended that because some desire, all should be compelled to go to the Colony; and it is perhaps on some such rule of reasoning that the Society has been imagined by its adversaries to meditate force in the colonization of the blacks, though its Constitution disclaims, and it is palpably impotent to execute any such design.

5. *"With regard to the extinction of the slave-trade, we apprehend that Liberia, however good the intentions of its supporters, will be able to do little or nothing towards it, except on the limited extent of its own territories."*

This apprehension is, we are happy to believe, without foundation. The mere business operations of the Colony on the Western coast of Africa, create obstacles, which are regularly increasing, to the prosecution of the slave-trade without the limits of the colonial territory. And moreover, the root of the evil lies in the condition of the native African, a condition of such ignorance and moral debasement that the dearest ties of nature are sacrificed to avarice, in its most revolting form, and even the parent sells the child to the remorseless trader. But as the influence of the Colony, aided by the pious labors of the missionary, goes on to impart civilization and Christianity to the natives, in the same proportion will their moral feeling be elevated, and a sense of self-respect be awakened in their bosoms, which must contribute something at every step of the process towards diminishing, and must ultimately terminate, the traffic in their own flesh. Let it be conceded, however, that the success of the colonization plan in abolishing the slave-trade, will be confined to the limits of the Colony, and then we would inquire, is that result to be counted as nothing? The settlements planted by the Society stretch along a coast of nearly 300 miles; and if the distance were only a single mile, the rescue of even so small a space as that from the polluting visits of the slaver, would, we might think, be felt as a triumph by the friends of humanity every where. The bright example would find followers, and other favored spots would be reclaimed. Are the distinguished Protesters prepared to announce the proposition, that a man who has the means of merely accomplishing a minor good, should abstain from doing so because he has not the means of accomplishing a greater good? that he should hide his one talent in the ground, because he has not ten talents? They can never, it may be assumed, lend their sanction to a doctrine as dangerous in practice, as it is false in principle, and condemned by both philosophy and religion.

6. *"To the destruction of slavery throughout the world, we are compelled to say that we believe the Colonization Society to be an obstruction."*

In fancying themselves to be "*compelled*" to make this declaration, the distinguished Protesters seem to be under the influence of the same mysterious

duress which had before subjected them to the necessity of believing, not only without evidence, but against evidence, that the professions of the Colonization Society on the subject of slavery, were "altogether delusive." The supposition that the Society may not effect by its indirect agency the extinguishment of slavery, does well enough as an unexamined impression, and derives plausibility from a comparison of its slender means and restricted faculties with the magnitude of the evil to be removed. But to denominate an Institution, of which the known practical operation is the voluntary manumission by the master of his slave, an "*obstruction*" "to the destruction of slavery throughout the world," involves a refinement of reasoning not easily understood. It has not been deemed proper to indicate the steps by which this conclusion was attained. Any attempt to trace them by the light of conjecture, will, on the present occasion, be waived.

7. Now come the "OBJECTIONS" to the Colonization Society. "While we believe," say the Protesters, "its pretexts to be delusive, we are convinced that its *real* effects are of the most dangerous nature." Presuming that the "*pretexts*" here referred to, are the "*professions*" mentioned in the first head, we forbear to add to our remarks on the "deliberate judgment and conviction" of the Protesters in regard to those "professions;" and especially, because the "deliberate judgment and conviction" of the accusers have now assumed the less strenuous form of mere "belief."

The "conviction" about the "*real effects*" of the Society, will be noticed under the next head.

8. "It," i. e. the Colonization Society, "*takes its root from a cruel prejudice and alienation in the whites of America against the coloured people, slave or free.*"

Here again is an imputation of *motives* to the Society, directly at variance with those which it has assigned for its origin. Like the former instances, it is wholly gratuitous, and unsustained by an attempt at proof, or by the semblance of probability. It is passing strange that an enterprise which contemplates placing the black man in a condition of not only civil, but political liberty, with all the means for elevating him in the rank of social being, should be fancied to have sprung from "a cruel prejudice" against him! It is equally strange, that on the supposition that such a "prejudice" exists on the part of the whites as a race against the coloured population, a portion of the whites which aims at removing the victims of the prejudice beyond the sphere of its influence, should be charged with cruelty for making the effort.

9. Having demonstrated, as they suppose, by a species of logic which seems to have found high favor with them, the existence of the "cruel prejudice," the Protesters thus proceed:—

"This being its source, the effects are what might be expected—that it fosters and increases the spirit of caste already so unhappily predominant; that it widens the breach between the two races."

The phrase "spirit of caste," is not perhaps applied in strict accordance with its received meaning, to two races between whom the lines of civil and political demarcation are but faint when compared with those which the hand of nature has drawn. Such, at least, are both the judgment and the instinct on this subject of the citizens of the Union, whether in the slave-holding or non-slave-holding States; nor could the Colonization Society, or any other association, either confirm or weaken a sentiment so deeply radicated. In regard to the averment that the Colonization Society "*widens the breach between the two races,*" we would ask, do the distinguished Protesters contemplate a *union between the two races* as a possible thing? and would they afford to such a project the high sanction of their authority or example? The members of the Colonization Society have certainly never held a doctrine on this subject, differing from that of their fellow-citizens. With them, the conceded impracticability of a physical amalgamation of the two races, their consequent perpetual political alienation, and the moral evils therefore inevitable in the condition of the black man however favorably

circumstanced in this country, have always constituted a primary reason for the plan of removing him to the country of his ancestors. If by "widening the breach between the two races" be meant an attempt to increase the obstacles to amalgamation, it is answered, that the breach had been opened by a higher than human power; and could not be widened by the Colonization Society, or any other agent. But if it be intended to insinuate that the Society engenders or exasperates unkind feelings on the part of the white towards the coloured population, we appeal to the spirit manifested by every line of its Constitution, and by the whole series of its acts, for a refutation of the charge.

10. *"It exposes the coloured population to great practical persecution, in order to force them to emigrate."*

This averment is unaccompanied by a scintilla of evidence that force has in any instance been used to procure a colonist. No evidence can be produced showing that the Society has ever "compelled" or attempted to compel, a coloured person to emigrate to the Colony. If the averment, which is loosely worded, meant only the tendency of the colonization scheme, its foundation must be a passage in a speech delivered at one of the annual meetings of the Society, on the single responsibility of the speaker, and afterwards perverted by the opponents of colonization to their own designs.—The perversion having been long ago fully exposed, it is matter of surprise rather than regret, so far as the Society is concerned, that the topic should have found its way into a document emanating from so dignified a source as that of the London Protest.

11. The Colonization Society, *"finally, is calculated to swallow up and divert that feeling which America, as a Christian and a free country, cannot but entertain, that slavery is alike incompatible with the law of God and with the well-being of man, whether of the enslaver or the enslaved."*

In answer to this dictum, still more naked, if possible than its predecessors, we have now merely to say, that not having been enlightened as to the reasons of the apprehension which it expresses, and confiding in the justice and intelligence of the American people, we do not fear that their feeling on the subject of slavery, is in danger of being "swallowed up and diverted," or of being either "swallowed up," or "diverted," by the Colonization Society. What that feeling is, will be noticed presently.

12. After the finale, the Protesters say by way of postscript,

"We must be understood utterly to repudiate the principles of the American Colonization Society. That Society is, in our estimation, not deserving of the countenance of the British public."

This closing declaration is in its very form, put forth merely as matter of authority. It is certainly to be regretted that a denunciation so flaming should have proceeded from authority so grave.

It is not the least striking singularity of the remarkable paper on which we have been commenting, that its unfavorable judgment on the motives and objects of the Society is coupled with admissions, that they "cordially wish [the Colony] well," that possibly the "intentions" of the Society may be "good," and that "the Colony of Liberia, or any other Colony on the coast of Africa" is, "in itself, a good thing."

The friends of colonization will be pleased to find the Protest confirming information which had been received from other quarters, that the Society was "gaining some adherents in [Great Britain.]" There is no ground to fear that the number of them will not increase as the true character of the Society comes to be properly understood; or even that the Protesters themselves will not on a more deliberate examination, resile from the errors into which they have been led by a reliance on partial sources of information. Three of their number, Mr. O'CONNELL, Mr. ALLEN, and Mr. W. SMITH, have, we learn, already set this honorable example to their associates, by causing their names to be stricken off from the Protest. Mr. SMITH's name, indeed, does

not appear in the Protest as taken from the London Christian Advocate; though it is affixed to another, perhaps earlier copy, which we have seen.

To the rest of the distinguished Protesters, who survive Mr. WILBERFORCE, and to the British public at large, the following brief considerations are respectfully submitted:—

I. During the period of our colonial history, negro slavery was planted on our soil by the mother country.

II. When the colonies became an independent people, this evil had become so fastened on them by the policy of Great Britain; the right of property in slaves had become so fixed by her authority; and the habits of the plantation States especially, had received so decided a direction from it; that no scheme for a sudden eradication of the evil could be devised, which was either practicable or safe. The force of this consideration is illustrated by the difficulties and delays which preceded the success of the efforts made in Great Britain to abolish the slave-trade with dependencies separated from her by an ocean.

III. When the people of the new States commenced the work of forming a National Government, the embarrassments of the subject of slavery, had (as the Virginia Burgesses predicted to the King before the Revolution, that they would do) grievously increased. Difficulties on the most momentous subjects met at every step the efforts of American patriots to establish a united government. One was at length formed, on the principle of compromise; and the compact secured to the slave owner the property in his slaves, which he had derived from the mother country.

IV. The only power given by the compact to the National Government on the subject of slavery, was a power to prohibit the introduction of slaves into the United States, after a given period. This trust has been promptly and faithfully executed.

V. A majority of the citizens of the U. States reside in States where slavery does not exist; and they have no power to abolish it in the slave-holding States.

VI. The white people of the slave-holding States regard the existence of slavery as an evil; but no plan for its immediate termination has been presented to them, which under existing circumstances was practicable, safe to themselves, or beneficial to the slave. Slavery, in the abstract, has but few supporters in the U. States. Any recent instance of its being defended in any respectable quarter, on principle, may be fairly ascribed to the unmeasured anathemas which a small but reckless sect in our country have heaped, without discrimination, on all whose misfortune it is to own a slave.

VII. The slave-holding States, finding from experience, that great evils followed from the residence of free people of colour within their borders, have generally passed laws making the removal of a slave a condition of his emancipation.

VIII. The sincerity of the profession that the existence of such evils is a barrier against emancipation, is manifested by the alacrity with which slaves have been manumitted in order to emigrate to Liberia.

IX. The American Colonization Society is an association of benevolent individuals, many of whom are clergymen of exemplary piety, for the purpose of colonizing free people of colour, residing in the U. States, with their consent; and Liberia in Africa is the place selected for the establishment of the Colony. As the Society disclaims in its Constitution any idea of using force in the colonization of free people of colour, so also it has disclaimed in other authoritative modes, any idea of bringing slaves within the scope of its policy by projects of forcible emancipation. Such projects would be inconsistent with the duty of the members of the Society as citizens of the U. States, owing allegiance to its Constitution, in the spirit as well as the letter of that instrument, bound to respect the social rights of their fellow-citizens, and cherishing in their hearts the happy and glorious union of the States. But

the Colonization Society was sufficiently aware of the temper of American slave-holders on the subject of slavery, to foresee that the means of safe emancipation indicated by its plan would be embraced as fast as would be commensurate with the means of the Society. This expectation has been more than realized. At least one thousand slaves have been liberated by their owners for the purpose of emigration to Liberia, and have been conveyed thither by the Society; and the number would have been greater, had its means been more abundant. Signal, however, as is the liberality of the American public to the Society, more applications are always on its files, than it can accede to. Ought, then, any reasonable mind to doubt, that the colonizing scheme exerts a powerful, though indirect, influence, propitious to the final abolition of slavery? It has been objected by opponents of the Society who admit the existence of this influence, that its fruits are so small and its work so tardy, that its value is insignificant. It may be answered, that however little good it may have done in comparison of what is yet to be achieved, even that little should be precious in the eye of the philanthropist: that as the operations of the colonizing scheme proceed, and proceed successfully, its energies must increase in a geometrical ratio: that it has already satisfied the slave-holding State nearest to the non-slave-holding portion of the Union at the North, of the practicability of getting rid of her coloured population through its agency, and that she is at this moment active in promoting that end: and, passing on to a consideration of mere expediency, that experience shows that a State where slavery is permitted, on the frontier of one where it is forbidden, must sooner or later perceive the preferableness of free-labour to slave-labour; and when convinced of the fact, will act on the conviction.

X. The colonizing scheme, be its effects great or small, is the only plan hitherto put forth for the melioration of the coloured people in the United States, which has done, or is likely to do, *any thing*. Under its auspices a Colony has been established, which, after fewer reverses of fortune and briefer delays than mark the annals of previous colonies, now consists of more than three thousand souls, enjoying civil and political liberty, full opportunities of religious and moral instruction, a prosperous commerce, and the means of agricultural improvement. Let this state of things be contrasted with the history of what are called Anti-Slavery Societies in this country. These Institutions, though spurning the restraints which a due regard for the social rights and the personal safety of their fellow-citizens should impose on them, and merging moral and even religious duty in their own wild will, have nevertheless done for the benefit of the coloured people—literally *nothing*.—They profess to consider immediate emancipation the highest boon which can be bestowed on this unhappy race. But while the welkin has been ringing with their clamorous abstractions, they have not, so far as we know or believe, given or contributed to give, freedom to a *single slave*.

We now subjoin the Protest which has occasioned the foregoing remarks. As this document has obviously been generated under the auspices of the sect of which Mr. W. L. Garrison is the champion, and Mr. G. himself was its sponsor in England, we would willingly copy his prefatory letter, were we not deterred from doing so by a natural as well as prudential reluctance to republish a libel.

PROTEST.

We, the undersigned, having observed with regret that the "*American Colonization Society*" appears to be gaining some adherents in this country, are desirous to express our opinions respecting it.

Our motive and excuse for thus coming forward, are the claims which the Society has put forth to *Anti-Slavery* support. These claims are, in our opinion, wholly groundless; and we feel bound to affirm that our deliberate judgment and conviction are, that the professions made by the Colonization Society of promoting the abolition of slavery, are altogether delusive.

As far as the mere Colony of Liberia is concerned, it has, no doubt, the advantages of other trading establishments. In this sense, it is beneficial both to America and to Africa, and we cordially wish it well. We cannot, however, refrain from expressing our strong opinion that it is a settlement of which the United States ought to bear the whole cost. We never requir-

ed of that country to assist us in Sierra Leone. We are enormously burdened by our own connexion with slavery; and we do maintain that we ought not to be called on to contribute to the expenses of a colony, which, though no doubt comprising some advantages, was formed chiefly to indulge the prejudices of American slave-holders, and which is regarded with aversion by the coloured population of the United States.

With regard to the extinction of the slave-trade, we apprehend that Liberia, however good the intentions of its supporters, will be able to do little or nothing towards it, except on the limited extent of its own territories. The only effectual death-blow to that accursed traffic will be the destruction of slavery throughout the world. To the destruction of slavery throughout the world, we are compelled to say that we believe the Colonization Society to be an obstruction.

Our objections to it are briefly these: While we believe its pretences to be delusive, we are convinced that its *real* effects are of the most dangerous nature. It takes its root from a cruel prejudice and alienation in the whites of America against the coloured people, slave or free. This being its source, the effects are what might be expected—that it fosters and increases the spirit of caste, already so unhappily predominant; that it widens the breach between the two races; exposes the colored people to great practical persecution, in order to force them to emigrate; and, finally, is calculated to swallow up and divert that feeling which America, as a Christian and a free country, cannot but entertain, that slavery is alike incompatible with the law of God and with the well-being of man, whether of the enslaver or the enslaved.

On these grounds, therefore, and while we acknowledge the Colony of Liberia, or any other colony on the coast of Africa, to be *in itself* a good thing, we must be understood utterly to repudiate the principles of the American Colonization Society. That Society is, in our estimation, not deserving of the countenance of the British public.

WILLIAM WILBERFORCE,
SUFFIELD,
S. LUSHINGTON, M. P.
ZACHARY MACAULAY,
THOMAS FOWLER BUXTON, M. P.
WILLIAM EVANS, M. P.

JAMES CROPPER,
SAMUEL GURNEY,
WILLIAM ALLEN,
GEORGE STEPHEN,
DANIEL O'CONNELL, M. P.

LONDON, July, 1833.

GENERAL MERCER AND COLONIZATION.

At a public dinner given last week, to GENERAL CHARLES FENTON MERCER, at Charleston, in Kanawha County, Virginia, in honor of his long and distinguished public services, the seventh regular toast, was the following:

"Our Friend and Guest, CHARLES F. MERCER. The founder of the Colony of Liberia—the projector and patron of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, and the father of the Literary and Internal Improvement Funds of Virginia. The fruits of his labors entitle him to the gratitude of the present age, and will stand amid posterity, the enduring monuments of his fame."

After the applause elicited by this toast had subsided, GEN. MERCER rose and addressed the company in a speech of great eloquence and rich in valuable instruction on each of the topics suggested in the toast. We resist, but not without difficulty, the temptation of so far deviating from the plan of this work, as to transfer the whole speech, which is not a long one, into our columns. We copy, however, only the part of it relating to Colonization. The italicized passage commends itself to the especial consideration of the noble Lord and the honorable Commoners in England, who recently saw fit to denounce the Colonizing plan, its founders and its friends. Whatever may be their degree of information on that subject, they cannot but be aware that CHARLES FENTON MERCER, is an eminent statesman, whose philanthropical labours have acquired for him the title of "THE AMERICAN WILBERFORCE."

The portion of the Address referred to, which concerns Colonization, is as follows:

"But the prosperity of our entire commonwealth rests, fellow citizens, on the union of Internal Improvement, with other agents. It has, in truth a triple foundation; in improved intercourse; the Colonization of our free colored population; and Universal Education.

"With regard to the last two of those three instruments of our future prosperity, your generosity has assigned to me a relation which I am aware would be questioned by others, and

which should be distributed among many, who shared with me, in the councils of our State or elsewhere the toils of their support, if such labor could be toilsome.

"To assign to each of these co-laborers his appropriate share of whatever credit may attach to these institutions, is a task of no little delicacy and of greater difficulty. For myself, I am more solicitous for their success, than to establish a claim to their foundation. But your toast, in allowing to me so large a share in those noble institutions, requires of me details, by which, I fear, that I may weary your attention, however indulgent. With respect to the first of them, I can truly say that the intelligence broke in upon me, like a ray of light through the profoundest gloom, and by a mere accident which occurred in the spring of eighteen hundred and sixteen, that upon two several occasions, very early in the present century, the General Assembly of Virginia had invited the aid of the United States to obtain a territory, beyond their limits, whereon to Colonize certain portions of our colored population. For the evidence of these facts, then new to me, I was referred to the Clerk of the Senate, by the friend who revealed them, and in the private records of that body, I found them verified.

"It was then too near the close of the session of the Legislature to attempt immediate action on the subject; but in a few weeks after this, I concerted with FRANCIS S. KEY, of Georgetown, and ELIAS B. CALDWELL, of Washington, in the District of Columbia, a plan for doing so; and bound to no concealment, myself, though the facts which had been disclosed to me, were from the secret journals of the Senate, I made them publicly known, in several States, as well as through our own, on my way to the North, during the ensuing summer; receiving, every where, promises of pecuniary aid, and of active co-operation, provided, as I announced it to be my intention, I renewed a similar proposition, at the next session of our General Assembly.

"Accordingly, in December, eighteen hundred and sixteen, prior to the organization of the American Colonization Society, but with a view to its approaching formation, of which I was apprised by Mr. KEY, I presented to the House of Delegates, a resolution, which stands recorded on its journals, asking the aid of the General Government to procure in Africa, or elsewhere, beyond the limits of the United States, a territory, on which to Colonize our free people of color, who might be disposed to avail themselves of such an asylum, and such of our slaves, as their masters might please to emancipate. This resolution passed the House of Delegates with but nine, and the Senate, with but one dissenting voice. It was discussed and adopted in secret session, but the injunction of secrecy was taken off at the instance of the mover. The American Colonization Society was formed in the City of Washington, early in the ensuing month of January.

"After organizing, in my immediate neighborhood, several Auxiliary Societies, at the request of the Managers of the Parent Society in Washington, I repaired to the City of Baltimore, where, by sundry addresses to the people, in one of which I was sustained by FRANCIS S. KEY, and by personal applications to the citizens, in which I was accompanied from place to place, for many days, by Robert Purviance, we succeeded in obtaining a subscription of near \$5,000, to defray the expenses of the expedition of Messrs. Mills and Burgess, to explore the coast of Africa, in order to select a suitable place for the proposed Colony.

"At the same time, BISHOP MEADE, of Virginia, was alike active and successful in procuring pecuniary aid for the same object, in the opulent and liberal society in Frederick, of which he was then the pastor.

"The laws of the United States then allowed the re-captured Africans liberated by our public ships, engaged in the suppression of the Slave Trade, to be disposed of, as the several States may provide, into whose harbours they might chance to be brought, and the Legislatures of the several Southern States, authorized their public sale, and the division of the proceeds between the captors and their own treasury.

"The second and third Annual Reports of the Colonization Society, and especially the last, were written partly with a view to the establishment of a more humane policy towards the unfortunate victims of an iniquitous traffic, and to the success of this appeal is to be ascribed the foundation of the African Colony of Liberia, under the auspices of a gracious Providence.

"The act of Congress of eighteen hundred and nineteen, for the more effectual suppression of the Slave Trade, in the draft of which, I had the aid of my worthy colleague, the present Governor of Virginia, though left, by his necessary absence, to my defence against a feeble opposition, in the House of Representatives, provided for the restoration of those unfortunate captives to their native continent; and rendered a place for their reception indispensable to their safety, and to the justice and humanity of our country.

"In the Senate this act met with strenuous resistance, and was carried by the zeal and ability of Mr. BOWWELL of Rhode Island.

"The just though liberal construction, put on this law, by PRESIDENT MONROE, and a majority of his cabinet, essentially contributed to its successful operation, and the name of MONROVIA, given to the chief town of Liberia, manifested the high sense entertained by the Colonization Society, of his friendly countenance and regard. They were more highly valued, since they accompanied the Colony through good and bad report, and were accorded at a time, unlike the present, when all the most active agents were derided as visionary enthusiasts, and their patriotic purpose equally reprobated by the friends of immediate abolition and the advocates of perpetual slavery.

"In the imperfect history which you have rendered it proper for me to give, of the origin of our African Colony, so far as I am acquainted with it, I have made no allusion to the constant and useful labors of the Board of Managers in Washington, nor have I time, did the occasion

call for it, to do justice to the all-surpassing merit of the Colonists themselves, and of the white missionaries and agents of the Society, who first explored the Coast of Africa, or afterwards presided over the infant colony. These were, in truth, the founders of this great enterprise, and to them be the praise accorded. But the last and most meritorious class have sealed their devotion to this holy enterprise, with their lives, and are gone, we may trust, to reap a higher reward than it is in the power of man to bestow.

"In the early progress of our enterprise, which contemplated the civilization of one continent by the partial or total relief of another, from evils of alarming and growing magnitude, its vast and comprehensive design naturally inspired doubts of its success.

"There are not wanting, at present, men of distinguished abilities and patriotism, who think our plan will ultimately and totally fail.

"If any remain thus sceptical, because they believe that the soil and resources of Africa cannot provide accommodation, for the return of her exiled children, let them consider that her territory, not only along the sea coast, but very far up into the interior, has been depopulated by the slave trade: that her soil, quickened by the warmth of a tropical sun, yields two crops in the year: and that she has no winter to consume the fruit of her double harvest.

"Without these advantages, the single State of Ohio, itself a colony, has been known in former years, to provide comfortably, for a number of emigrants, largely exceeding a moiety of the annual increase of the entire colored population of the United States.

"If it be doubted, whether adequate means of transportation could be obtained for such a number of emigrants as the annual increase of our whole free colored population, would supply, together with any possible addition to them by voluntary emancipation, I appeal to the well ascertained fact, that in the present current of unexcited emigrants, from Europe to North America, more than fifty thousand persons have reached this continent in a single year.

"If the prosperous condition of the Colony already planted on the coast of Africa, be questioned, let those who will not credit the Annual Reports of the Colonization Society, refer to the numerous and concurrent statements of the Naval Officers of the United States, who have visited the shores of that continent, still scourged by the slave trade, in obedience to the laws for its suppression.

"They would see a flourishing town, a harbour regularly visited, for purposes of legitimate commerce, by the flags of all nations; and the flag of Liberia floating among them. They would behold on the summit of Cape Mesurado, christian churches occupying the seat of the but recent worship of the devil. On entering these churches on the Sabbath, they would see them filled by the well dressed, orderly, and pious people, who have erected them, and whose morality stands yet unimpeached, by the imputation of a single capital crime, or the necessary infliction of one severe punishment.

"In passing through a colony of civilized men, speaking our language and possessing all the comforts of our arts, at peace among themselves, and with their savage and untutored neighbors, they would see these savages imploring these colonists to admit their children into their schools, and themselves to the protection of their laws.

"Can we reflect, fellow citizens, without hearts penetrated with gratitude, to that overruling Providence, which elicits good from evil, and bends to his will all the purposes of man, that these colonists, thus prosperous and happy, the descendants of Africa, were but a few years since in bondage in America, or free negroes more degraded than our slaves.

"One word more and I have done with this topic.

"Let those who oppose the colonization of Africa, by our colored population, because it is not a scheme for the immediate abolition of slavery in America, justify if, they can, to God and man, their hostility to a plan of enlarged policy, as well as of expanded benevolence and piety, because it does not propose to accomplish ALL that they desire, and because they desire to do that which, if accomplished, AS THEY PROPOSE, WOULD PROSTRATE THE FAIR FABRIC OF OUR UNION, AND WITH IT THE HOPES OF FREEDOM TO MAN."

DEFENCE OF THE COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

The thirty-fifth number of the *EDINBURGH PHRENOLOGICAL JOURNAL*, contains an opportune and able article "*On the American scheme of establishing colonies of free negro emigrants on the coast of Africa, as exemplified in Liberia.*"

After some remarks of a general character, the writer says—

"Broad as the satire is, that the affairs of society are as yet a ceaseless controversy, we are sometimes apt, for a moment, to forget this inconvenient fact, to expect exceptions, and too rashly to count upon unanimity in what appear, to us at least, very self-evident propositions for social benefit. We confess we did commit this oversight with regard to the settlement of Liberia. If ever there was a human act which seemed to satisfy all our feelings and faculties, it might have been expected to be the first projection and effective realization of that admirable scheme, whose very essence appeared to us to be brotherly love and peace. In a

former number,* we adduced Liberia as an example, unique on the face of the earth, of a community based on peace and Christian good-will. * * * We had returned with fresh pleasure to the subject of Liberia,† when investigating the subject of the Negro's capacity for freedom and free labour, and it was after our observations were in types, that we heard that Liberia—yes, even Liberia—was a controversy! that against the American colonizationists, there had risen up certain clamorous and even abusive opponents, who imputed to them sinister designs, hypocritical professions, mischievous intentions, cowardly fears, oppression, cruelty, treachery, and infidelity! In our then total want of information on the grounds of these astounding accusations, suspecting, from the incredible aggravation of the imputations, that feeling more than intellect was operating, and judging of the American Society by its fruits, we could not believe that so fair a child as Liberia could have such a parentage; and we published our continued approbation, resolving to presume favourably of the Society till irresistible evidence should constrain us to believe the monstrous charges preferred against it.

"We have now seen the articles of impeachment, and perused what is called their evidence; and our original surprise at the possibility of accusations at all, is fully equalled by our amazement that, by persons educated above the pitch of a village school, such abject futility, such unqualified drivelling, could have been actually printed and published.

"We are struck with the important fact, that the writers against the Liberian scheme, and their followers, are all, as far as we know, what are termed *Immediatists*, in the slavery abolition question;—the "*ruat calum*" philanthropists, who prefer justice with ruin, to justice without it; who, in America, are rendering more difficult and more distant the slave's complete deliverance, by embarrassing the legislatures in their views of its safety and certainty; and in England, are fortunately disregarded by a government that has resolved on measures at once more wise, and more efficiently philanthropic. The outcry against the Colonization Society originated in America, and has been echoed on this side of the water, with a disregard of fact, a want of fairness, an absence of logic, and a confusion of thought, in every way worthy of the class of minds which fail to see, in the sudden discharge of 800,000 Negroes in the British West Indies, and two millions in the United States, dislocation of the frame of society in those countries, and ruin and misery to the very objects of their misplaced benevolence.

"The managers of the impeachment are, a Mr. Charles Stuart, the author of a pamphlet published at Liverpool, and a Mr. Lloyd Garrison, a pamphleteer in America; and although the anti-slavery periodicals, the Reporter and Record, have, with little credit to their discernment, joined in the clamour, they have pinned their faith to Messrs. Stuart and Garrison, and produced nothing beyond extracts from their pamphlets; while a Mr. James Cropper, of Liverpool, writes a letter to Mr. Clarkson, in which, after several sweeping and unsupported averments, abusive epithets, and much matter, of no application to the subject, he concludes with recommending Mr. Stuart's pamphlet, to which his letter is printed as a sort of preface. This pamphlet is called "*Prejudice Vincible, or the Practicability of conquering Prejudice by better means than by Slavery and Exile, in relation to the American Colonization Society.*" We have read it with all the attention and impartiality in our power, and have been unable to form any other opinion of it than this,—that, while it manifests a marked spirit of special-pleading and unfairness, it fails to substantiate its averments in point of fact, and not less to establish their relevancy to warrant the inferences drawn from them. In other words, it fails to prove the charges against the Society, and if it had succeeded, it would have left untouched the absolute good of the Colony of Liberia."

The writer then refers to the two fundamental articles of the Society as quoted by Mr. Stuart, and introduces his examination of this gentleman's quotations from the Reports of the Society, with the following important remark:—

"Before giving the quotations, we beg to premise, that we have perused the 13th, 14th and 15th Reports alluded to, and we have not found the passages in these reports. On reading the matter published with the reports, we have found them forming parts of the speeches of members of the Society, which, as such, have been printed in the *res gesta* of their meetings, without being imputable to the Society. It became Mr. Stuart to have candidly stated, that he took his quotations from the speeches of individuals over which the Society had no control, and not from its reports, by which alone it should be judged of. This was due to his readers, that at least they might have so important a distinction before them, and its omission, which could not be accidental, is an example of that unfair partizanism with which we have charged the writer."

A fair specimen of Mr. Stuart's ethics on the subject of quotation, is afforded by the following citation which he makes from Mr. Archer's speech, at the fifteenth annual meeting of the Society, and given in p. xxii—xxviii, of the proceedings prefixed to the 15th Annual Report:—

"2. 15th Report, page 26:—If none were drained away, slaves became inevitably and speedily redundant. &c. &c. When this stage had been reached, what course or remedy remained? Was open butchery to be resorted to, as among the Spartans with the Helots; or

general emancipation and incorporation, as in South America; or *abandonment of the country by the masters?*" Either of these was a deplorable catastrophe; could all of them be avoided? and if they could, how? "There was but one way, and it was to *provide and keep open a drain for the excess of increase*, beyond the occasion of profitable employment, &c. &c. This drain was already opened."

A fair adversary would have given, not disjointed fragments, but the whole of what Mr. Archer said on this topic, and which is as follows:—

"The progress of slavery was subjected to the action of a law, of the utmost regularity of action. Where this progress was neither stayed, nor modified by causes of collateral operation, it hastened with a frightful rapidity, disproportioned, entirely, to the ordinary law of the advancement of population, to its catastrophe, which was repletion. If none were drained away, slaves became, except under peculiar circumstances of climate, and production, inevitably and speedily redundant, first to the occasions of profitable employment, and as a consequence, to the faculty of comfortable provision for them. No matter what the humanity of the owners, fixed restriction on their resources must transfer itself to the comfort, and then the subsistence, of the slave. At this last stage, the evil in this form had to stop. To this stage, (from the disproportioned rate of multiplication of the slaves—double that of the owners in this country) it was obliged, though at different periods, in different circumstances, to come. When this stage had been reached, what course or remedy remained? Was open butchery to be resorted to, as among the Spartans with the Helots? Or general emancipation, and incorporation, as in South America? Or abandonment of the country by the masters, as must come to be the case in the West Indies? Either of these was a deplorable catastrophe. Could all of them be avoided? and if they could, how? There was but one way, but that might be made effectual, fortunately! It was to *provide and keep open a drain for the excess of increase beyond the occasions of profitable employment*. This might be done effectually by extension of the plan of the Society. The drain was already opened. All that was necessary would be, to provide for the enlargement of the channel, as occasion might demand."

In regard to Mr. Archer's question—"Was open butchery to be resorted to?"—the Editor of the Phrenological Journal remarks:—

"A child just beginning to read would see that the speaker was assuming that such a course was morally impossible; yet Mr. Stuart gives the words the emphasis of italics, as if the speaker had recommended *that* mode of diminishing the free coloured population of the United States! This gross perversion has been eagerly seized by the enemies of Liberia, transferred in all its deformity into the Anti-Slavery Reporter, and the Anti-Slavery Record, and imputed not merely to the speaker, whose meaning has been purposely reversed, but to the whole American Colonization Society!"

We subjoin the remarks of the P. Journal on the legitimate effect of Mr. Stuart's quotations, without regard to their fallaciousness:—

"Now, suppose the very worst meaning to be given to the words of these speakers, as *picked out* by Mr. Stuart, without giving us the benefit of context, we would ask, if it is to be endured, that a Society professing benevolence, and *acting* benevolently, shall be condemned because some of its members, in speeches at its meetings, discover and avow that the benevolent scheme may be made at the same time to answer a selfish interest? The notion is preposterous. But we have read the *whole* speeches, and are satisfied that their spirit was throughout benevolent both to the free Negroes, and also to the slaves,—slavery existing,—and the very reverse of that hard-hearted selfishness, which Mr. Stuart obviously intends to fasten upon the speakers, or rather on the Society, by culling and arranging for effect, isolated, and as they stand alone, equivocal passages.

"But the utter want in the Author's mind of the power of perceiving the relation of necessary consequence, is exposed by his drawing from any thing he has quoted of these speeches, conclusions condemnatory of the Colonization Society. It is most true that the evils stated in them exist in America; and existed long before colonization was thought of; and equally true that that measure will do its own share of good without increasing those evils; if it shall not, as we take it is demonstrable it will, materially alleviate, and, it may be, ultimately cure them. The utmost contemplated by the speakers, is the separation of the white and black population of the United States; and they welcome a means that shall tend to this beneficial end, and moreover, improve the Negro's condition, physically and morally. Let us look this misrepresented policy of separation more narrowly in the face, and try it by the principles of a sound philosophy, which will ever be found in accordance with genuine rational religion.

"Even Mr. Stuart will grant to us, that the actual existence of some millions of blacks in the same community with the whites of the United States, is in itself an enormous political and moral evil. That the black population is, *de facto*, an inferior caste, which, with many individual exceptions, no doubt, is generally degraded, uneducated, and in many instances vicious and depraved; and if it be a scourge to America, the punishment is the natural result

* "In contemplating these alternatives, how can we sufficiently admire the goodness of God in having provided that the increase of slaves shall *necessarily* lead to emancipation and incorporation! and how can we be sufficiently struck with horror at the deliberate and insolent cruelty of men, in devising schemes like this for the perpetuation of slavery!—J. C."

This scrap of pure nonsense is a specimen of Mr. Cropper.—ED. PHRE. JOURNAL.

of a daring violation by man on a marked appointment of God,—a just retribution for the avarice, rapacity and cruelty that for ages outraged nature, by tearing the African from the region and the climate for which his Creator had fitted his physical constitution, and mingling him with a race with which incorporation was not designed, if a strong natural repugnance to it is to be received as proof of the Divine intention.

"It is wild fanaticism to call this repugnance unchristian, and to denounce a doubt of the power of religion to overcome it as infidelity;—because God made all men of one flesh, and Christianity bids us open wide the arms of brotherly love, and take all our brethren of mankind to our bosom. It is a stupid perversion of this religious precept to maintain, that the fulfilment of this duty precludes all change of the Negro's place of residence, and that the American does not in effect hold out to him the arms of brotherly love, by placing him in independence, comparative elevation, and abundance, in another country, instead of degradation and destitution where he is. God made all men of one flesh, but he did not design them all to live in one country, and, however various and unsuitable their aspect and nature, to mix and incorporate. If we look at that well marked and vast peninsula, called Africa, we find that equally marked race the Negro, with slight modifications, forming its native population throughout all its regions. We find the temperature of his blood, the chemical action of his skin, the very texture of his wool-like hair, all fitting him for the vertical sun of Africa; and if every surviving African of the present day who is living in degradation and destitution in other lands for which he was never intended, were actually restored to the peculiar land of his peculiar race, in independence and comfort, would even Mr. Stuart venture to affirm that Christianity had been lost sight of by all who had in any way contributed to such a consummation? It matters not to brotherly love on which side of the Atlantic the Negro is made enlightened, virtuous and happy, if he is actually so far blessed; but it does matter on which side of the ocean you place him, when there is only one where he will be as happy and respectable as benevolence would wish to see him, and certainly there a rightly applied morality and religion would sanction his being placed. The incurable evil of the present relation of the whites and the blacks in America is, that incorporation is almost morally impossible. The whites are too numerous in both the sexes, to be driven to intermarriage with the Negroes. Mulattoes are a West Indian, greatly more than an American phenomenon. The distinction in the United States is white or black, with little of the intervening shades of colour. The races do not and will not incorporate. Try the loudest advocate for the "vincibility" of this prejudice, as it is most unphilosophically called, with this touchstone,—*"marry the Negresses to your sons, and give your daughters to Negroes,"*—and we shall have a different answer from Nature than we receive from a misplaced religious profession."

A leading common-place of the anti-colonizationists, and their champion, Mr. Garrison, are thus pithily disposed of:—

"Mr. Stuart tells us that the American black population itself is hostile to the colonization scheme. He says, page 14, that the coloured people are *"writhing under the colonization process."* This is the exaggeration of special-pleading. No one writhes under an invitation which he is perfectly free to refuse. Nevertheless, we have meetings of the free-coloured people, passing resolutions,—far above Negro literature, and evidently all the work of one pen,—invoking their household gods, and obtesting the tremendous and atrocious scheme of *tearing* them from their native land and the homes of their fathers, &c.! We have no manner of doubt that these absurd and uncalled for exhibitions are got up by the enemies of the colonization plan, and a weak invention they are. The reports of the society are full of evidence of the popularity of the colony with the people of colour, and record many instances of their eagerness to emigrate in greater numbers than the means of the society enable it to permit. The testimony of the settlers is daily spreading and increasing the attractions of the colony to the black population in every part of the United States.

"With Mr. Lloyd Garrison we really need not trouble our readers. He is a type of Mr. Stuart, or Mr. Stuart of him, the chronology of the pamphlets being of no moment, or the question which has saved the other original thinking. Mr. Garrison distorts meanings—fastens the speeches of individuals on the society—quotes partially—conceals explanations—exaggerates, clamours, and cants, exactly as Mr. Stuart does; while the answer of irrelevancy, were every word they speak true, applies equally to both."

We make room for the concluding passages of this luminous article, in which, it will be observed, Mr. Cresson is mentioned in terms of commendation, honorable to both himself and the writer:—

"It will naturally occur to the reader to ask. How is this settlement countenanced, which is thus opposed? In America, the scheme has been hailed all over the Union, by the most eminent and patriotic statesmen, by the clergy of all denominations, by men of science and men of business; and the Society, which was formed 1st January, 1817, presents a most encouraging array of their names. We read among these the names of Monroe, Madison, Marshall, Jefferson, Bishops White and Meade, La Fayette, Carroll of Carrollton,* Bushrod Washington, Henry Clay, Webster, Mercer, Frelinghuysen, and many other names of statesmen, patriots, and philosophers. Auxiliary Societies have been formed in almost all the free states, and in several of those where slavery is yet unabolished. We have seen a letter from

* Lately deceased at the age of ninety-six, the last survivor of those who signed the Declaration of Independence in 1776.

the Bishop of Virginia, Bishop Meade—a name which carries the greatest weight all over the Union—addressed to Mr. Elliott Cresson, the zealous agent of the colonization scheme, now engaged in enlisting British sympathies in its favour. We wish we had space for it, because it takes our own view of the evil of the mixture of a white and black population, and welcomes a benevolent plan for their separation. In England, the name of Wilberforce, who has decidedly approved the plan, is itself a tower of strength; and the venerable Clarkson, too, has lived to see and applaud it in the strongest terms. With every friend to Africa and the African, he wonders at the opposition, and (we have seen his words) imputes it to some demon's intervention.

"Mr. Cresson has been eighteen months in England. He is a gentleman of independent fortune, and, actuated by the purest philanthropy, is zealously preaching the cause to the British people. He has been on the whole well received; and wherever opposed, it has been in the *very words* of Mr. Stuart's pamphlet, while his opponents had not read any thing on the other side. In Edinburgh, his reception has been most flattering. At a public meeting to hear his statement, held 8th January, 1833, Lord Moncrieff presided, and a number of the most eminent men were present, all of them well versed in the subject. Lord Moncrieff delivered a powerful address, in which he lamented the opposition to the enlightened plan.—The Lord Advocate Jeffrey, M. P., concluded an eloquent address, by moving the first resolution, and was seconded by the Rev. Dr. Grant.*

"1. *Resolved*, That this meeting view with unmixed satisfaction the establishment of the free and independent settlement of Negroes on the West Coast of Africa, called Liberia, under the patronage of the American Colonization Society,—because they consider it as the most likely means to civilize and christianize the natives of Africa,—to diminish, and ultimately annihilate, the slave trade, by preventing its supply at its source,—and to forward the cause of the abolition of slavery itself, by opening a channel in which benevolence may flow safely, in providing for the emancipated Negro an asylum and a country, in a region and climate for which his physical constitution is peculiarly fitted."

The second was moved by Mr. Simpson, advocate, in the unavoidable absence of the Solicitor-General Cockburn, who had zealously undertaken it, and seconded by Mr. Wardlaw Ramsay:—

"2. *Resolved*, That this meeting are disposed to welcome a plan, which, with a due regard to the free-will, rights, and feelings of both the black and white population, tends to commence the cure of the evil of slavery itself, by re-establishing the African in possession of every social and political right in the land of his ancestors." And the third was moved by Mr. J. A. Murray, M. P., and seconded by Mr. Farquhar Gordon:—

"3. *Resolved*, That this meeting highly approve of the principles and motives of the American Colonization Society, and applaud the judicious course which they have followed; in doing all the direct good in their power, while they carefully avoid in any way interfering with other existing Institutions; and, in particular, in leaving Anti-Slavery and Negro Education Societies, and the American Legislatures themselves, to pursue their proper course in the great work of justice to the injured sons of Africa." The motives of the American Societies—although held by all the speakers to be unexceptionable—were considered quite secondary to the actual merits of the plan, as standing out prominently in the real colony, with its free trade, its schools, and its churches, and even its newspaper. The sheet of a number, in quarto size, was, with great effect, held up to the meeting; and another, "grown bigger," as a Negro printer's boy said, "as it grew older," in folio.

"With the sentiments of that meeting we cordially join. We heartily approve the American Colonization Society, on the one hand, in their motives, their principles, and their acts, and would cheer them on in their two-fold behest of delivering Africa and America from the present diseased and unnatural condition of both, by a plan which tends to put asunder two races of men which God did not join, and whose junction He does not bless, and to establish each, free and erect, the lords of their own continent; while, on the other hand, and independently of all the possible mixture of motives with which it may be encouraged and supported, we hail the *existence* of Liberia,—a community of Africans, without a white to claim the white's ascendancy, to snatch from his coloured brethren the prizes of life, and blight the freshness of his freedom by the chill of ancient associations and recollections,—a community whose basis is peace, or if war—and it has had its wars, in which it has borne itself nobly—defensive war alone;—whose principle of commerce is a port without a custom-house, open to the whole world,—whose education is universal,—whose practical code is Christianity.

"Last of all, we welcome Mr. Cresson to our country, and are glad of the encouraging reception which he has received. Such missions do incalculable good, both to the parent country, and her gigantic offspring in the New World. He comes in all the power of benevolence, before which unsocial feelings fly like the shades of night before the dawn. May his visit tend to enlarge better relations between the two lands than those of jealousies and taunts and calumnies and wars; and may Liberia itself be a new bond of union between them, in the very spirit of that infant community,—liberty, light, religion, free commerce, brotherly love and peace.

* Men of all shades of politics were present and concurring. A committee of correspondence was named, a collection made, and subscription papers lodged at all the banks, &c. Mr. Simpson, Advocate, undertook to act as Secretary; and Mr. Cresson has since signified, that the funds, if sufficient, should be allotted to the establishment of an additional settlement at the mouth of one of the five rivers between Monrovia, the Liberian Capital, and Sierra Leone, to which the name of EORNA should be given. The rivers are the only slaving stations.

"A VINDICATION OF THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY, AND THE COLONY OF LIBERIA."

This is the title of an article, extracted from the "*Herald of Peace*," a leading English periodical, and from the pen of Mr. J. BEVANS, the accomplished Editor of that Journal. The publication was caused by an attack of Mr. C. Stuart on the Colonization Society, in which an account, previously given in the *Herald of Peace* of the Liberian Colony, had been impugned. Mr. B. introduces his reply with a comprehensive view of the history and present condition of slavery in the U. States, in the course of which he exhibits the following parallel between the proceedings of the U. States and those of Great Britain, concerning the slave-trade and slavery:—

"Both countries have abolished the slave trade, and have denounced the prosecution of it as piracy or felony. In America, of twenty-one slave states, nine have abolished slavery, and three of the new states, from their first formation, prohibited the introduction of slavery. Great Britain has seven crown, and thirteen chartered slave colonies. The executive branch of our legislature has power to abolish slavery in the crown colonies, without the intervention of the other two branches of the legislature; and the British legislature has power, by legal enactment, to abolish slavery in the thirteen chartered colonies. It is well known that the answer to the question, What has been done by our own government, or by the colonial legislatures, towards the abolition of slavery? would be, NOTHING. It is true that the same answer must be given, if the same question were put, with respect to the American general government; but then that government is powerless: it cannot abolish slavery by any legislative act; but the local legislatures of the states, which assimilate with our local legislatures, had the power, and several of them have exercised it, by abolishing slavery. On the subject of slavery, America has, therefore, done more than Great Britain, notwithstanding her Congress had not, like our Parliament, any power to enforce such a measure upon them."

This just, and as coming from a foreigner, this generous defence of the American character, exhibits a pleasing contrast to the libels uttered against it on the same shore, by an American "citizen!"

Mr. B. then gives some interesting details of the "exertions of the benevolent and humane in each country" on the subject of slavery, and particularly of the origin and progress of the American Colonization Society. He next analyses, with a masterly pen, the attacks of Mr. Stuart on this Institution; and refers to the reports of the Board of Managers as indicating the true purposes of the Society, to the speeches at the seventh annual meeting of Mr. HARPER and Mr. MERCER, and to their difference of opinion on a particular question, but concurrence as to those purposes. Mr. B. examines and refutes the argument attempted by Mr. Stuart on Mr. Clay's speech delivered to the Colonization Society of Kentucky; cites the speech of Mr. William Ladd, of Minot, in the State of Maine, delivered at Exeter, N. H., July 4, 1826, and Mr. Jefferson's opinions; deduces, from various particulars, the fact that approbation of the Colonization Society, is the predominant sentiment on that subject, in the U. States; notices Mr. Stuart's perversion of a passage in a speech of Mr. KEY, with the pregnant remark, that "*there is more tact than honesty in this manner of giving quotations*;" and compares his representations concerning the Colony with ascertained facts.

It is by no means surprising that Mr. Stuart should denominate the American Colonization Society "*ministers of hell and children of the devil*."*—The fury of these epithets is well consorted with the folly of making misquotations, which the slightest inspection shows to be fraudulent. But it is somewhat curious that with every wish to see the Society destroyed, and with palpable indifference as to the means which he contributes towards that end, Mr. Stuart should vouchsafe the following admissions:—

"First.—For Africa it is good. It interrupts the African slave trade within its own limits; and the least interruption to that nefarious traffic is an unspeakable good.

* "We have been credibly informed," says the Editor of the *Herald of Peace*, "that at a public meeting of a philanthropic institution which was held at Peckham, and at which was Mr. Cresson, the representative of the American Colonization Society, Mr. Stuart, speaking of that society, said, '*they were ministers of hell and children of the devil*.'"

"Second.—For the few coloured people who prefer leaving their native country and emigrating to Africa, it is unquestionably a great blessing.

"Third.—To the slaves, whose slavery it has been, or may be, the means of commuting into transportation, it is a blessing, just in as far as transportation is a lesser evil than slavery; and this is by no means a trifling good.

"Fourth.—But its highest praise, and a praise which the writer cordially yields to it, is the fact, that it forms a new centre; whence, as from our Sierra Leone, and the Cape of Good Hope, civilization and Christianity are radiating through the adjoining darkness. In this respect, no praise can equal the worth of these settlements."

We subjoin Mr. B.'s remarks on the last of these concessions, as exhibiting, by the light of example, a decisive distinction between the colonizing system and the only other scheme, marked with *results*, which has hitherto been devised for the benefit of the African race:—

"On the fourth position, we scarcely know what to say: Mr. Stuart's comparison of the colony of Liberia with that of the Cape of Good Hope, where there are 35,500 slaves, is so severe a satire upon the eulogy he conveys, through the comparison, upon Liberia, that we would dispense with his praise, rather than receive it through so polluted a channel. And a comparison of it with the colony of Sierra Leone is but faint praise: it as much exceeds the latter, as the latter does that of the Cape of Good Hope. Its highest praise is wherein it differs from both those colonies—for though Sierra Leone is not contaminated by the oppressive and degrading system of slavery, and is really productive of great benefit to Africa, the mixture of a white and black population keeps up that distinction of colour (if we are not misinformed) which tends not only to a civil, but to a moral degradation of the people of colour. On the other hand, the colony of Liberia consisting wholly of people of colour, including the government itself, with the exception of the principal agent or governor, no invidious distinctions are kept up: each man feels that he is equal to his fellow, that there is no other distinction but what is produced by superior talents and moral qualities. The man of colour is governed by his own laws, administered by his own people."

Judicious as are Mr. B.'s observations on Mr. Stuart's concessions, we are not sure that the Editor of the Phrenological Journal, in the article with which we have already made our readers acquainted, did not say all the subject deserved, when he said, "*After this declaration in favor of all that he had denounced, we should think we ought to hear no more of Mr. Stuart.*" p. 14.

The following extract from Mr. BEVANS' article, though the arithmetic of the case is not stated so favorably for the Society, as the present state of things would warrant, is a conclusive answer to the objection founded on the alleged inadequacy of the means possessed by the Society to its object:—

"Mr. Stuart endeavours to expose the inability of the American Colonization Society to carry into effect the object they profess to have in view. He says, that the Society has been established thirteen years; that the total number transported in that period is 2,000; which, he says, makes the number transported yearly, 150. Now it was rather more than eight years, when Mr. Stuart wrote, since the establishment of the colony of Liberia; say eight and a half years, and the real annual average of the number of emigrants will be 236. We advert to this false calculation, not because we would lay any stress upon calculations of this kind in the infancy of a colony like that of Liberia, but to expose the fallacies Mr. Stuart would impose upon us as demonstrable truths. We will dismiss this printed document when we have asked one question. Is it not better that 1,500 or 2,000 slaves should be liberated and restored to their proper rank in society in the land of their forefathers, and to annihilate, in Africa, a trade of 10,000 slaves annually, than to sit with our arms folded and do nothing, because we cannot immediately emancipate the whole slave population in America?"

THE REV. WILLIAM M. ATKINSON.

The Philadelphia Presbyterian of October 23rd, contains an eloquent letter from Mr. ATKINSON, under date of April 24th, on the subject of Bible Societies. The writer thus alludes to the Colonization Society:—

"I give you the strongest pledge that I can ask from the heart, when I tell you, that (dearly as I love the Colonization Society, and strongly as you know I have been urged to devote myself to its service) I have yet been constrained to decline that delightful office, and accept the agency for the Virginia Bible Society. I do this not so much for the mere purpose of raising the \$20,000, as in the hope of aiding in exciting a missionary spirit in Virginia, and in the hope, that a disposition on our part to move with our whole hearts in this great enterprise, may be communicated to the whole American Bible Society, and lead to the adoption of your resolution and the redemption of the proposed pledge."

Interesting and important as is the cause to which exclusively Mr. ARKINSON's attention is now devoted, we should deeply regret his regarding it as a permanent obstacle to an acceptance on his part of the invitations from the Colonization Society, to which he adverts. When his peculiar capacity to advance the cause of colonization, his abilities, his piety, and his energy, are considered, it would be difficult to name many individuals in our country, whose active co-operation in this great plan of humanity and patriotism, would be more valuable. He has abandoned a lucrative profession for the disinterested purpose of doing good to his fellow men; and we cannot but hope that when he shall have rendered his portion of service to the Virginia Bible Society, he may be willing to labour in a field which promises such rich fruits to the exertions of philanthropy.

From the Huntsville (Ala.) Democrat.

COLONIZATION OF THE FREE COLORED PEOPLE.

No. V.

Objection of the Abolitionists examined.

A second objection belonging to the *geographical* class, proceeds from a part of our country not more remote from the *scene of action*, than it is opposed in its character to the one already considered; for a grave part of the charge is, not that we *intend* abolition, but that we *do not intend* it. It is embodied in an article published in a recent No. of the "*Christian Examiner*" at Boston.* The writer is an undisguised *abolitionist*—one not, we opine, of the most placid kind; and if we may judge from the great distance by which his zeal has outstripped his lagging knowledge, we would set him down as one upon whom reason and argument will probably be thrown away. He espouses that plan of abolition† which contemplates the permanent residence of the emancipated slaves amongst their former owners. This is not the place or occasion to discuss at large the main question which the writer has started; or, I think, it would be no very difficult task to demonstrate to all calm and dispassionate men, that the *abolition* here urged would be more intolerable to the South,—unless the Free States should consent to relieve us of a rateable share of these untutored denizens,—than any other evil connected with slavery that could be brought upon us; and I doubt not there are many of the most respectable citizens in this part of the Union, who would consider, as preferable to it, a *perpetuation* of the existing relation with all its necessarily concomitant and growing retinue of evils.

But to the objection: It charges the American Colonization Society with insincere and fraudulent conduct in attempts to gain friends, by addressing to different parts of the Union, motives of opposite and irreconcilable character, viz. to the Free States, that *colonization will be the means of delivering the country from slavery*;—to the slave-holding States, that *it will rivet the chains of slavery more firmly*. The charge is founded upon extracts from the *Annual Reports* and the authorized publications of the Society. The first of these is part of a letter written by the venerable Madison [now President of the Society] to the Secretary, in December 1831, incorporated in the 15th Annual Report, and in the following words: "Many circumstances, at the present moment, seem to concur in brightening the prospects of the Society, and cherishing the hope that the time may come when the dreadful calamity which has so long afflicted our country may be gradually removed, &c., and by means consistent with justice, peace, and the general satisfaction." [The words in italics are not given in the quotation, though they are part of the original, and transferred to the Annual Report.—Had they been added, as the sense demanded, the writer would have exonerated himself from any suspicion of having garbled, to sustain himself.] Again to the same purport, from the 1st Annual Report. "It tends, and may powerfully tend, to rid us gradually in the U. States, of slaves and slavery—a great moral and political evil of increasing virulence and extent, from which much mischief is now felt, and very great calamity in future is apprehended."—Thus much for one side.

The *contra* is thus exhibited: "In pursuing their object, therefore," says the African Repository for April, 1826, in a memorial of the Society addressed to the several States, "the

* The conductors of this very distinguished Magazine, in a note prefixed to the article in question, dissent from the opinion and principles advanced by the writer, and express their sentiments favorably to colonization.

† I shall, in these essays, use *abolition* as a *state of emancipation* to which the master has been in some sort compelled, mainly by the conduct of those who have no interest in slaves as property.

Society cannot be justly charged with aiming to disturb the rights of property, or the peace of society. They would refer with confidence to the course they have pursued in the prosecution of their object for nine years past, to show that it is possible without danger or alarm, to carry on such an operation, notwithstanding its supposed relation to the subject of slavery; and that they have not been regardless, in any of their measures, of what was due to the state of society in which we live. They are, themselves, chiefly slave holders, and live with all the ties of life binding them to a slave community." Again—"The Managers could with no propriety depart from their original and avowed purpose, and make emancipation their object; and they would further say, that if they were not restrained by the terms of their association, they would still consider any attempts to promote the increase of the free colored people, by emancipation, unnecessary, premature and dangerous. It seems now to be admitted, that whatever has any bearing upon that question, must be managed with the utmost consideration; that the peace and order of society must not be endangered by indiscreet and ill timed efforts to promote emancipation; and that a due regard should be manifested to the feelings and the fears, and even the prejudices of those whose co-operation is essential."

These are the quotations introduced by the writer of the article in question, to support his charge of insincere and fraudulent conduct on the part of the Society. An accusation of this kind, in the absence of any motive for the perpetration of the fraud—with a course of action tending to defeat its accomplishment, looses all its force. As to the motive, neither riches nor popular favor, so far as my knowledge of the state of public sentiment extends, can be acquired in any part of our country, by espousing the Colonization cause. At all events, such impulses to action cannot fairly be attributed to our Carrolls and La Fayettees, our Madisons and Marshalls: Their whole lives are a bright and unbroken chain of evidence, repelling all suspicion of duplicity like this. Beside, were there ground upon which there could be raised a *presumption* against the honesty of those who manage this Institution, it would be overthrown by the fact, that they have, from the beginning, been pursuing a course of conduct tending to defeat the unworthy purpose with which they have been accused. The "Annual Reports" containing the above extracts—the "African Repository" and other publications of the Society, are sent abroad without alteration to adapt them to the state of public feeling prevailing in any particular quarter, but to every part of the Union indiscriminately, subject to the scrupulous examination of every one, friend or foe. Now, surely an artifice to cover a dishonorable intent, so shallow, so completely suicidal, cannot reasonably be laid to the charge of the patriots just mentioned; and every one will feel that it would be straining credulity too far, to ascribe to such men as Crawford and Clay, Webster and McLane, Howard and Key, a device upon its very face, so weak and absurd, that its incongruity may be detected by the merest Bæotian intellect.

The passages cited above, when correctly apprehended, are very appropriate to show the proper operation of the colonizing scheme upon slavery. Whatever its projectors may have thought of abolition, *as a last resort*, I am unable to pronounce; but certain it is, in the institution of a society, so counter in its principles to any schemes of abolition—by their course of action—by all that they have said, so regardless of every right which any member of the community can claim, at the same time so mindful of the loftiest considerations of humanity, they have indicated in no questionable shape, that they are opposed to every thing savoring of abolition, until their own great experiment to reconcile every municipal right, every social claim, with the not unregarded rights of a portion of our fellow-creatures, as men, shall have utterly failed.

To show its salutary though incidental operation upon slavery, the Society may be represented as addressing us thus: "You say, without exception, that the presence of the *free colored people* is an injury to your slaves; that, contributing to their discontent, it renders them less valuable; that their discontent leads to bad conduct on their part; this, on your's to severity; that severity begets malignity in the slave, and has a tendency to produce in the master, if not a feeling of ill will, of indifference, at least, to their well being. Our plan contemplates an entire removal from amongst you of the *cause* of these evils, and as your interest is concerned just in proportion to the value of your property thus liable to injury and depreciation, it is nothing unreasonable, after a due consideration and approbation of the project submitted to you, that we should ask, and you should render to us, your aid and co-operation in its accomplishment. In doing this, we are animated with the hope of elevating a degraded, a vicious, and, therefore, an unhappy class of the human family, to the dignity and enjoyments of *freedom in fact*. The standing subject of discontent to your slaves being removed, they will be better contented with their state; being contented, they will perform for you more service; they will be more industrious, therefore, more virtuous, and thus relieve you from the necessity of treating them with a severity revolting to your feelings, as men; by their meliorated conduct, they will gain upon your benevolence, and if at any time you should *choose* to bestow upon them the happiness of freedom, we have prepared a place to which they can be removed, for its enjoyment, without injury or annoyance to any one." If then, to remove from the presence of the slave a constant source of unhappiness—to make him obedient, cheerful and happy, so far as this can be done in a servile condition—to render his labor more profitable to his owner—if this be, to rivet the chains of slavery more firmly, the Society has no way of escape from the accusation. If, on the other hand, to furnish the owner in the good conduct of the slave, every motive to feel benevolently towards him, to treat him kindly, and at last to "let him go free," bestowing upon him a share of that "where-with the Lord his God had blessed" the master—if I say, this be to favor emancipation, the Society can offer no plea, but that of 'guilty' to the charge. So fully do I trust in the effi-

cacy of this process in the States of Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky and Tennessee, that, all that is wanting in my poor judgment, to disburden them of slavery, in a reasonable time, is means to defray the cost of a comfortable conveyance to a safe and pleasant home, of all slaves who may be offered by their owners for removal. A single instance in support of this opinion is to be found in the late expedition, which sailed from New Orleans for Liberia, where of one hundred and fifty emigrants, more than three-fourths were slaves, emancipated by their owners in Kentucky and Tennessee, to be conveyed to a land where they might enjoy the rich boon which the triumphant feelings of humanity had won for them.

I would not venture the opinion, that there would, in this way, be any sudden extinguishment of slavery in those States; but it would not be hazarding any reputation for forecast, to say that it would be continually approaching its termination. Confiding, with very strong hope, that we will speedily witness the harmonious operations of this system, so honorable in itself, so free from convulsions and sectional jealousies, with what earnest entreaty, with what solemn obtestation, might we not cry out to the abolitionist,—beware, lest with a ruthless spirit and a rash hand, you destroy it all.

J. G. BIRNEY,

Gen. Agent of the American Colonization Society.

INTELLIGENCE.

We have received a copy of an address, delivered before the Lynchburg Auxiliary Colonization Society at its anniversary meeting, held August 15, 1833, by RICHARD H. TOLER, Esq.—Of this able and eloquent performance, we hope to present the whole, or large portions, to our readers in the next number of the Repository.

The “*Missionary Record of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America*,” for the present month, contains an “Appeal to the Clergy and Laity of that Church,” by some individuals in Monrovia, who are desirous of erecting a suitable building for the worship of God, according to the Episcopal form. This appeal is signed by Jas. M. Thomson, Jno. B. Russwurm, N. M. Hicks, Joshua Stewart and Wm. N. Lewis. The same number of that Journal, says:

“It is time our readers should be apprised of the fact, that the Executive Committee have succeeded in obtaining the services of a Clergyman for the mission to Liberia and its vicinity, whose qualifications and devotedness to the cause in which he is to be engaged, justify the anticipation of the most favorable results from his labours.”—p. 149—150.

The Appeal is as follows:

To the Clergy and Laity of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the United States.

Christian Brethren—From this distant quarter of the globe, this land of moral darkness, on which the clouds of ignorance and superstition have rested almost since its first call into exist-

tence, and in which, as yet, the feeble glimmerings of the light of Christianity are scarcely perceptible, we consider it our bounden duty to address you, and to solicit your aid in the establishment and support of that Church which we believe to be the most truly Apostolic in its government, faith, and mode of worship.

We are aware that the demands made upon the American public are great; and that the beneficence which has been extended to our infant Colony has not been unworthy of the philanthropists by whom it has been bestowed; we are also aware, that great efforts have been made, from time to time, by Christians of various denominations, to improve our condition in a moral and religious point of view; and we hope we may truly say that such efforts have been followed by favourable results; and that the influence of true religion generally pervades this community. But still we must aver that a spirit of fanaticism is plainly seen diffusing itself, and threatens ultimately to subvert the very principles of that religion which we hold it our sacred duty to establish and defend.

To obviate such results, and at the same time to maintain among the more intelligent of our community, a genuine respect for true religion, we can propose no course which promises so much success as the establishment of the Protestant Episcopal Church amongst us. And to that end we have seen fit to form a religious society, professing to be governed by the same laws and canons as the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, and acknowledging the validity of the “articles of religion” and creeds sanctioned by the authorities of said Church. And we, the wardens and vestry of St. James’ Church, in Monrovia, Liberia, solicit your assistance to enable us to erect a house suitable for worship, and to obtain such pastoral aid and direction, as shall be competent to the diffusion of that Christian knowledge which will enable us duly to appreciate the order and harmony peculiar to our Church; and without which, we cannot hope to see religion flourish in this unnatural soil, consumed within by the unhallowed fires of

the enthusiast, and paralyzed without by cold, jeering infidelity and obstinate ignorance.

We trust therefore that the simple circumstance of our wants being known, without argument or entreaties, will be sufficient to awaken in you an interest in our condition, and to call forth your effective charity and brotherly kindness towards us. And we confidently hope, that when you behold in the prospective, as the result of our united efforts, the Gospel preached in this our infant settlement, in its primitive purity, and gradually diffusing its divine influence over this benighted land; you will consider no required exertions too great, to effect so desirable, so glorious an object.

We have received the Eighth Annual Report of the "*Ladies' Society for promoting the early education and improvement of the children of negroes and of people of colour in the British West Indies.*" This interesting Society, of which the Duchess of Beaufort is the present Patroness, was established in 1825, has under its protection, numerous schools in Jamaica, Antigua, St. Christopher's, Nevis, the Bahama Islands, Dominica, Tobago, &c. From July 1832 to July 1833, the contributions to it amount to £1658 16s. 6d., and its expenditures to £1587 2s. 2d.

COLONIZATION MEETINGS.

A public meeting was held in Newark, New Jersey, in the Rev. Mr. Hamilton's church, on Tuesday evening, October 15th, to aid the objects of the American Colonization Society.—Addresses were made by Rev. Mr. Gurvey, Secretary of the Society, and by the Hon. Theodore Frelinghuysen.—A deep interest was manifested, and a collection taken up exceeding two hundred dollars, which was afterwards increased, by the liberality of an individual to three hundred dollars.

In Ohio, several interesting meetings in favor of Colonization have been recently held, which were attended by FREDERICK W. THOMAS, Esq. the able and active Agent of the Society for one of the Districts of the Western Agency. We subjoin from the Ohio papers the following reports of their proceedings.

From the Hamilton, (O.) Intelligencer, Oct. 5.
Colonization Society.—Pursuant to public notice, a meeting of the "Hamilton and Ross-ville Colonization Society" (together with the citizens in general) was held at the Associate

Reformed Meeting House in Hamilton, on Monday evening, September 30th. In the absence of the President and Secretary of the Society, Hugh Wilson, sen. was called to the chair, and Lewis D. Campbell, appointed Secretary pro tem.

An eloquent and philanthropic address was pronounced by F. W. Thomas, Esq. travelling Agent of the American Colonization Society; after which, the following resolutions, offered by C. A. Warren, Esq. were unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That we cordially approve of the benevolent scheme of the American Colonization Society—that we will extend to its aid our cordial and zealous co-operation; and that its success and increasing interests demand more vigorous exertions on the part of our Society.

Resolved, That we consider the plan of immediate abolition as ill-advised, premature and chimerical; alike dangerous to our fellow citizens of the South, and prejudicial to the interests of our common country, and that the plan proposed by the American Colonization Society, presents the most expedient and expeditious means of ridding ourselves of the evils of slavery at home, and of extending to the unfortunate millions of benighted Africa, the blessings of liberty, civilization, and religion.

Resolved, That we feel deeply indebted to the Parent Society's Agent, F. W. Thomas, Esq. for his zealous and enlightened exposition of the subject of Colonization; and for his valuable services in the cause, and indefatigable efforts to promote this important interest of our country, he is entitled to the warmest thanks of our Society.

On motion the meeting adjourned.

HUGH WILSON, Sen. *Chairman*.
L. D. CAMPBELL, *Secretary pro tem*.

The Hamilton Intelligencer, in noticing this meeting, says:

"The meeting was well attended, and the general satisfaction of his hearers is doubtless a source of more gratification to Mr. Thomas than any praise we could bestow upon his address.—We must say, however, that parts of it were truly eloquent." "The zealous exertions of this gentleman to promote the objects of the Society of which he is Agent are truly meritorious, and of a character well calculated to awaken the slumbering spirit of philanthropy. The cause in which he has embarked is a glorious one, and we trust his efforts for its promotion will be attended with much success."

The Editor of the Rossville Telegraph, in noticing the proceedings of this Society, says:

"The Parent Society has involved itself to a considerable amount, in the past year, in its efforts of philanthropy. We had the pleasure of hearing Mr. Thomas. His appeal was most elo-

quent, and a rich harvest in substantial fruits is anticipated from his labors.

—
Lebanon, (O.) October 18, 1833.

The Colonization Cause.—Pursuant to public notice, a large number of the citizens of Lebanon, met at the Methodist Meeting House, on the evening of the 11th of October, for the purpose of adopting measures in aid of the Colonization cause.

On motion, the Hon. G. J. Smith, was called to the Chair, and A. H. Dunlevy, appointed Secretary.

F. W. Thomas, Esq. Agent of the American Colonization Society, then addressed the meeting at considerable length, explaining the object of the Society, and exhibiting the prospects of the Colony established at Liberia.

A collection was then taken, in aid of the Society, and G. J. Smith, A. H. Dunlevy, John F. Coffeen, William Hopwood, Jacob Moris, William R. Collett, James M'Burney and C. Cushing, handed in their names as members of the proposed Auxiliary Society at this place—the terms of membership being fifty cents per annum, during the continuance of each as members.

The following resolutions were then offered by J. Milton Williams, and adopted:

Resolved, That we look upon slavery as a curse upon any country: it is a dark spot upon the escutcheons of our Republic, and we are clearly of opinion, that it ever has been, and so long as it exists, ever will be the fruitful cause of political jealousy, and embittered local feelings in our government.

Resolved, That we believe the Colonization Society has been, and so long as it may be conducted judiciously, will continue to be the means of effecting much good—that its philanthropic principles entitle it to command the active support and efficient co-operation of every one, who in the least regards the sufferings of an unfortunate race of beings, or whose generous bosom swells with an inborn, ardent love of country.

Resolved, That we have full confidence in the prosperity of the Colony at Liberia; we view it as a peaceful and happy home for our wretched African bondsmen, where they may sit under their own "vine and fig-tree," far from the land which fettered and oppressed them.

Resolved, That we are firmly convinced of this truth—that by advancing the great objects which the Colonization Society contemplates, and by sustaining and firmly upholding the Colony at Liberia, we will thereby, the more certainly ensure the perpetuity of our republican institutions, pure, unsullied, uncorrupted.

Resolved, That in order to secure active exertion in this benevolent cause, we will re-organize our Auxiliary Society in this town and its vicinity—and that William Hopwood deliver an address before the Society, in the Methodist Church, on the evening of the last Monday in November next.

Lastly, *Resolved*, That these proceedings be published in the papers of Lebanon.

The meeting then adjourned.

A. H. DUNLEVY Sec'y.

From the Dayton (Ohio,) Journal, Oct. 22.

Colonization.—F. W. Thomas, Esq. Agent for the American Colonization Society, delivered two addresses in this place, within a few days past, urging our citizens to forward the objects of this great Institution. Mr. T. is a fine speaker and treats his subject in a masterly manner.

At the close of the meeting on Friday last, the following resolutions were adopted:

Resolved, That the African Colonization Society, is, in the opinion of this meeting engaged in an enterprise meriting the respect and cordial assistance of all parties in politics, and all sects in religion.

Resolved, That the ardour and perseverance with which the Institution has pursued and pursues its exalted purposes—the success it has achieved—and the activity to which it has stirred up public opinion to the upholding and promotion of gradual disenthralment and deportation, are sufficient to convince the unprejudiced, that it must become the great instrument of Liberty to the African Race, and Harmony to the American Union.

Resolved, That we believe it solemnly incumbent on us—not only as men but as Patriots—not only as Philanthropists but as Christians—to aid and co-operate with the Parent Society in moving the great and good work in which it is engaged.

Resolved, That we cannot but remember with deep mortification the defamation of our common country by Garrison and his followers in England, and cannot but view his rash project of instant Emancipation as dangerous to the Union of the States and subversive of all social and political order.

AARON BAKER, President.

WM. L. HELFENSTEIN, Sec'y.

—
From the National Banner, Nashville, Oct. 15.

The Colonization Society.—The Tennessee State Colonization Society, held its annual meeting in the Representatives' Hall, in this City on Monday evening 14th inst., Dr. P. LINDSLEY, President of Nashville University, in the Chair. We had the pleasure of being present, and can truly say that great interest was imparted to the business of the meeting by an enlightened and philanthropic Address from Mr. BIRNEY, of Alabama, the Agent of the American Colonization Society. It would afford us great pleasure to be enabled to lay it before our readers, and we would most cheerfully do so if we could procure a copy. We hope the regular proceedings of the Society will be furnished for publication.

We admire this Institution, and feel the utmost veneration and respect for the humane motives of its founders, and for those who are engaged in promoting its objects. It would afford us untinged pleasure to see all its generous designs crowned with complete success. Truth, however, compels us reluctantly to say, that we have great doubts of the practicability of the scheme. We doubt its practicability to the extent which seems to be anticipated by many of its friends. While these are our sincere sentiments with regard to this Society, we will here take leave to say, that we hold in the utmost abhorrence and detestation all the schemes of abolition and emancipation which

have heretofore been set on foot in the United States, whether openly advocated by such deluded fanatics as Garrison, or covertly abetted by hypocrites under the guise of religion.

The following additional intelligence in regard to the Colonization meeting at New York, of which some account was given in our last number, (page 217,) is extracted from the New York Observer of the 19th ult.

The Committee appointed at the late meeting at Masonic Hall to promote the interests of the Colonization Society, by endeavoring to increase the subscription to \$20,000, have, we learn, entered upon their work, with a very commendable zeal and energy. We cannot doubt their success. Under the impulse of the feeling which has been excited, we think it would not be difficult to raise \$50,000 in this State. We have heard of one liberal subscriber at the late meeting who is willing to double his subscription provided other subscribers will do the same. We cheerfully insert the following circular which has been sent us for publication by the Committee.

CIRCULAR.

The committee appointed by the recent public meeting in the Masonic Hall, to consider and aid the object of the American Colonization Society, and especially to endeavor to raise the sum of twenty thousand dollars in this City and State for that Institution, respectfully invite the co-operation of their fellow citizens; and venture to express the opinion that, whether this Society be regarded in its influence upon the condition and character of our free colored population, upon the prosperity of our own country, upon the cause of civilization and christianity in Africa, or finally upon the general cause of humanity and the ultimate improvement and elevation of the whole African race, it is entitled to liberal and universal support.

The establishment of a Christian Colony of colored men upon the African Coast, increasing in population, wealth and influence, exhibiting a well ordered community, with churches, schools, and all the various Institutions of civilized society; which has already banished the slave trade from its territory, and extended with their own consent its protection, and its laws over many of the native Tribes, must be deemed an event of the deepest interest to every philanthropic mind.

It demonstrates to the American people that Africa may be civilized—that her long exiled children may be restored to her, happy and free; and that it is plainly in our power to do a work of humanity and religion worthy of our character, and of the age in which we live, and of a magnitude which must justly entitle the nation that shall accomplish it to the lasting respect and admiration of the world.

Donations for this object may be transmitted to Moses Allen, Esq. 47 Wall street, who has kindly consented to take charge of the same.

By order of the Committee,
W. A. DUEK, Chairman.

New York, Oct. 16th, 1833.

From the New York Spectator, Oct. 29.

We are informed that a gentleman in our City is disposed to give \$1000 to the American Colonization Society, provided a few other subscriptions of equal amount can be obtained. We think there is no cause for him to despair of companionship in his liberality.—We sincerely hope that some gentle spirit will touch the hearts of our rich men and incline them to hold fellowship in good works with one, who, we are sure, is not willing to show his charity in word only but in deed and in truth.

Colonization Meeting in Brooklyn.

A public meeting to aid the objects of the Colonization Society, was held in the Episcopal Church in Brooklyn, (Rev. Mr. Cutler's) on Tuesday evening last. Mr. Van Sinderen, President of the Brooklyn Colonization Society, took the Chair, and the audience was addressed by the Rev. R. R. Gurley, Secretary of the Parent Society, by R. S. Finley, Agent of the New York Colonization Society, and by several gentlemen of Brooklyn.—About \$200 were subscribed on the spot, and a committee appointed to make application for further aid to the citizens.

AUXILIARY SOCIETIES.

The cause of colonization is advancing in the young but great State of OHIO, with encouraging rapidity. Almost every mail brings us accounts of a public meeting in its favor, or the formation of a new Auxiliary Society; some of her most distinguished sons are its advocates; and our Agent, Mr. THOMAS, leaves nothing undone which zeal and eloquence can effect, to quicken its progress.

A new Society in aid of the Parent Institution, was formed in Rutland, Meigs county, on the Fourth of July last, under the name of the "Colonization Society of Rutland and its vicinity, and auxiliary to the American Colonization Society." It has elected the following Officers and Managers:—

WM. PARKER, *President*. NICHOLAS TITUS, *Vice-President*. DAVID CURTIS, *Secretary*. JESSE HUBBELL, *Treasurer*. RODNEY DOWNING, EBENEZER PARKER, STILLMAN LARKIN, JNO. MILES, ROBERT BRADFORD, JAMES WRIGHT, ABEL HUBBELL, JR., *Managers*.

The Secretary of the Society, in his letter of October 20, giving the above agreeable information, says—"A few ladies also in this place, have formed a Society in aid of the cause. They have stated meetings, at which, by their industry, they manufacture

articles for sale,—the avails of which will be forwarded." He adds—"In this part of the country, the Garrison plan, as it is here called, or Anti-Slavery Society, gives general dissatisfaction, and will be opposed by most of the reflecting part of the community."

The Williamsport (Md.) Colonization Society.

Pursuant to public notice, a number of the citizens of Williamsport, convened in the M. E. Church, on Monday evening the 28th of October. The meeting was opened with prayer by the Rev. ISAAC KELLER, after which the Rev. WM. McKENNY, Agent of the Maryland State Colonization Society, delivered a very impressive and appropriate address, explanatory of the great objects of the Society—at the conclusion of which, on motion of the Rev. Mr. Keller, it was

Resolved, That we proceed forthwith, to organize a Colonization Society, auxiliary to the Maryland State Colonization Society, at Baltimore, and that JACOB T. TOWSON, Esq. be appointed Chairman of the meeting, and CHARLES A. WARFIELD, Secretary.

A Constitution was then adopted; two individuals handed in their names as life members, and thirty-two as annual members. A Committee of three ladies was appointed to solicit aid to the objects of the Society, and a Committee of three gentlemen was appointed to call on the citizens of the surrounding country, and solicit their co-operation, either by contributions, or by becoming members of the Society.

The following Officers and Managers were chosen:—

JACOB T. TOWSON, *President*. Dr. WM. VAN LEAR, *1st Vice-President*. C. A. WARFIELD, of A. *2nd Vice-President*. GEO. W. BROWN, *Secretary*. WM. R. FOULKE, *Treasurer*. *Managers*.—Otho Williams, Dr. Sam'l. H. Rench, Rev. Isaac Keller, Rev. John Winter, Dr. M. A. Finley, Rev. John Keppeler, Dr. Meredith Helm, Andrew Friend, A. M. C. Cramer, Dr. Samuel Weisel, M. S. Van Lear, and William Towson, Esq.

We have been favored with a communication from the amiable lady who is Secretary to the *Albemarle Female Auxiliary Colonization Society*, containing a list of the officers and members of that flourishing institution.

The officers are as follows:

President, Mrs. Nancy Nelson; *Vice-Presidents*, Mrs. Dr. Harrison, Mrs. T. W. Gilmer; Susan B. Terrell, *Secretary and Treasurer*.

Managers. Mrs. Sarah Gilmer, Anne C. Meriwether, Louisa Meriwether, Mildred Leewis, Jane Harrison, Mary E. Kelly, M. J. Minor, and Lucy A. Vowles.

The following proceedings took place at the last annual meeting of this Society:

In conformity to a resolution unanimously adopted at their last meeting, the Society met on the last Saturday, in September, eighteen hundred and thirty-three, and held their annual meeting at the school house of Mrs. Kelly, in the town of Charlottesville.

Since the last annual meeting, thirty dollars have been paid to the Treasurer, to constitute the Rev. Z. Mead a life member of the American Colonization Society.

Mrs. Kelly paid ten dollars to the Treasurer at the meeting, and by the third Article of the Constitution, is now a life member of this Society.

Eighty dollars, by the report of the Treasurer, are now in hand to be forwarded as soon as practicable to the Agent of the American Colonization Society.

Thirteen new members were added to the list at the meeting.

The following resolution was adopted:—

Resolved, That any member of this Society who may wish to withdraw her name, must first pay her subscription up to the time of withdrawing.

In an interesting address, the Society, after adverting to the history and objects of the Parent Board, thus proceeded:—

"To aid in advancing the success of these most benevolent objects and to sustain the Parent Society in its efforts to consummate the laudable purposes of its original formation, was the design in forming the Female Auxiliary Colonization Society of Albemarle. Its members have hitherto fulfilled what was properly expected; to sustain them in the exercise of that laudable spirit which hitherto characterised them. We are now convened to confer on the appropriate objects of such an association.

"The books of the Treasurer will show the sums heretofore received from each member, and the fit and proper manner in which they have been transmitted to those authorities who are selected for their expenditure in this hallowed cause. This address cannot be concluded without an endeavour to urge and impress upon all present, the important object of doing good to our fellow creatures, and especially to the household of faith, to which many of these unfortunate victims of oppression belong—who often exhibit examples of piety, worthy of emulation by their superiors; and of increasing the ability of the Parent Society, to execute its plan of colonization, by paying to the utmost of our ability, our subscriptions to this purpose.

"There seems at this time to be a peculiar propriety in sending on our quota, as by the statements of the Secretary of the Parent Society, there appeared a great deficit in the funds in the beginning of the last summer; to supply which, he called for aid from all the Auxiliaries, and himself made a tour to the North in the hope of obtaining assistance by donations from the wealthy and charitable of that part of the Union. Nor are we less in-

cited to lend our aid to this interesting object, by the necessity of co-operating with our own State Legislature in furthering the purpose of colonization, by the liberal appropriation which they made at their last session; and which they may possibly be inclined to enlarge hereafter, if this effort made by them should be followed by any important consequences.

"Let us not hesitate to avail ourselves of every propitious circumstance in the current of events, which may seem to incite to a zealous exertion of generous feeling in the cause of humanity—and seize with avidity every auspicious moment which a kind Providence may present, to enable us to press on with ardour in executing a plan which it is humbly hoped will draw down upon its votaries the approving smile of our beneficent Creator.

Extract of a letter from the Rev. A. S. M'LAIN, dated Clermont Co., Ohio, Sept. 27, 1833.

The Sabbath before the Fourth of July, I delivered an address on the colonization of the free people of colour, on the Western coast of Africa, at Liberia, (at Carmel M. House), and took up a collection of two dollars and twenty-six cents. And through the course of the summer, I have succeeded in forming a Society, Auxiliary to the American Colonization Society at Washington, for the same purpose. And have collected twenty-seven dollars and seventy cents. The Constitution for Auxiliaries, given in the African Repository, was adopted, the Society organized, and the following Officers elected, viz:

Wm. Pollard, *President*; Wm. Serry, *Vice-President*; Rev. A. S. McClain, *Secretary*; Jno. Rogers, Esq., *Treasurer*; Thomas Hitch, Jr., Hezekiah Bainen, Laird T. Stewart, James Rice, and Isaac Brown, *Managers*.—I herewith enclose, and send you thirty dollars; the balance shall be sent as soon as we can collect some more, or connect it with some other so that we can send it.

The following would have appeared earlier but for its having been mislaid.

Jefferson (Va.) Colonization Society.—This Society held its annual meeting June 7th, 1833, in the Presbyterian church of Charlestown. The President, Dr. S. J. Cramer, took the Chair, and the Secretary read the proceedings of the last annual meeting, as well as the several meetings of the officers of the Society.

On motion by Col. G. W. Humphreys, the last Annual Report of the Parent Society at Washington was read.

On motion of Dr. W. Yates,

Resolved, That a Committee of seven be appointed to select and induce free persons of color to emigrate to Africa, and report the same to the county Court of Jefferson, and this Society.

On motion by Major J. Peter, it was

Resolved, That a Committee of six (including the President) be appointed to choose an Orator for the 4th of July, and make arrangements for the celebration of that glorious day in connection with the objects and interests of the American Colonization Society.

Officers of the next year:—

President, Dr. S. J. Cramer. *Vice-Presidents*, T. Griggs, Jr., H. S. Turner, Col. G. W. Humphreys, B. C. Washington, J. T. A. Washington and C. Lowndes. *Managers*, Rev. A. Jones, Rev. S. Tuston, Rev. S. Bunn, Thomas Griggs, Sr., J. Peter, J. T. Daugherty, Dr. J. H. Lewis, J. S. Gallaher, Dr. W. Yates, A. Hunter, A. Kennedy, H. Keyes, James Grantham, James Brown, J. L. Ranson, S. W. Lackland, J. Davenport, T. A. Moore, W. T. Washington, J. Blackburn, Dr. S. C. Snyder, C. B. Harding and A. Woods. *Treasurer*, Wm. Brown. *Secretary*, J. J. Brown. The Society adjourned to meet again on the 4th of July.

From the "Virginia Free Press" of July 11.

The Colonization Society celebrated the Anniversary of Independence in Charlestown, in a manner at once useful and interesting. At 11 o'clock the Throne of Grace was addressed by the Rev. S. Tuston, in his usual felicitous and fervent style, and an Oration replete with instruction, and happy in style, was delivered by Joseph T. Daugherty, Esq.

We have been favoured by the Secretary of the Kentucky Auxiliary Colonization Society, with the following list of its Officers and Managers:—

Rev. John Early, *President*. Rev. William S. Reid, *First Vice-President*. Rev. Franklin G. Smith, *Second Vice-President*. Elijah Fletcher, *Treasurer*. Richard H. Toler, *Secretary*. Dr. Wm. J. Holcombe, John Coskie, Thomas A. Holcombe, John Thurman, David G. Murrell, Rev. Josiah Cole, M. H. Garland, William M. Rives, John Victor, Dr. John H. Patteson, John C. Reid and David Rodas, *Managers*.

Officers of the Logan county (O.) Colonization Society.

Joseph Stevenson, *President*; David Robb and Alexander O. Spencer, *Vice-Presidents*; Robert Patterson, Esq., *Secretary*; Jonathan Seaman, *Treasurer*; Joshua Robb, Jos. Morison, Geo. Seaman, Jno. W. Marques, Raphael Moore, Henry Munsell, Saml. Moore, Charles Porter, and Robert Cook, *Managers*.

THE MARYLAND STATE SOCIETY.

In a former number of this volume, (p. 89), we made some observations on the plan of the Maryland State Society to establish a separate Colony at Cape Palmas. About the time of the publication of the number containing those observations, the Rev. William McKenney, on behalf of a Committee, of which he was a member, appointed for the purpose, appeared before the Parent Board, and submitted to them a Preamble and Resolutions which had been adopted by the Board of Managers of the Maryland State Colonization Society,

of which Resolutions, the following is a copy:—

Resolved, That immediate application be made by this Board, to the Board of Managers of the American Colonization Society at Washington, for

First—A place of deposit separate and apart from the general depository of the Colony, for all provisions, implements of husbandry and mechanics' tools, and all the articles which may be sent out with and for the use of the emigrants from Maryland.

Secondly—For authority (if no such authority already exists) to appoint a resident Agent to superintend the receipts and disbursements of all such stores, &c.

Thirdly—That a suitable receptacle be assigned for the use of Maryland emigrants; and

Fourthly—That suitable lots and lands be assigned to them with all convenient dispatch after their arrival in the Colony, (this will require that they be previously surveyed), so that they may be able, as soon as they have passed the period of their seasoning, to commence their respective calling.

The Parent Board, after considering the foregoing Resolutions, on the 24th of May,

Resolved, That the proposition of the Maryland State Society, submitted to this Board in their Resolutions of the 20th instant, communicated with the letter of their Committee of the 21st inst., be acceded to, and that advice thereof be given to the Colonial Agent.

On the 20th of September, a letter was addressed to the Parent Board, by CHARLES C. HARPER, Esq., enclosing copies of several proceedings of the Maryland Board, in relation to the projected Colony, under the respective dates of April 30th, June 2nd, and September 9th, which gave rise to the following proceedings on the part of the Parent Board:—

Extract from the minutes of the proceedings of the Board of Managers of the American Colonization Society, October 7th, 1833.

Resolved, That this Board trusts that the contemplated settlement on Cape Palmas, of Maryland colonists, under the auspices of the Maryland State Society, will effectually promote the great object of that Society in relation to their own State, and prove to our country at large, the great benefits of the colonization scheme, and contribute to the civilization and happiness of the African continent.

Resolved further, That this Board is willing that the Maryland Society shall locate their emigrants (until prepared to make a settlement of their own) either at Monrovia or Grand Bassa, upon the same terms and conditions, and subject to the same regulations that now exist as to their colonists at Monrovia, under the resolution of this Board, passed 24th of May last.

The Board of Managers of the Maryland Auxiliary has published an address to the public, expository of

its views, which is remarkably well written, but too long for insertion in the present number of the Repository.

LIBERAL PROPOSITIONS.

The following liberal resolutions, moved by Mr. JOEL R. SMITH, were adopted by the House of Representatives of Tennessee, on the 30th of September. Their enactment would do lasting honor to the wisdom and philanthropy of the Legislature:—

Resolved, That the select committee on the subject of the American Colonization Society, be instructed to inquire into the expediency of memorializing Congress to make an appropriation of \$100,000 annually, to be applied by the said Colonization Society in transporting to Liberia the free colored population of the United States.

Resolved, That said committee inquire into the expediency of making an appropriation by this General Assembly of \$5000 annually, to aid the Tennessee Auxiliary Colonization Society, to be applied by the said Society in transporting to the Colony of Liberia the free colored population of the State of Tennessee.

The Treasurer of the American Colonization Society has received a letter from a gentleman in McEwensville, Pa., which we take pleasure in subjoining. The plan, of which it gives an account, for aiding the cause of colonization, is so interesting, and likely to do good in so many ways, that it will, we trust, find many imitators.

The letter is as follows:—

McEWENSVILLE, Oct. 22nd, 1833.

Sir: Enclosed is the sum of five dollars to be appropriated to the purposes of the American Colonization Society. The above is the contribution of a female school kept by Mrs. Spratt; the children, chiefly small, have been interested in this department of liberty and benevolence by the exertions of their teacher. The first Monday of each month, is employed by the children in making pincushions and other articles of needlework, which are to be sold every three months. The first sale took place the first Monday of the present month, and produced seven dollars. As five or ten dollars must be sent, we have concluded to forward five, and reserve the balance to be remitted to the Society, with the product of the next sale day.

The children join with myself and wife in wishing abundant success, under the Divine blessing, to the efforts of the Society in ameliorating the condition of that part of our race, which has been so unjustly, inhumanly and consequently unchristianly misused. How much might be done, were a similar plan adopted in every school where the use of the needle is taught or known. The children have been much interested in this work; and

I believe the day of working for this purpose is regarded more in the light of a holiday, than that of a day of labour. The children, when it is practicable, have an address delivered to them on the subject, by a minister of the gospel in the afternoon of their day of labour. You would further the object by forwarding by mail a copy of the last Report, or any other publications that might be considered adapted to excite the attention of the children, which might be occasionally read by some of the elder scholars. In doing this, you would also oblige their teacher and myself. The school is not large—the number who work not on an average reaching more than twenty.

MR. CRESSON—AFRICAN COLONIZATION.

The following letter, which we copy from the New York American, is from a lady in London to a female correspondent in New York. It will be read with pleasure by the friends of Mr. Cresson, as well as by the philanthropists of the country generally:

Extract of a letter from London, dated 6th Sept.

"Mr. Cresson, your highly gifted and indefatigable countryman, is I hear, likely to return home ere long. I consider the main object of his mission accomplished; for he has been able to form a British Colonization Society to act with, and on the principles of the American Society—the Duke of Sussex at its head, supported by Lord Bexley and others of influence. I had the pleasure of being present at a meeting where the Duke presided to form it. In spite of that violent and ignorant clamor, which has met him every where from the anti-slavery agent, the cause was triumphant.

"The Duke took a most animated and decisive part in favor of his 'personal friend,' Mr. Cresson, of Liberia and of the United States, whose real character and condition are better known to him than to 99 out of 100 in this country. Most English are content to be utterly ignorant of the state of France and America, the two countries it most imports them to understand, and with whose friendship we might defy the rest of the world in every good cause. Sabbath, Temperance, peace, and Colonization Societies, we are receiving from you; the revival of real religion in France gives great hopes that if England and the United States throw their weight into the same scale, France will receive them next. The party in France which is most anti-English looks up especially to the United States. Would we could imbue the rising generation with the noble ambition of forwarding this great work!

"When an opportunity offers, I should be thankful to receive Reports of your Charitable and Religious Societies. I find them very useful in dispelling the clouds of ignorance that in too many instances still blind our religious people to the corresponding works of piety and love carrying on among yours. I lend them very extensively. The African Repository that you send me has been particularly useful."

[Mr. Cresson is a wealthy Quaker gentleman, of Philadelphia, who voluntarily undertook his present mission to England, in behalf of the Colonization Society. His motives were entirely philanthropic, as his services are gratuitous. So far from being actuated by any interested motive, he subscribed a thousand dollars in aid of the Society, out of his own pocket, before his departure for Europe.

National Intelligencer.]

MR. CRESSON.

At a meeting of the friends of the Colonization Society, convened on the 7th inst. in Philadelphia, agreeably to public notice, BENJAMIN W. RIDGWAY was called to the Chair, and JAMES L. ABBOTT appointed Secretary.

On motion of Charles Beck, the following Preamble and Resolutions were unanimously adopted.

WHEREAS, The meeting entertaining a grateful sense of the many and important services rendered the Colonization Society, on various occasions, by our excellent and worthy citizen Elliott Cresson, and that the dignified, firm, and spirited manner in which he advocated the rights and objects of the Society before the British people, merit an especial notice. Therefore,

Resolved, That this meeting cause to be procured, as early as practicable, and presented to Elliott Cresson, Esq. a piece of plate, with a suitable inscription, expressive of the important services rendered by him to the Colonization Society, during his recent visit to Europe.

Resolved, That a neat copy of these resolutions be presented to Elliott Cresson, together with an expression of the gratitude this meeting feels for his safe return to the bosom of his family and friends.

On motion, the Chairman appointed Anthony L. Pennock, Percival Smith, and Warden Thompson, a Committee to carry these resolutions into effect; and, on motion, the names of the Chairman and Secretary were added to the Committee.

On motion, adjourned.

B. W. RIDGWAY, Chairman.

JAS. L. ABBOTT, Secretary.

COLONIAL AGENCY.

Dr. MECHLIN, the Colonial Agent, being expected daily in the United States, the Rev. JOHN B. PINNEY was on the 24th ult. appointed by the Board of Managers, to take charge of the Colony until the arrival of a permanent Agent. Though Mr. PINNEY's important missionary engagements will not enable him to discharge the duties of Colonial Agent during any considerable time, his zeal and piety justify the confidence which

is felt by the Board, that however brief may be the continuance of its temporary administration, it will be highly beneficial to the best interests of the Colony.

DR. HAWES'S NEGROES.

The Secretary of the Colonization Society has received information that Dr. AYLETT HAWES, who lately died in Rappahannock county, Va., had liberated by his last will and testament, *upwards of one hundred slaves*, with the expectation of their being sent to the Colony at Liberia; leaving directions that the sum of twenty dollars should be paid out of his estate for each one that might go thither under the patronage of the Colonization Society.

IMMEDIATE EMANCIPATION.

Pursuant to notice, a large and respectable public meeting was held at Kingsville, Ohio, on the 22nd of October, as we learn from the Ashtabula Sentinel of October 26th, to consider the question of the immediate emancipation of the slaves of the South, and to constitute a Society for the promotion of that object. Elder Bailey, sustained by Mr. Kelly, made several inflammatory speeches in support of the project, taking care to mete out to the Colonization Society, a due portion of bitterness. The opposite side was ably advocated by Dr. D. M. Spencer, Mr. Harvey Nettleton, and Mr. A. Nettleton. The *dénouement* was as follows:—

"Finally, at 11 o'clock, P. M. the 1st resolution, [i. e. "That this meeting do form itself into an Anti-Slavery Society,"] was seconded, and was put to vote—ayes 6, noes, the balance of the meeting.

"Elder Bailey then said that he would make a Society out of the remnant that voted with him, and that the dissentients might quit the house, which they did forthwith."

EMIGRANTS FROM VIRGINIA.

The Lynchburg Virginian contains the following information on the subject of emigrants from Virginia:—

"The Staunton Spectator of the 25th of October, informs us that 14 colored persons left that place on the preceding Tuesday for Liberia—8 emancipated slaves, and 6 free persons. Of the slaves, two were liberated by Mr. Theophilus Gamble, two by Mr. Robert Coiner, and two by Mr. Silas Henton, of Augusta county, one by the voluntary contributions of the citizens of that county, and

one by Mr. Abraham Carper of Lewis county. This makes 44 that have been sent of through the agency of the Colonization Society of Augusta. Had information of the time of sailing of the expedition been received by the Lynchburg Society in time, 8 or 10 emigrants, liberated by the Rev. Mr. Hanks, of Franklin county, would have gone from this place."

MONROVIA.

We have seen a letter to a distinguished citizen, dated Monrovia, 20th May, in reply to certain queries put, touching the condition, health, prospects, &c., of the Colony. The information conveyed is in all respects gratifying. True, in Monrovia, as in Philadelphia, there are some lazy, worthless characters; but there, as here, all who will it, prosper. Wages are good, and employment abundant. Seventy-five cents are given for a day's labor, or fifty cents and found. Carpenters get for ceiling houses, (a mode of finishing the interior, answering for plastering,) from \$2 00 to \$3 a square; for common moulding, 25 cts. per foot; and for other work in their line in proportion. Other mechanics get from one-third to one-half more than is paid for like work in the United States. Carpenters and stone masons are paid, not by the day, but on measurement.

Emigrants can always find employment immediately on their arrival; but it is thought best by physicians that they should, before they go steadily at work, become acclimated. With the exception of this necessary precaution, and which indeed applies to persons who pass from a slate to a limestone country, or from one extreme of latitude to another, the salubrity of Monrovia is said to equal that of any part of the United States. All emigrants pass this ordeal of being acclimated, and are more or less sick as they are more or less prudent.

Those who emigrate, generally go without any capital, or the means of support. All who do so have to endure the sort of difficulty which attends upon persons who go to other places, under like circumstances. Altogether, colonization is a most merciful system, and promises immense benefits to those who emigrate, and to their posterity.—*Philadelphia Intelligencer*.

From the New York Observer, Oct. 19. NEW MISSION TO AFRICA.

On Sunday evening, the 18th of October, the Rev. John Cloud, one of the missionaries appointed to West Africa by the Western Foreign Missionary Society, (at Pittsburg) was ordained in the Brick church in Beckman-street. The Rev. Dr. Spring made the introductory prayer; the Rev. John M. Krebs preached the sermon, and the Rev. Dr. M. Cartee presided, gave the charge, and made the ordaining prayer. The services of the evening, which were listened to with much attention by a house crowded to overflowing, were concluded by singing the 150th Psalm, and with prayer by the Rev. Cyrus Mason.

On Monday evening, a missionary meeting was held in the First (Wall-street) Presbyterian church, at which the Rev. Messrs. Cloud

and Pinney, missionaries, and Mr. Jas. Temple, colored assistant, were present for the purpose of receiving their instructions from the Society, and taking leave of their fellow-Christians in this city. Rev. Matthew Laird (the third missionary) and his wife, were expected to be present at this meeting, but finding themselves unable to reach the city in season, they proceeded, we understand, directly to Norfolk, from which port the Jupiter, with all the missionaries, is to sail in a few days.

The meeting on Monday evening was opened with prayer by the Rev. Dr. Phillips, after which the 100th Psalm was sung, beginning

Before Jehovah's awful throne,
Ye nations bow with sacred joy.

President DUBBIN, of the Methodist Episcopal church, then delivered an address, in which he dwelt on the remarkable revival of religion in several Protestant nations, and particularly in this country, during the last 20 or 30 years; and traced it directly to the cultivation of the missionary spirit, which he regarded as a true measure of the spirit of piety in the church. In concluding, he presented a brief view of Christian enterprises now in progress in Egypt, Abyssinia, South Africa, Sierra Leone, and Liberia; and anticipated the time, as not far distant, when the banner of the cross will float in triumph from the spires of the mosque of Timbuctoo, and when all the tribes of the newly discovered and populous interior of Africa, and of every part of that vast continent, will recognise Jehovah as the true God.

The Rev. Dr. SPRING remarked upon the wonderful enlargement in the views of Christians of the present day, as an omen of great approaching prosperity to the church. The conversion of the world was now spoken of familiarly as a practicable enterprise, and an inspection of the map would show that this was not mere talk, but that the work was commenced in good earnest, and was making fine progress. There is no difficulty for want of points of access to the heathen; what we want is men—talented, devoted men. Dr. S. suggested the expediency of the churches taking up this subject, and agreeing to educate each at least one young man for the office of a missionary to the heathen. He thought too that in some parts of our country there were too many ministers, and that true Christian economy required the union of small contiguous congregations, that their pastors may be released and supply the urgent demands in the foreign field. He commented with proper severity upon the fact that there were so many young preachers, idling and loitering about our great cities, in expectation of vacancies in large and wealthy congregations; while the calls from the heathen world for more laborers were so loud and constant. In conclusion, Dr. S. related several anecdotes in illustration of the importance of fervent prayer, as a great and indispensable requisite for success in missionary efforts.

The Rev. E. P. SWIFT, Corresponding Secretary of the Western Foreign Missionary Society, then read the instructions to the missionaries.

SLAVERY IN MARTINIQUE. (From the London Times.)

Since the Revolution of July, the slave-trade has entirely ceased in the French colonies; previously it was shamefully winked at by the Government, and encouraged by the planters; but it has done them little or no good, and now they are paying a heavy penalty. In consequence of the high price of sugar, slaves were relatively of high value; this became a great and alluring temptation to fit out "negriers," which, to escape the pursuit of our ships of war, were always constructed more to sail fast, and evade observation, than to accommodate the poor victims forming the cargo. The interiors of these vessels, therefore, (mostly schooners) were ill-adapted to preserve the health or comfort of the poor wretches who were crowded in them, and who generally arrived in a state of great exhaustion, misery, and sickness; a new negro would require a year's nursing before he became fit for work, and not more than half the number landed would usually survive and become useful. Credit was so unlimited, that the planters were in the habit of paying for these by giving their acceptances at two, three, four, and even five years, calculating so many more negroes would make so many more hogsheds of sugar saleable at the high price: these acceptances sooner or later come due, sugars are wofully down in price, money is very scarce, sickness carries off many, poisoning still more, there is perhaps a short crop, (as this year) and the result is general distress. The Africans are dreadfully addicted to the crime of poisoning, and a vast number of men, women, children, and cattle, are destroyed in this way every year. One planter told me he has lost nearly 100 in little more than three years, besides two of his own children.

In general the French treat their slaves with great personal kindness and familiarity, much more so than the English, and flogging is not common; but the French creoles are more violent in their prejudices than their neighbours; they think it perfectly absurd, quite *outré*, to teach a slave to read; it is never done; the French slaves have scarcely any education, either in letters, morals, or religion, and the planters themselves do not set the best of examples. Missionaries are not admitted; the Catholic clergy are generally good men, but indolent, for want of competition; were there Moravians, Methodists, and Episcopalians, as in other colonies, it would be otherwise; it is the practice in every estate to have prayers night and morning, but this is chiefly to afford an opportunity to the planters to see and count the gang, and question them about the work of the day. Many of the managers are the proprietors of their estates; it is doubtful to me if this be (as is generally imagined) advantageous to the slave; they are more indolent and less responsible than the mere manager. It is quite true "the Frenchman deliberately expatriates himself, the Englishman never." In Martinique an estate will descend from father to son, and be managed in the same way. This sort of gentlemen are generally very proud, arbitrary and prejudiced. The progress of liberal ideas in

Europe does not affect or reach them as it does the English manager, who is educated in a free country, in constant communication with home, and receives his newspaper and magazine as regularly as the packet arrives.—The French creoles are, however, kind, hospitable, and generous—any one but a creditor or mortgagee may get money from them.—The laws are by no means effective, but the ladies are beautiful.

The enmity between the white and coloured classes is so violent, that they live in constant apprehension of each other; a white man dare scarcely be seen speaking to a coloured one in the streets, much less associate with him. The coloured are numerous, but generally less educated, and less fit for the advancement they aspire at than the coloured in the other islands; they have very little property, and their behaviour towards the whites is alternately marked by obsequiousness and impertinence. They have now the same political rights as the whites.

LETTERS FROM COLONISTS.

We have been obligingly favored with the perusal of a letter from a colored man, now a resident of Liberia, who formerly lived in this State. The letter is addressed to a friend in Louisville, Ky.—[*Western Luminary*.
Liberia, July 28th, 1833.

MR. WASHINGTON SPRADLEY:

Dear Sir:—Your two kind favours, one bearing date 21st, and the other 23d March, 1833, are before me. I have further with particular care noticed their contents; particularly your inquiries relative to the situation of our Colony at present, and the prospect of your emigrating hither. Now in the first instance, let me tell you that should you come out, you must expect to undergo the fever of the country, which with many persons goes hard, but that depends altogether on the manner you prepare yourself to receive it. It requires that during the attack of this disease you keep yourself perfectly neat, using as much exercise as possible, that is to say, not so as to fatigue the system. Many who have died of the fever of this country, may be said to have thrown themselves away for the want of that spirit which every rational being ought to have, I mean to walk about when not too sick! I expect to be married in five days from to-day. I trust on your arrival in Liberia, to be prepared to make room for your reception. I have not got a very large dwelling, but shall not let you suffer. I have been out here a little over three years, and never had the pleasure of enjoying better health than I am at present enjoying; truly, I have at times a little ill feeling, but that you know is common all over the world. In this place you will find many of the citizens possessed with a degree of hospitality; however I am prepared to instruct you how far to go when you arrive here, to meet their manners.—Doubtless you have heard a great deal about Liberia, part of which has been against it, but in my opinion it is before Sierra Leone, a Colony which has been established 40 years, if memory serves me. Referring to the diet of this country—it is rice, cassada and yams for bread; we at times have as good beef in

Liberia, as they have in Kentucky. Rice, however, is the principal bread, when flour becomes scarce. If you come out, you had better come prepared to remain four or five months, as you can tell but little how you like Liberia, making a shorter stay than I mentioned. I know of but little else to advise you about, unless it is to say, to see you in Liberia, would afford one of the greatest pleasures, but to have you come and see for yourself, is still better than to receive letters from me simply, yet what I say now, is nothing less than the truth, without flattering Liberia in the least. Yours respectfully,
NUGENT M. HUXS.

To the Rev. CORNELIUS ELVEN, *Dury St.*
Edmund's, England.

Monrovia, Africa, Jan. 17, 1833.

REV. & DEAR BROTHER: Your very kind and Christian letter came duly to hand on the 25th of November, 1832. It being Lord's day, just as I was going to the house of God, the Governor waited on me in person and presented me with it—and as he takes great interest in our Church, and is a constant attendant on worship, I allowed him to read it, which seemed to give him great pleasure.

For my own part, it was like the coming of Titus: I could but say to my dear wife, who is "one of us," "What a similarity of language is there with all true Christians, how far soever they may be separated, and how much the feelings of one minister of Christ resemble those of another! for, though oceans may roll, and mountains rise between us, when Christ and his gospel is the theme—our arms, our hearts, our language, are one. These things have often encouraged me in my pilgrimage. I have often asked myself, "How can it be possible, if the gospel of Christ and the communion of the Spirit be not true, could men so far remote, enter (so to speak) so freely into each other's hearts, and feel such sympathies with those they had never seen? But I have come to this conclusion, that it is the "love of Christ" that constraineth, whatever the infidel may say to the contrary. You ask me 'Is there any Christian church in the Colony?' There is—and has been from its commencement; one Baptist and one Methodist. There have been several attempts to form others, but they have not succeeded at present.

The church of which I have the honour to be pastor, consists of 181 communicants, about half of whom are native Africans, that have been liberated by American cruisers from slave ships, and sent to our Colony—thirty-nine of these have been baptized within the last eighteen months. I baptized eight the first Lord's day of this month, and there are many more inquiring the way to Zion. It is a pleasing, yea, delightful engagement to sit in one of our church meetings, and hear these spiritual children speak of the burden of sin, their utter helplessness, and their redemption by the blood of Christ; indeed, it would seem that on some of them a miracle was wrought.

These native Africans are located four miles from Monrovia, where they have built themselves a meeting-house sufficient for their worship, and there is one of their pumber who exhorts, and is a very pious man. I have

appointed him to the oversight of them, and I attend at that place once a month to administer the sacrament, as all cannot get here at once to the table of the Lord.

At Monrovia we have a small frame meeting house, which is fast going to decay, and we have been trying for three years to erect one of stone, but find our means quite inadequate. But we are going on with the work, it may be said, *depending on God alone*, for the means to pay the workmen; yet I am disposed to trust him, for I have never found him to fail.

We have preaching thrice on Lord's day, and once in the week, besides one evening prayer meeting. I should have given you a very particular account, but a great press of worldly business, since I received yours, has prevented my doing so; but, under God, I shall do so at some future time. The vessel that brings this is consigned to me, so that you see I am engaged as a *merchant* as well as a *minister*. Oh, how much watching and prayer are necessary to keep one who is so situated, that he may be able to preach Christ and keep himself from the censures of men!

I have at this time four vessels waiting for cargoes; as soon as they are gone, I hope to be able to give you a history of our church from its commencement. Should you think of writing to me in future, send under cover to George Quayle, Esq., merchant, Liverpool, who is my friend, and whose vessel brings this. And now, my dear brother, feeling united with you in the cause of our common Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, I must beg your most earnest prayers at the *throne of heavenly grace* for me who am less than the least of all his saints; for I feel daily the motions of sin striving to bring me into bondage again, that I might serve its lusts. Yet Christ is to me *ALL IN ALL*; nor do I desire any other Saviour. Therefore I try to preach him as the all-sufficient friend of sinners, 'full of *grace and truth*.' We have this day an arrival from America with emigrants to our colony. Among them are twenty Baptists, two of them ministers. *Gracious news for Africa!!* Yea, and I will bless God I live in such a day.

I am Yours, &c.

C. M. WARING.

EXPEDITION FROM SAVANNAH TO LIBERIA.

We are gratified to learn through the New York Observer, that measures are in train at Savannah, for sending out an expedition to Liberia to consist of 83 free colored persons, of whom 35 are adults, and 46 are under eighteen years of age. All the adults are members of the Temperance Society; 16 are members of the Baptist Church, 4 of the Methodist, and 3 Presbyterians. There are among them 4 mechanics, 5 seamstresses, 2 laborers, 1 merchant, and 1 female school teacher. In addition to these, we are told that 14 slaves are to be liberated by the Rev. Mr. Ripley, Professor of the Baptist Theological Seminary at Newton, Massachusetts, that they may connect themselves with the expedition; making the whole number 97. There are 30 or 40 others who have the subject under consideration, and it is expected they will decide to emigrate before the expedition sails. Several respectable merchants in Savannah re-

present these emigrants to be honest, industrious, and sober persons. Of such only do the friends of colonization desire to build up the Colony. And we are pleased to observe that the agents of the Society are careful on this point, and that measures are taken specially to inculcate the principles of the temperance reformation upon the emigrants.

Newark Odm. Adv.

Capture of a Slave Ship.—The British brig Trinculo, Lieutenant Thompson, acting, has captured near the Gallena, after a chase of four hours, the Spanish schooner Secunda, Socorow, with 807 slaves on board. The schooner was well manned, having the crews of two other vessels, previously captured, on board.

DEPARTURE OF THE SHIP JUPITER.

On Tuesday the 5th inst. the ship Jupiter, Capt. Knapp, sailed from Hampton Roads for Liberia with 50 coloured emigrants.

Among the passengers were—

The Rev. JNO. B. PINNEY, temporary Agent of the U. States Colonization Society in Liberia. Dr. TODSEN, Physician of the Colony. Rev. Mr. CLOUD and Mr. LAIRD and Lady, Missionaries of the W. F. M. Society. Rev. Mr. SPALDING and Lady, Rev. Mr. WRIGHT and Lady, and a young Lady—Methodist Episcopal Missionaries. Mr. JNO. TEMPLE, (col'd.) Assistant Missionary of W. F. M. Society. Mr. A. D. WILLIAMS, Vice-Agent, and Mr. JOSEPH J. ROBERTS, High-Sheriff, of the Colony, who have been on a visit to the U. States.

The circumstances attending the departure of the Jupiter, were such as to oblige her to leave many emigrants who were desirous of obtaining a passage in her. It is the purpose of the Board of Managers to send out on the 25th instant, another vessel to the Colony with about sixty emigrants who were disappointed by the Jupiter, and a supply of provisions and merchandise.

Increase of Slavery in Cuba.—Mr. Macqueen of Glasgow, who has been making the tour of the British and Foreign West Indies, states, in a letter to the Editor of the *Glasgow Courier*, that "Cuba is increasing in importance quite incredibly. I hold in my hands," says he, "most valuable returns of that island, and also Porto Rico. The crop of Cuba, in one article, sugar exported in 1830, was in round numbers, 195,000,000 lbs. and the increase of the slave population, by importation, was in (1828 and 1829) two years, 179,000! Porto Rico is rapidly rising into importance. An immense African slave trade is carried on through the island of St. Thomas, to supply that island and Cuba with Africans. Ten and even twelve African slave ships may be seen in the harbour of St. Thomas at a time.

For the African Repository.

THE VOICE OF LIBERIA.

"And looking round on the abject slaves of Africa, behold in them the likeness of what your ancestors were, and what, without their transportation and servitude beyond the sea, yourselves and your children would have been at the present time. And from this instructive spectacle, lift your eyes and your hearts to Heaven, and adore that God who, in His own way, has made you to differ."—*Ashmun's address to the Colonists.*

A sound of joy! o'er the deep it hath come,
From the African's fair and sunny home;
The harpings and shouts of a people free,
Sitting under the shade of their "vine and tree."
It comes in the voice of the breezy wind,
Tidings of peace it has left behind;
It comes in the waves of the mighty deep,
In their cabin homes it can never sleep;
Rich and triumphant is every tone
Which back to their kindred that deep hath thrown!

A sound of joy! for the slave ship's crew
To their ancient haunts have bidden adieu,—
Carnage and grief with the spoiler have fled,
And the home of their foe is with the dead.
O! never again in that land I trow
Can be place his mark on the human brow—
And never again shall the languid eye
Of the captive, revert to his native sky.
Peaceful and free—they have won the day,
They have pour'd their blood in the spoiler's way!

A sound of joy! for the spirit of pray'r,
Its quiet voice and its holy rites are there:
Gem of the East! thou art veiled no more
From the Christian's eye, as in times of yore.
Thy voice will reach like an olden strain
Hearts, that will echo its music again:
It will touch a chord with its pow'r divine,
In the human heart for thee and for thine.
That voice of pray'r! let it rise and swell,
It will claim back thy kindred with thee to dwell!

WESTON, (Mass.) October 15th, 1833.

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CONTRIBUTIONS

To the American Colonization Society from the 14th of Oct. to the 4th of Nov.

Amount remitted by Rev. N. W. Calhoun, viz:		
Collection in Presbyterian church, Kanawha,	12 25	
Donation from a Benevolent Society of ladies, same place,	77	89 25
Collection in Presbyterian church, Danville, Pa., by Rev. Robert Dunlap,		35
Coll'n. in Rahway, N. J., Aux. Colonization Society, by Job Squier, Tr.,		120 25
Coll'n. in Ep. church, Leesburg, Va., by Rev. Geo. Adie, Rector,		20
Donation from Mrs. Ann S. Coleman, Halifax co., Va., by Jno. T. Clark, Esq., of Mount Laurel,		5
Amount of various contributions remitted from Rocky Creek, Chester District, S. C., by Rev. Warren Flenniken, (of which were \$4 from John Weir, \$2 from John Nisbet, and \$2 from Wm. Wilson, for the African Repository),		42
Transmitted by Rev. Dr. Herron, viz:		
Coll'n. in 1st Congregation, (Pres'n.) Pittsburg, Pa.,	66 20	
" Birmingham Sabbath school in the vicinity of Pittsburg,	2 80	
" Bethel Congregation in the vicinity of Pittsburg,	11	80
Contribution by young ladies of Mrs. Spratt's female school, McEwensville, Pa.; the fruits of sewing by these young ladies—the first Monday of each month being devoted to that purpose, remitted by Rev. Geo. Spratt, M. D.		5
Coll'n. in Presbyterian Congregation of Lebanon, near Pittsburg, Pa., Rev. J. J. Baird, by Walter Lowrie, Esq.,		6
Contribution from the citizens of Newark, N. J., by the Hon. Theo. Frelinghuysen,		296 73
Vermont Col. Society, per Dan'l Baldwin, Tr.,		400
Coll'n. in Strongsville, Ohio, by Rev. Simeon Woodruff,		8

Total amount,

\$1,047 24

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[No. 10.]

DR. PHILIP'S LETTER.

A valuable letter from the Rev. JOHN PHILIP, D. D., Superintendent of the Missions of the London Society at the Cape of Good Hope, &c. to the Society of Inquiry on Missions, in the Theological Seminary at Princeton, N. J. has recently been published. Of the writer, the following account is given in the Preface by the Rev. ARCHIBALD ALEXANDER, D. D. "It will scarcely be necessary for me to state, that the Rev. Dr. Philip, the author of the following deeply interesting communication, is an able and distinguished minister of the gospel, who has resided for many years in South Africa; and is the Superintendent of all the missionary stations in that region, which are in connexion with the London Missionary Society. Dr. Philip has, in a particular manner, distinguished himself as the able advocate and undaunted defender of the interests of the Aborigines of South Africa, against the oppressive measures of the government and people, of the European colony, at the Cape. In consequence of some publications in which the cruel treatment of these people by the colonial government was laid before the British public, he was subjected to a legal prosecution, and to a heavy pecuniary mulct. It is believed, however, that by the generosity of his friends in England, he was relieved from the embarrassment which this fine must have produced in his affairs. He is evidently a man of talents, possessing a bold, energetic mind, and highly qualified for the arduous station which he occupies. During the last year, as appears from the letter now published, he employed no less than seven months in a visitation of all the missionary stations in South Africa which are connected with the London Missionary Society. His opinions and suggestions respecting missions to the continent of Africa, contained in this paper, are highly deserving of attention as being the result of much experience, at this time, when the attention of the Christian public is so particularly directed to that continent, and is occupied with plans of colonization, and of missionary establishments in that dark region."

The letter of Dr. Philip abounds in interesting particulars in relation to several African nations or tribes, from which we should take pleasure in making copious extracts, did our limits permit. His suggestion concerning a *Native Agency*, and *Education*, is too important to be omitted:

"You may as well," says Dr. PHILIP,

"Think of supplying all the continent of Africa with bread or corn from Europe, as to supply it with teachers and the means of instruction from Europe. The seed-corn may be furnished; but it never can become general, unless it shakes, and stocks the country to which the first handfuls are carried. This great object has hitherto been too much neglected in missionary work. The work of God in the conversion of the world has never been carried on to any extent without a native agency; and that work has always prospered in proportion as that agency has been numerous and effective. The Apostles preached the gospel within the pale of the civilized world, ordained Bishops and Elders in every city in which churches had been formed, and left the newly appointed office-bearers to carry on and extend the work of God, while they employed themselves in preaching the gospel in the regions beyond them. Even at the period of the reformation, the reformers could have done nothing without the sympathies of the people, and without a native agency. In countries which have been civilized by

Christianity, agents are easily found in a great measure prepared, and what is wanting is easily supplied. But in savage and barbarous countries, we can only look for a native agency by the general education of the people. I say *general education*; for we have found by experience that we must raise the community itself to a certain level, before such an agency can be found as will prove to be of any efficiency in the general spread of the gospel. When the power of religion is first felt in its quickening influence at a missionary station, the change is so marked, that the individuals thus awakened are frequently the means of communicating what they have felt to others; but in persons of this description there is so much ignorance mixed with their new light, so much of the old leaven remaining, and the fancy is so much more powerful than the judgment, that they constantly stand in need of their teachers to watch over them; and few of them indeed can be *appointed* as authorized teachers of others.

"To raise such a community or people to the state I have described by education, the work should be begun as soon as possible. If the children of parents in such a state of society are not put under instruction till they are 7, 8, or 9 years of age, after all the education which can be given them, they will derive very little from their parents. Conducting our schools on this plan, generation after generation will pass away under the most discouraging circumstances to the ordinary observer. In 1819 education had made little progress among the Hottentots. Something had been done, but nothing in proportion to what might have been expected, or that could be turned to any account; and many engaged in the missionary work assured me that I should never be able to raise up a native agency to assist us in the work among the Hottentots. Such a prophecy, under such circumstances, could not fail to insure its own accomplishment; for I have invariably found where a missionary despairs of improving the condition of the natives, he as invariably fails to effect the object. But we had at that time an example of a native boy at Pacaltsdorp conducting a small school to my satisfaction; and it was evident to me that there was no solid ground for the objection: and that if we failed in this object, our labour would prove in vain in the end. The schools then at Bethelsdorp and Theopolis were in a very low state. The parents felt no interest in the education of their children; the attendance was very irregular; indolent habits had been contracted before the scholars came under instruction; and it was difficult to say from the appearance of the schools, whether the children or the masters found their books the most irksome. From the want of labourers, and other business of paramount importance upon my hands, nothing could be done to improve the schools till 1821. From that period, through the means which were adopted, the schools were better attended, and a degree of life and animation was thrown into them, which encouraged our hopes. About this period my arduous conflict with the local authorities and the colonial government commenced; and the attention of the missionaries was withdrawn from the schools, being almost entirely occupied in correspondence with the constituted authorities of the colony, and executing their commands; which were often multiplied with no other apparent view but to annoy them and drive them from their stations. During that struggle the importance of the schools was not, however, lost sight of, but owing to various causes I need not enumerate, much less was done than I wished to see effected." p. 17.

The subjoined passage concerning colonies as a means of instructing and christianizing Africa, deserves, as it has been justly observed, the serious attention of both the advocates and the opposers of the Colonization Society.—We may add that the opinions which it presents, have always been entertained by the most enlightened friends of the American Colonization Society.

"I say nothing of the advantages America may gain from the new colony of Liberia, or of the advantages the people of color may gain from becoming citizens of this new country. I leave such questions to be settled by the citizens of the United States, who are by their local knowledge better qualified than I am to decide them. But so far as our plans for the future improvement of Africa are concerned, I regard this settlement as full of promise to this unhappy continent. Half a dozen such colonies, conducted on Christian principles, might be the means, under the divine blessing, of regenerating this degraded quarter of the globe.—Every prospective measure for the improvement of Africa must have in it the seminal principles of good government; and no better plan can be devised for laying the foundations of Christian governments than that which this new settlement presents. Properly conducted your new colony may become an extensive empire, which may be the means of shedding the blessings of civilization and peace over a vast portion of this divided and distracted continent.—From some hints I have seen in some of the English papers, I perceive that you will have some difficulties to encounter in the prosecution of your present plan. It is the fate of every good plan for the melioration of the human race to be opposed, particularly at its commencement; and the influence of the opposition is generally in proportion to the excellence of the plan proposed. But we have this to encourage us in our endeavors to persevere in the pursuit of a good object, that it must in the end triumph. I cannot for a moment suppose that ever America will force the poor people of color to go to Liberia. Such a mode of proceeding would neither accord with the liberties nor good sense of your countrymen. And if every slave proprietor in the United States offer to make his slaves free, and the slaves are willing to accept their freedom on the condition that they will exchange America for Liberia, I can see nothing in such an arrangement to excite or nourish a spirit of hostility against your new settlement. Care should be taken, however, that the slaves liberated on this principle should not be the worst slaves on an establishment, or slaves of bad character. If your new settlement should ever come to be crowded with persons of such a description, disorder, despotism, and ruin must follow, or at least must be in danger of following. As I do not see any

American publications at the Cape of Good Hope, and as all the information I have of what is doing on your side of the water, is from the scanty notices of American affairs I can glean from the English papers, what I say on this subject is to be understood as spoken under correction. But with the information I have, I would suggest whether it would not be well to give the whole of the undertaking a religious character, and to invite the religious and benevolent portion of the black people to unite in it for the purpose of evangelizing and civilizing Africa. If your new settlement is to be so conducted as to answer the expectations to which it has given rise, the Committee or Board which may have the management of its affairs must keep in operation an efficient gospel ministry, and an efficient system of education. The natives immediately around the new settlement should be at once supplied with missionaries.—Missionary stations should be formed at convenient distances from each other, so as to admit of a communication between them. And with a faithful and able missionary at each station, you should have schoolmasters and mechanics, with all the apparatus necessary for the attainment of the object you propose. In this way you may evangelize and civilize one circle after another, till you have brought a vast portion of the African continent within the pale of the Christian church and the civilized world. This is what we are doing in South Africa, and would soon be able to do to a great extent, were not the generality of our white people more partial to the old system of seizing the country and then the property of the people, and then the people themselves, for their own use, than they are to any plan which has for its object the destruction of caste, and the elevation of the aborigines of the country to an equal participation with themselves in the blessings of liberty and civilization." pp. 14, 15.

"The next question which occurs to me, and which I shall answer as briefly as possible, is as to the manner in which we may expect the gospel to proceed in its advances over this vast and benighted continent. Reasoning from the circumstances of this colony, from what is to be learned of the progress of Christianity from history, and from what has come under my own observation, my decided opinion is, that the progress of Christianity in Africa must be slow; that its light must radiate from certain well chosen positions; and that the districts in the neighborhood of the first position chosen, should be enlightened; and that every new missionary establishment must keep what has been gained, while it is extending its conquests in the regions beyond it. The growth of Christianity in such a country should be like that of an empire; which is enriched and strengthened by every inch of new territory which extends the line of its frontier. What is gained is by this means secured; and out of the materials accumulated in this manner, the conquests still to be made, become easy and rapid. Every new village brought within the pale of the church increases her resources, and adds to the efficiency of her native agency. By this means, in going forth to fresh conquests she becomes to her enemies 'bright as the sun, clear as the moon, and terrible as an army with banners.'

"Every aid should be afforded by your missionary societies to your new and interesting settlement. By an efficient ministry and due attention to the schools of Liberia, the foundation of a future empire may be laid in that settlement, that may in a short time do much to evangelize the surrounding country to a great extent. When the government of that country has gained the confidence of the nations beyond it, multitudes of those nations will put themselves under its protection, and among such people you will find employment for a large body of missionaries.

"My views on this subject cannot be more happily expressed than they have been by one of your own countrymen, the late Rev. Samuel J. Mills, in the following extract:—"If by pursuing the object now in view, a few of the free blacks of good character could be settled in any part of the African coast, they might be the means of introducing civilization and religion among the barbarous nations already there. Their settlement might increase gradually, and some might in a suitable time go out from that settlement, and form others, and prove the occasion of great good."

"The Memoirs of that interesting man did not come into my hands till a few days ago, and till I had written my own sentiments upon the subject. Mentioning to a friend that I was very anxious to see something respecting the settlement of Liberia, the Memoir of Mr. Mills was put into my hands, and in perusing it I was very much struck with the largeness and comprehension of Mr. Mills' views.

"There is so exact a correspondence between his views as to the best mode of evangelizing and civilizing Africa, and my own, that one seemed to me as if it were a copy of the other. From the first notice I had of your settlement of Liberia, I contemplated it under the same aspects as those under which Mr. Mills appeared to have viewed it, when he was sacrificing his health and life for its establishment. And I cannot help feeling surprised that Mr. Mills with his opportunities should have arrived so soon at the just conclusions to which he had come on this subject.

"The whole of Mr. Mills' Memoirs, (which I have perused at one sitting) convinces me that from your intercourse with the native tribes of America, or from some other cause, that you have much more enlarged views on this subject than are, generally speaking, to be found in England. But however far you may have got before my countrymen on this point, you will not be displeased to find that the fruit of fourteen years' experience which I have had in Africa, goes to confirm all the views of your own enlightened and lamented countryman." pp. 25, 26.

DR. PHILIP gives the following account of the *Zoolahs*. It will be remembered that a mission to this people is contemplated by the A. B. C. F. M.

"The people called *Zoolahs* are subject to two powerful chiefs, Dingsan and Mosalekatai,

Chaka, the late brother of Dingaan, appears to have extended his authority over all the other chiefs of that people. But on the death of Mosalekatsi's father, the young man by the advice of his counsellors threw off all allegiance to Chaka; and so far as I have been able to obtain information, the territory of Mosalekatsi appears to extend from behind De la Goa Bay to the 23d or 22d degree of latitude, immediately behind the Portuguese territory in that quarter. The Zoolahs are originally from the same stock with the Bechuanas; they speak the same language, and have many of the same customs; but they resemble their brethren the Caffers on the eastern frontier of the colony more than the tribes farther in the interior. Like the Caffers they go naked, and they are the most warlike and courageous people we have heard of in Africa in modern times. Mosalekatsi was visited by Mr. Moffat and Mr. Pellissier, and both speak of him as an extraordinary man. To an address the most mild and winning he unites great capacity for war, great ambition, and like many other ambitious conquerors, he shows none of that weakness which allows any feelings of compassion to come between him and the attainment of his object. His mode of government is as peculiar as any other feature in his character. His ambition is to be a great king; he has thirty-two African kings or chiefs under him. When he subdues a nation or tribe, he takes full possession of the country, and divides it among his warriors. The old people he generally destroys; the young he preserves for future service; the boys are sent to his cattle posts or military camps to be trained up for war; the girls he disposes of in a similar manner, to be kept as rewards to his young soldiers. Every acre of land, every head of cattle, and every man, woman, and child in the country are the property of the king. The young women go perfectly naked till they are given in marriage; no one can have a wife till the king is pleased to give him one; before marriage no intercourse is allowed between the sexes; to attempt the chastity of a young woman is to incur the penalty of death, and to be accused is to be found guilty. The young men are allowed to see the young women, but that is all; and when they are exhibited to them before they go out to battle, they are reminded that these are the rewards that Mosalekatsi confers upon the brave. No young man can have a wife from the king till he has distinguished himself in battle; and when he receives a wife from the hand of the king, he has cattle and land allowed him with her as her dowry. Every subsequent display of courage in battle is rewarded with an additional wife, and an addition of cattle. With some little variation, the same practice is said to obtain among the Zoolahs under Dingaan. Whether the Zoolahs have improved upon the Mahomedan paradise, or whether Mahomet borrowed his idea on that subject from the ancestors of the Zoolahs, it may be difficult to determine; but the Zoolah Chiefs, particularly Mosalekatsi, exhibit the system in greater perfection than it was in the mind or the power of Mahomet to show its workings. The false prophet promised his followers their paradise beyond the grave, but Mosalekatsi holds it up to them as a reward which they are to enjoy in the present life. To the most powerful motive that any tyrant could place before the human mind in the embittered state of human nature as it is found without religion, Mosalekatsi adds another, as terrible by its restraining, as the one we have noticed is in its impelling force. He allows none of his soldiers to desert his post; he must conquer or die.

"Last year the soldiers of this tyrant invaded the Bechuana country; and the unwarlike Bechuanas fell before them like sheep under the knife of the butcher. The whole of the Bechuana has been desolated as far as Lattakoo, which is yet untouched; and the people of Mosalekatsi possess the country. When I arrived at Lattakoo, on my late journey, I found the people, subjects of Mahuri, and the remains of the Barolong and the Baharuti, who had escaped the slaughter of Mosalekatsi's bands, in the most distressing situation. The remains of the destroyed tribes were suffering by famine, and the whole of the people were (to use their own expression) "like dead men," from an apprehension that they might be visited by Mosalekatsi and destroyed the next hour, as the other Bechuana tribes had been. I had intended to visit Mosalekatsi; but although I had no apprehension as to my own personal safety, I could not be sure that my journey would protect the helpless thousands around me, who were looking to me for assistance, as if I had an army at my command. After consulting with the chiefs and the French missionaries, who had retreated to this place on the approach of Mosalekatsi, I returned to Griqua Town, accompanied by Mr. Lemue, and followed by the chief Mahuri, to consult with Weterboer, the chief of Griqua Town about the means of preserving what remained of this people. The plan formed was, that they should all fall back, to the number of perhaps 20,000, on the territory of Weterboer, that he might be able to throw a shield over them, should they be attacked by Mosalekatsi.

"If any one is disposed to ask—What has Christianity done for Europe? or what will it do for the native tribes of Africa? we refer such an inquirer to the spectacle now before us.—Before the Griquas embraced Christianity, they were as helpless as the Bechuanas; and such is the difference now between the Griquas and the Bechuanas, that we see perhaps 30,000 Bechuanas looking up to the Christian chief of Griqua Town, who cannot perhaps muster more than 200 horsemen, as their sole dependence and their only safeguard against the overwhelming and ferocious band of Mosalekatsi.

"It is an interesting fact, that not only are the Korannas and Caffers and Bechuanas in the country around the Colony desirous of having missionaries with them, but even Dingaan and Mosalekatsi unite in expressing the same desire; and we have not the slightest reason to suspect that missionaries would be less safe with them than among the other more peaceable tribes around us." p. 11, 12.

“THE PROTEST.”

Since our remarks in the last number of the Repository on the Protest which appeared in July last in London against the American Colonization Society, we have read, in the New York Spectator, the subjoined letter, on that subject, from Mr. DUNCAN.

“The Protest,” says the Spectator, “extracted from the lamented Wilberforce, almost in his last moments, with the added names of others, with many of whom that venerated philanthropist had not been wont to associate, has been bruited forth with great parade by the enemies of the American Colonization Society. The following reply, valuable for its intrinsic excellence, derives increased importance from its being the production of a foreign writer, an eminent divine, who could have had no conceivable object in making the worse appear the better reason.”

AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

To the Editor of the Dumfries and Galloway Courier.

DEAR SIR: In your number of the 28th ult. I observed inserted a copy of a protest, subscribed by some leading members of the Anti-Slavery Society against the American Colonization Society, to which, however, I was glad to find you abstain from giving your own direct sanction, on the ground that you are not at present prepared to give a decided opinion on the subject. The highly respectable names attached to that protest bestow upon it an importance which assuredly would not otherwise belong to it; and as I do not remember to have read in your columns a single statement on the other side of the question, I think it due to the cause of truth and of humanity that your numerous readers should be put in possession of some facts, which may serve to counteract the effects of that imposing *ex parte* document.

Of the names attached to the protest in question, those which will carry the greatest weight with unprejudiced men, are Wm. Wilberforce, Wm. Smith, Wm. Allen, and perhaps S. Lushington. Almost all the rest, such as T. F. Buxton, Wm. Evans, T. Macauley, &c. are men wedded to a party, and strongly biassed by exclusive zeal for one great cause; while at least one of them has a deep pecuniary interest in the colony of Sierra Leone, which cannot fail to influence him in resisting any change in the system of African colonization.—Now it is worthy of remark, that two of the most influential of the individuals mentioned, viz. Wm. Allen and Wm. Smith, becoming ashamed of their ill-judged rashness, have had the manliness publicly to withdraw their names from the protest, and have been joined in this act of retraction by Daniel O’Connell, to whose signature, however, on whatever side it appears, I cannot attach much weight. As to the revered name of Wm. Wilberforce, it must have been procured by the solicitations and partial representations of the Anti-Slavery party while he lay upon his death-bed; and I can scarcely doubt that had it pleased Providence to prolong his valuable life but for a few days, he too would have been disabused, and would have joined his benevolent and candid friends in publicly disavowing the protest. But alas! the hand which subscribed that name is powerless in the grave.

So much for the authority of the document. And now as to its truth. The principal objections which it states against the American Colonization Society, are, 1st, That it *obstructs* the extinction of slavery; 2nd, That it fosters and increases the spirit of *caste*, or the dislike which exists between the white and coloured population in America; and 3rd, That it exposes the coloured race to great persecution in order to *force* them to emigrate. Now these are heavy charges, which, could they be substantiated, would bring down on the Society the execration, instead of the blessings, of every friend of humanity. But after carefully perusing the various publications which have appeared on both sides, not a doubt remains on my mind that such objections are altogether destitute of any solid foundation.

1st, The Colonization Society is said to obstruct the extinction of slavery. Now, the only ground for this allegation seems to be that it is not an *Anti-Slavery Society*. It lays down a fundamental rule that it will not embarrass itself with this difficult question, with which the Constitution of the American Government renders it a matter of more than ordinary delicacy to meddle. On the propriety of such a rule, I shall not at present comment; but it does seem to say much for the perfect impartiality of the Society in acting up to it, that it has been assailed with equal virulence by the partisans on both sides. If the *ultra* supporters of immediate emancipation in this country denounce it as *retarding* the destruction of slavery, the slave-owners, in America, on the other hand, accuse it still more bitterly of accelerating that consummation. This is no gratuitous statement, for I have ample documents to prove it. One extract may suffice:—

The Colonization Society has found it necessary to defend itself against the hostility of the slave owners in South Carolina. And a quotation from the *African Repository*, in which that defence appears, will, I think, at once set this part of the charge at rest, as it incontestably proves that practical men, in America, take a view of the moral influence of the Society

the very reverse of that which the protesters have adopted. "It may be said," says its defender against the slave owners, "that the Society has expressed the opinion that slavery is a moral and political evil, and that it has regarded the scheme of Colonization as presenting motives and exerting an influence at the South, favorable to gradual and voluntary emancipation. This is true. And is this Society to be held up as odious and dangerous because it avows the opinion that slavery is an evil? Is not this a truth inscribed, as it were, upon the firmament of heaven, and the face of the world, and the heart of man? Would not the denial of it be a denial of the fundamental principle of all free Government?" "It is the success of the Society,—it is the fulfilment of the hopes and predictions of its founders, that has awakened the desperate and malignant spirit which now comes forth to arrest its progress. Voluntary emancipation begins to follow in the train of colonization, and the advocates of perpetual slavery are indignant at witnessing, in effectual operation, a scheme which permits better men than themselves to exercise without restraint the purest and the noblest feeling of our nature.

"These strident asserters of the right to judge for themselves in regard to their domestic policy are alarmed at a state of things which secures the same right to every individual of their community. Do they apprehend that the system which they would perpetuate cannot continue unimpaired unless the privilege of emancipating his slaves for the purpose of colonization shall be denied to the master? Do they feel that in this country, and this age, the influence of truth and freedom are becoming too active and powerful, and that all their forces must be summoned to the contest with these foes to their purposes and their doctrines? If so, their defeat is inevitable. Such men have more to do than to counteract the efforts of our Society. Few and feeble, even in the States of the South, they must gird themselves for warfare against all the friends of virtue and liberty, of man and God."—Vol. vi. p. 205, 206, and 208. Such is the line of defence which the friends of the Colonization Society find it necessary to adopt in America. There they nobly and indignantly contend against the supporters of slavery, while in this country they discover themselves placed in the unaccountable position of being forced to parry the attacks of its enemies.

But it is said that the practical effect of the Colonization Society has been found to be injurious to the interests of emancipation, and an imposing statement has been brought forward by Mr. Garrison and his friend Mr. Cropper, to prove, by public documents, that since the establishment of the Colonization Society the progress of emancipation has decreased. I have examined this statement, and find it to be altogether fallacious. Into the grounds of this conviction my desire to curtail my observations as much as possible, prevents me from at present entering in detail, and it may be sufficient for my present object to state from an extract of public documents now before me, that in 1810, the number of free blacks in the United States was 136,446, and in 1820, it was 233,530, making an increase during these ten years of 47,084. It was about the close of this period that the Colonization Society commenced its operations, and at the end of the first ten years of its existence, viz. in 1830, the number of free blacks was 319,599, making the extraordinary increase of 86,069; the ratio of increase being considerably more than doubled!

With what face then can the enemies of the Colonization Society allege that its operation has been unfriendly to emancipation. By a perverted use of arithmetic, Garrison falsely maintains that the Society has doomed "nearly 300,000 slaves to ruthless bondage," who but for "its withering influence," would have been emancipated, whereas, so far is this from being true, that were we to adopt his own basis of calculation, it would appear that the moral power of this Institution has, in ten years, actually broken the chains of 61,754 victims of slavery. I do not say that this basis is correct; because other causes have doubtless co-operated, and the increase of the blacks, previously free, ought, in fairness, to be deducted.—But the utter fallacy of Garrison's position is sufficiently evident.

I shall find no difficulty in proving the other objections contained in the protest to be equally fallacious; but I must reserve what I have to say on these subjects for another letter.

I am, yours truly,

HENRY DUNCAN

RUTHWELL MANSE, 9th Sept., 1833.

No. II.

To the Editor of the Dumfries and Galloway Courier.

DEAR SIR,—I think the statements in my last must have satisfied your readers of the futility of the first charge preferred by a few ultra members of the Anti-Slavery Society in their protest against the American Colonization Society, and must have, therefore, diminished their surprise on hearing that such men as William Allen and William Smith had taken the strong step of withdrawing their names from the protest, to which they had previously been induced by *ex parte* statements to affix their signatures. I am now to redeem my pledge of last week by shewing that the other objections, brought forward in the protest, are equally unfounded.

It is objected that the Colonization Society "increases the spirit of caste, or the dislike which exists between the white and coloured population of America." Now that there does actually exist, among the whites of the United States, a very strong and inveterate dislike of the coloured population is as true as it is lamentable, but there is no reason whatever to be-

lieve that this dislike has in any degree been fostered by the Colonization Society. I am persuaded, indeed, that the very reverse is the case. The Society in question took its rise in the compassion of some benevolent individuals for the free negroes, a numerous and most unhappy race in America, whom they saw placed in circumstances of degradation, the most humiliating and the most hopeless. They perceived that the road of honourable ambition was barred up to this proscribed *caste* at every avenue, by the unjust prejudices of their proud fellow mortals, of a different and lighter coloured tribe—their superiors in numbers and civilization, and therefore in power. Belonging to this tribe themselves, and thus being intimately acquainted with their character, they were well aware of the impracticability of any attempt to subdue these prejudices by reasoning or by any other direct influence—they knew that so long as any portion of the black population should remain within the Union in a state of abject slavery, the disgrace and contempt attendant on that condition would not fail to be reflected on the whole species; and they knew also that just in proportion to the growth of the one party in numerical strength, would be the virulence of the hostile feelings entertained by the other; because fear, which is always malignant in little minds, would come proportionally to operate along with deeply cherished pride and prejudice.

The philanthropists of America, therefore, in considering the question how their swarthy fellow creatures could be rescued from their miserable condition, must have instantly rejected the chimerical scheme of amalgamating the two classes by the mere force of moral suasion; and the only alternatives which remained for them must have appeared to be, that of giving up the cause in despair, or of discovering some means by which the blacks might be entirely removed from the domination of the whites. Happily a scheme occurred which promised, partially at least, to effect the latter alternative in a manner highly advantageous to the interests of the despised race whose cause had been espoused. It was known that on the coast of Africa, from which the forefathers of the blacks had been treacherously deported, vast tracts of land of the finest quality, capable of raising in abundance the most valuable produce, was lying uncultivated, and therefore waste and unprofitable;—it was known also, that while nature had denied to the whites the power of colonizing and improving these regions by rendering the climate fatal to their constitution, she had liberally granted this power to the blacks, whose frames were so accommodated to their native clime as to resist what was noxious in the influence of the tropical heat, and even to find that influence salubrious. On these two facts, the Colonization Society founded the principle of its operations; and it has not been disappointed. The colony which it has already planted in Liberia, composed entirely of free blacks, has succeeded beyond the most sanguine expectations of its projectors, and is rapidly rising even to commercial importance.

Will it still be maintained that this system increases the prejudice and dislike of the whites against the blacks? If so, I ask in what respects? Does the existence of a society whose object is to place the black man in a position where he can stand upright and independent, and may be said for the first time to be really free, increase that prejudice and dislike? Or does the actual success of this most benevolent object increase it? On the contrary, I am sure no unprejudiced man can doubt that, while the kindly feeling of the Colonization Society towards the negro race is calculated to remove much of the alienation which has hitherto existed between the two races in America, the elevation of moral and intellectual character which the free blacks of Liberia are achieving for themselves cannot fail to be reflected on the whole swarthy family; and the continued success and extension of that admirable establishment seems to me to promise happier results on their future destiny than all the labours of the Anti-Slavery Society, meritorious as those labours may have been. Why have the whites been hitherto able to perpetuate the horrors of slavery and the slave trade? Just because the whole negro population in every part of the world is in a state of moral degradation. They are feeble, uncultured, and despised savages, and therefore are they treated by the whites as beasts of burden. But raise their character and you will immediately raise their states. Let but a small portion of them become civilized, intelligent, and influential, and from that small portion a respectability will be diffused over the whole mass—increase that portion and you will increase the respectability, till it become a matter not of doubtful theory, but of strong demonstration, that the black man stands naturally on an equality with his white brother in mental powers as well as in moral feeling, and has therefore a right to demand an equality of privileges and of station. It ought to be regarded as by no means the least important benefit which the Colonization Society is rendering to the cause of the negro people, that, instead of increasing the barrier which prejudice has unhappily placed between them and their fairer brethren, its operations have a direct tendency to diminish that barrier and finally to remove it.

The only other objection against the Colonization Society which I have thought it necessary to specify as contained in the protest, is, that “it exposes the coloured race to great persecution, in order to *force* them to emigrate.” The meaning of this incredible allegation will be better understood by putting it in the form and words of the question asked by Garrison, and so convincingly answered by Mr. Cresson. “Does not that Society,” says he, “recommend the expulsion of the slaves from the United States as the condition of their emancipation?” To this Mr. Cresson replies, “Certainly not—every person hitherto colonized has been a voluntary emigrant. The Society, to quote its own words, ‘disavow and reprobate every coercive measure—discard all restraint—ask no bounties—solicit no compulsion by which to produce emigration;’ and declare, ‘That slavery is a moral and political evil, is a truth inscribed as it were upon the firmament of heaven, the face of the earth, and the heart of man; the denial of it would be the denial of the fundamental principle of all free govern-

ments.' In those States where the laws exist against emancipation on the spot, it presents a means of defeating those wicked enactments, over which it can exercise no direct control."

I do not know that any other answer than this is required. The allegation is, in the face of the world, positively denied, and even if it had not been so, the idea of using compulsion appears to be as ridiculous as in a free country it would be impracticable. And why should they persecute the blacks? By the confession even of their enemies vast numbers of coloured people voluntarily offer themselves for emigration, more than they have the means of transporting to Africa. They have no need, therefore, of *unwilling* settlers, and it would be against the interests of the colony to receive them.

The accusation and the defence are now before the public, and it is for them to judge.—But let it never be forgotten that the cause of African Colonization stands on other grounds altogether than that of the views and intentions of the Americans; and even if it could be proved that the Society in question has been actually guilty of all the malignity and all the malpractices of which Mr. Garrison and his supporters of the Anti-Slavery Society have, in the spirit of party, been so forward to accuse it, the principle as it affects Africa, and as it regards Great Britain in reference to the debt which she owes to that injured continent, remains altogether unweakened and unchanged. If it be true, which the protesters are candid enough to admit, or rather are not bold enough to deny, that the Colony of Liberia promises to be a blessing to Africa, that it has satisfactorily solved the problem as to the capacity of negroes for forming a civilized and well-conditioned society, that it has already made an astonishing and most salutary impression on many thousands of native tribes in its neighbourhood—an impression which is rapidly extending, and which strengthens as it extends; that it has put an effectual stop to the slave trade wherever its influence has reached; and that no instrument has yet been invented or even conceived, either like or second to it, in the power of diffusing the blessings of civilization and of Christianity among the African race—if all this be true, then most assuredly there is in these facts a call on British humanity and even on British justice, which no real friend of the negroes will find it easy to resist.

I shall not at present enter on the wide and tempting field which these considerations open up; but I may be permitted just to say, in a single word, that if this country had expended in the colonization of Africa with free blacks after the manner of Liberia, but half the sum it has so fruitlessly and fatally expended on the establishment at Sierra Leone, the whole slave coast of that continent might, ere this, have been fringed with active and intelligent communities of Christian negroes; and thus the slave trade with all its horrors would have been suppressed; the entire continent of Africa would have been in a state of moral renovation; and it might not even have been too much to expect that the descendants of the African race in other parts of the world, partaking of the improved character of the stock from which they originally sprang, would have burst their chains, and, at least in some favoured situations, would have taken their station side by side with their European brethren, free, respected and prosperous. Is it yet too late to try the experiment? I am yours truly,

HENRY DUNCAN.

Ruthwell Manse, 19th Sept. 1833.

From the Presbyterian.

AFRICAN COLONIZATION.—The question is not, whether slavery is an evil; this is conceded. It is not whether it is desirable that every man in America were a freeman; this is conceded. It is not whether the Colonization Society is, in its present form, insufficient to cure this dire disease; this is also conceded. But it is, whether we can justify ourselves before heaven, in casting from us, as a nefarious deception, this scheme of colonization, which promises so many benefits to the free blacks, so many mercies to Africa, and such inducements to the liberation of slaves. It is not whether the Colony, like a talisman, can all at once charm away the curse; we lament that it cannot; but whether, in its measure, within its proper limits, and by its professed mode of agency, it may not mitigate the evil at home, while it tends to check the villainous trade at its very sources.

The Colonization Society has been falsely traced to an origin which it spurns—to the cupidity of slave-holders. Its infant struggles into life were, on the contrary, accompanied by the prayers and Christian counsel of men whose spirits groaned over the degradation of the African. We well remember the time when, in childhood, we listened to the ardent exposition of the immature plan from the lips of Robert Finley. It was not *then* imagined by any that this good man was adjusting a scheme for the perpetuation of slavery. It has been only lately that the cry has opened upon the friends of the Colony that they were the enemies of the African. And it is only another signal proof of the ease with which false witnesses may gain a hearing, that so gross and malign a charge has found credit with any. We lament to know that by means of the ———, the man of colour in every town and village of this land, has been cruelly deluded into the suspicion that the Liberian enterprise is a plot for his ruin. We know to our sorrow that the kindest and sincerest advances of the best friends of Africa are often met with distrust, or rejected with anger, by the people of colour. For such a condition of things, we have to thank the reckless and pragmatical attempts of the Anti-Slavery Society and its abettors. It is, however, our belief that truth will prevail; that the Colony will be prospered of God; and that by the means now in operation, the way will be opened for the eventual abolition of slavery, in consistency with our national union.

of Benjamin
MR. TOLER'S ADDRESS.

Extracts from an Address delivered before the Lynchburg Auxiliary Colonization Society, at its Anniversary Meeting, held on the 15th of August, 1833.—By RICHARD H. TOLER.

After some eloquent remarks on the benevolent enterprises which characterise the present age, the Orator thus proceeds:—

It is not my intention, Mr. President,—far be such a purpose from my mind,—to underrate the importance, or to depreciate the value, or to throw a single impediment in the way of other Philanthropic and Religious Institutions. On the contrary, there is not one of them all which has not my most earnest and hearty prayers for the complete consummation of its benevolent purposes. But, I believe, that, excellent as they may be, the Colonization Society is of still superior excellence to any other; because in its designs are embraced and concentrated the most prominent and valuable features of them all.

It is a *Benevolent Society*—snatching from the depths of the most cheerless and hopeless poverty a class of beings, who, deprived of the most influential incentives to industry and economy, are proverbially heedless of the future, living each returning day upon the scanty proceeds of each day's reluctant labor, with such meagre additions as charity or chance or crime may add to their humble store.

It is an *Education Society*—removing the free negro from a land, the policy of whose laws, as well as the peculiar circumstances of their own anomalous condition, closes against them the doors of knowledge, to a country, the policy of whose institutions it must be to plant in their minds the seeds of intelligence, that it may, in after years, reap its rich fruits, in the liberal and expanded views which it generates, in the exalted moral sentiments which it inspires, in the just principles which it fosters, in the lofty conceptions which it enkindles, and, to express all in one word, in the improved condition of society, in all its diversified relations, which it invariably and of necessity produces.

It is a *Bible Society*—supplying a safe depository for that rich mine of literary excellence and unadulterated truth, in the strong hold of Paganism and Superstition—in a quarter of the globe which, in the strongest and most emphatic sense of the word, demands that the Book of Life shall be furnished to its people, by those whose visits to its fated shores have been heretofore accompanied only by the clank of chains and followed by the shriek of agony and despair. And where may we more reasonably hope that this word will be received in honest hearts, and produce its legitimate fruits, than in Africa, when we remember the divine prophecy recorded on its pages, and yet unfulfilled, that “Æthiopia shall stretch out her arms to God?” We may, indeed, circulate this book at home, among men already civilized, and professing a theoretical belief of its contents; and it is among our highest privileges and duties thus to circulate it; although it may be tendered to those who will never read one of its pages, or who, perusing it, may turn a deaf ear to its admonitions; or who, even worse than that, like the fatally skilful alchemist, may extract deadly poison from its healing leaves. But we may, also, by means of the Colony established on the shores of Africa, send it into the heart of that vast continent, with an unfaltering belief that it will kindle upon the altars which are already rising to the “Unknown God,” in the midst of its senseless superstitions and its debasing idolatries, the purifying, ennobling and undying fires of a genuine faith—a faith congenial with the nature and adapted to the necessities of mankind, and which accommodates itself as readily to the limited capacity of the unlettered savage, as to the deep-searching speculations of the inquiring philosopher.

It is a *Missionary Society*—and the best of all Missionary Societies—for, when the Librarian Colony shall have become densely populated, rich in pecuniary resources and mature in intellectual acquirements, it will not only open a pathway into the interior of Africa for Missionaries from distant lands, and of a different color, but it will send forth from its own bosom, men learned in the Scriptures, and burning with Apostolic zeal for the dissemination of their saving truths, among a people of originally the same habits, and bearing about them the ineffaceable stamp of a common parentage—men, who will not, like the white man in Burmah, in the South Sea Islands, and among the Aborigines of our own continent, meet with those formidable barriers arising from the prejudices and even hostility engendered by exterior differences—for, Sir, we have not now to learn that communities, whether civilized or savage, hold in contempt and abhorrence, their fellow-beings whom they find ‘guilty of a skin not colored like their own.’

Similar remarks might be made in relation to Tract, Sunday School and Temperance Societies; but it is unnecessary to be more specific on this branch of the subject.—I think it is apparent, therefore, Sir, that the Colonization Society unites and combines the best features of all the other Benevolent Institutions of the day.—Institutions which, both for their number and the magnitude of their operations, distinguish the present beyond all preceding ages.—And, if this be true, it calls loudly for the support of all who feel an interest in the success of the great cause which those institutions have been established to promote.

Mr. President—At a very early period of our Colonial history, our wisest and best men perceived and felt the blighting and demoralizing evil which had been entailed on the fairest portion of the New World, by the mistaken policy of the Colonists. The slave ship, freighted with the heaviest curse in which the love of gold ever tempted man to traffic, soon followed the first settlers of this continent, across the waters; and unhappily for them, and for

us, and for generations yet unborn, instead of being indignantly driven from our coast, she was permitted to furl her sails in our harbors, and to pour her vile cargo on our shores, thus for the first time burdened with a human being in bondage. The lure, Sir, was too great to be resisted. It was too tempting to the indolence and pride of the colonists, who saw in it the means of revelling in the luxuries of wealth, coupled with exemption from that maned labor and toil which, without involuntary servitude, would be necessary to obtain them. From that day to this, the evil has continued to grow and spread, until now its Anacoth folds embrace within their deadly grasp a vast portion of the great American Confederacy. It has not thus continued to gather strength and power, however, without inspiring, even in the minds of those subject to its influence, and enjoying its supposed benefits, a deep conviction of its ruinous tendencies; but that conviction has been also accompanied by a not less sincerely entertained apprehension that it was as ineradicable as it was dangerous.— Yet, Sir, as I before remarked, at a comparatively early period of our history, some of our leading statesmen turned their anxious attention to this subject, (and, as they constituted a majority of the House of Burgesses, it is fair to infer that they were not far ahead of popular sentiment;) but despairing of undoing what had been already done, they contented themselves with arresting the increase of the evil, by interdicting the farther importation of slaves from Africa. Several acts were passed by the Colonial Legislature, in furtherance of this design: but the Royal sanction being necessary to give them the character of laws, and that having been fruitlessly applied for, the accursed traffic continued, until, under a better order of things, the Revolution having released us from foreign control, the slave-trade was forbidden, as far as Virginia was concerned, under the severest penalties. But the principle of slavery had already been incorporated in our legal policy, and had interwoven its fibres in all the social relations. It was not possible—nor, if it had been possible, would it have been either just to the master or humane to the slave,—to have disrupted the settled order of things, and, by a general statute of emancipation, to have revolutionized our social relations, by raising the latter to an equality with the former. Their ignorance and their loose notions of morality would have rendered them unfit associates in the private circles of life, and ungovernable and dangerous as citizens, even had not their difference of color precluded all idea of a gradual removal of the impediments to the amalgamation of the two races,—impediments, springing not so much from their antecedent relations as from that broad and ineffaceable badge of distinction stamped upon them by the hand of Providence. It seemed, therefore, to the wise and good men of that day that slavery having once taken root in our soil, and having grown with our growth and strengthened with our strength, it was a ratio greatly favorable to the final numerical ascendancy of the blacks, it was fixed here forever, by the unalterable decree of Heaven. Indeed, I believe it was no uncommon sentiment at that day—and I doubt whether the opinion be not general now—that God has cursed the African with an obtuse intellect, and stamped him with a darker hue, and loaded him with servile chains, as the penalty for the transgressions of his reputed progenitor. But, this is one of those popular errors, which have their reign for a brief period, until they are dispelled by a more careful investigation into the truths of history, and a more philosophical application of those truths to current events. For my own part, I believe that the African is endowed with faculties as lofty, with perceptions as quick, with sensibilities as acute, and with natures as susceptible of improvement, as we are, who boast a fairer skin; and that, operated upon by the same ennobling impulses, stimulated by the same generous motives, and favored by the same adventitious circumstances, they would, as a mass, reach as high an elevation in the scale of moral refinement, and attain as great distinction on the broad theatre of intellectual achievement, as ourselves. And I am proud that the free citizens of this Republic are about to test the accuracy of this opinion—to offer to a portion of that “loomed people” a country, which they may call *their own*, and to encourage them to kindle upon their hearth-stones the domestic fires, around which they may daily gather their little households, and teach them the high moral lessons which raise man above the level of the brute, and give him some faint conception of that spark within which links him to the Deity.

But, Mr. President, whatever our ancestors, who affixed to the slave trade the stigma of piracy, and visited it with the penalty of death, may have thought of banishing slavery from our country, or whatever we may think of that gigantic project,—it is certain that long since it was determined to provide for the removal of another class of our population, which, as one of the consequences of slavery, has sprung up among us, a sort of middle, but hardly a connecting link between the master and the slave. I mean, of course, the free people of color—a class having no similitude in the condition of any other nation, except perhaps in the West Indies, and occupying a most anomalous relation here—possessing nominal freedom, but very wisely denied all the glorious attributes, and deprived of all the substantial privileges of freemen—disburthened of the outward symbols of slavery, yet doomed to nearly all of its intrinsic disabilities—called on to be good citizens, without any of the high motives to stimulate them to be virtuous, which are necessary to produce that result—punished severely for offences, against the perpetration of which he is guarded by none of the restraints, which, with other free citizens, we ordinarily find such effectual barriers against indulgence in vice and the perpetration of crime—their ambition repressed by a consciousness that its rewards are studiously guarded against their approach—their aspirations after moral excellence crushed in the bud by the chilling reflection that against them all the avenues to honorable distinction are closed, and barred, by a decree as unchangeable as the fiat of Destiny. What can we expect from such a class, but that they should be, exactly what, as a class,

they are—ignorant, degraded, and mischievous—corrupting the slave and purloining from the master—objects of jealousy and hatred alike to those above and to those below them.* These, or we may suppose not entirely dissimilar views, influenced Mr. Monroe, when he called the attention of the Legislature of Virginia to the expediency of acting on this subject, and induced that body to adopt a resolution, asking Mr. Jefferson, then President of the U. States, to procure some suitable spot, on the coast of Africa, or elsewhere, to which these wretched outcasts might be sent. But the subject was then novel, and it was involved in many difficulties which subsequent investigation and experience have partially removed.—The enlightened Statesmen and Philanthropists, who at that day, suggested this scheme of Colonization, as an offering at once on the altars of Patriotism and Benevolence, held the lever of Archimides in their hands, but, like him, they had no fulcrum on which to rest it.—Thus, therefore, this subject ended at that time with the adoption of a resolution declaratory of its vital importance, and of the deep anxiety which the Legislature, and, by consequence, the people of Virginia, felt for its consummation.

But, Sir, the rock had been smitten—the drops began to glisten on its sun-lit surface—presently, an almost imperceptible stream began to wind its slow and noiseless way among the hills—and gradually the little mountain rivulet swelled into a broad and expansive sheet of water. And, Sir, lifting for a moment the veil which conceals the future from our eager gaze, we may behold a shoreless ocean, burdened with a redeemed nation, who, like the Israelites fleeing from the land of captivity, take down their harps from the willows, on which they had long hung in mournful silence, and, as they approach the regenerated coasts of their father-land, reanimate their mute cords with the glad notes of deliverance and triumph.

Some contrariety of opinion exists, with regard to whom the credit of originating the scheme of African Colonization strictly belongs. In a late apparently authentic essay on the subject, I have seen it stated that the idea was first broached in England, as early as 1787, by Dr. Fothergil and Granville Sharp—names, particularly the latter, celebrated in the annals of “good works;” and that their views were warmly seconded in this country by the late Dr. Thornton, of Washington City; Dr. Hopkins, of New Jersey; and Ferdinando Fairfax, of Virginia. But it was not until 1816, that the scheme assumed, in this country, any thing like a visible and tangible form. In that year, through the instrumentality of Dr. Finley, Mr. Caldwell, Henry Clay, Charles Fenton Mercer, and a few other generous spirits, whose lives and labors have been dedicated to the great cause of humanity, the grain of mustard seed was deposited in the earth, which has since grown into a great tree, the shadow of its expanded branches covering this entire Republic, and spreading rapidly into other lands. In one of his speeches on this subject, Mr. Clay eloquently adverts to the time when himself and about a dozen others, “in a small room, about twelve feet square, in the City of Washington, were consulting together and laying its foundations. Few, then,” (says that accomplished Orator,) “foresaw, that, from so small a beginning, such vast results were to be realized, or such boundless prospects to open; that a mere desultory conversation should result not only in the foundation and establishment of a vast Empire or Republic, but hold out the prospect of regenerating, civilizing, Christianizing and elevating to happiness, from the lowest condition of human wretchedness, a whole continent.” Such, Sir, was the humble origin of the American Colonization Society—and such are the promises which it now holds out of present and future usefulness.

Are these prospects likely to be realized? On the answer to this question depends the claims of this Institution to public confidence and support. Permit me, therefore, to exhibit a view of what it has already done, from which you may the better judge of its capacity to do still more, even to the extent of what it promises.

The first settlers of the Liberian Colony reached that place in 1822, under the superintendence and direction of that noble hearted man, Mr. Ashmun, who very early fell a martyr to his zeal in the great cause in which he felt so deep an interest, and to which he devoted the untiring energies of his mind and body; and in November of that year, the whole effective force of the Colony consisted of but thirty-five men. I shall not trace its history through all its alternations of fortune, and vicissitudes of good and evil. The detail though not without interest, would occupy too much of your time. Suffice it to say, that now, after a lapse of only eleven years, we are told by Mr. Williams, the Vice Agent of the Colony, himself a colored man, and among the first emigrants who went from Virginia, and who is now on a visit to this country, that the population is between 3 and 4,000, distributed among seven settlements, containing 1,000 houses, four schools and six churches; that they are on terms of amity and friendship with the surrounding natives, and actively engaged in agricultural, commercial and mechanical pursuits; that they are distinguished for their morality and temperance, not more than one or two drunkards existing among them; and that they exhibit a growing interest in the progress of education, and an ardent attachment to religion. Point me, Sir, if you can, in the whole history of Colonization, to a single instance in which a settlement, separated by an ocean from the colonizing country, has grown up more rapidly, or under more auspicious circumstances; or to one, which, in its infancy, promised richer results to the great cause of civilization and freedom. Look back, for a moment, to the story of the “Pilgrim band,” who landed at the Rock of Plymouth—trace the history of your own ancestors at Jamestown—and contrast the perils which they encountered and the sufferings which they endured, with the safety and plenty and peace which exist at the Liberian Colony—compare the difficulties which every where beset the first white inhabitants of the

* There are many honorable individual exceptions to this description.

Western world, with the facilities which are now afforded to the African emigrant, both here and in his new abode beyond the waters—and note the length of time, the long years of toil, privation and warfare which preceded the permanent settlement of the English in America, and then look at the brief period which has sufficed to swell the population of the African Colony to thousands, blessed with comfortable homes, and firmly and happily fixed in the land of their ancestors; and it would seem to me that the doubts of the veriest skeptic must yield to the flattering result of the comparison. There is, however, still another point of view in which this contrast should not fail to be presented to your consideration; and it is this:—The first settlers of this continent were met, when they landed, by a race of people, vast in number and warlike in character, and differing from them not more in external appearance than in their habits of thinking and in their modes of life—a race of people whom we have in vain endeavored to reclaim from their savage condition; with whom it has been found impracticable to amalgamate, or even to admit within the social pale; and who never for a moment relaxed, however they may at intervals have disguised their hostility to the whites, until their war clubs were struck from their grasp by a power which they could not withstand. From this source, the early settlers not only experienced much vexation, but were constantly in peril; and indeed they were more than once almost entirely exterminated by their Indian enemies. But the African emigrant returns to the land of his fathers, and finds not only a climate congenial with his nature, but a people, with whom, in the process of time, he of necessity will become completely identified—and from whose hostility, until, in the progress of events, they shall become thus amalgamated, all past experience teaches us he has nothing to dread. This fact alone, it seems to me, presents an argument in favour of the feasibility of this scheme, which it is difficult for those who doubt or deny it to resist or evade.

Having, I think, shown that the plan of African Colonization is not the offspring of visionary enthusiasm, but of sober calculation, confirmed thus far by fair experimental results, I will proceed briefly to consider some of the objections which have been urged against it.

The opponents of this Society may be divided into three classes: 1st, the Abolitionist, who contends that its object is to rivet the chains of slavery, and that such is its direct effect. 2ndly, the Advocate of Slavery in the abstract, who, in the language of a distinguished South Carolinian, looks upon slavery as a blessing rather than an evil, and who affects to regard the Colonization Society as an insidious weapon in the hands of Abolitionists in disguise; and 3rdly, those who, acknowledging the excellence of the plan itself, doubt whether funds enough can be raised to accomplish its design; or, if the money can be obtained, whether the free persons of color will generally consent to avail themselves of the privilege offered to them.

It is apparent, Mr. President, that *both* of the two first named classes of objectors cannot be right. They are direct antipodes; the arguments of one completely refuting those of the other. If the influence of this Society be, as the Abolitionists contend, adverse to emancipation, it cannot deserve the character ascribed to it by the disciples of Gov. Hamilton, of S. Carolina, who would cherish slavery as a great moral blessing, rather than extirpate it as a national and social curse. And, on the other hand, if it promotes manumission, the objection of the Abolitionist is unsound and untenable. But, Sir, in my opinion, they are both wrong—decidedly and unequivocally wrong. The truth lies here, as in most other cases, in that “golden mean” which heated partisans never find. I believe that the Society has heretofore faithfully adhered to that clause of its original Constitution, which declares that its operations are to be exclusively directed to the colonization, with their own consent, of the free people of color on the coast of Africa; and I have no apprehension that it will ever expunge that clause, or in any manner impair its force or evade its meaning; so that he who loves slavery for the fruits it yields, need not fear that his right of property will ever be invaded by its operations. No, Sir, he may cling to it as long and as tenaciously as he pleases. The Society, neither asks him for his slaves, nor could it seduce them from his service, would it dare to make the attempt. But, on the other hand, happily for us, and honorable as it is, is a patriotism and sense of high moral duty which absorb all selfish considerations, every member of the slave-holding community does not view the subject in this mistaken, and I had almost said odious light. They have not *all* so learned their duty to God, to their country and to their fellow-men. Many of them believe that, in its mildest and happiest form, slavery is a bitter draught to the unfortunate race who are doomed to drink of its cup, and a withering blast to the community which contains within its bosom the corrosive canker,—and they hail with joy the door which this Society opens for their voluntary removal from bondage, and gladly avail themselves of the opportunity to knock off the fetters of the captive, and to send him back to his long-lost country. Thus, Mr. President, this Society, by indirectly encouraging the growing spirit of voluntary manumission, repels the slander of the Abolitionist; while, on the other hand, by placing restrictions on its own operations, it vindicates itself from the aspersions of him who clings to slavery because it enables him to indulge his love of indolence, and to live in oriental splendor and luxury on the sweat of other brows than his own. In one word, Sir, this Society attempts to remove none but those who are free; it would accept of none others were they to offer themselves. But, presenting means and motives for their removal hence, many slave-owners are induced to avail themselves of those means, and to liberate their slaves. So that it neither, on the one hand, rivets the chains of slavery, nor, on the other, does it operate as an Abolition Society in disguise.

There is, however, a third class of objectors, who, startled at the immensity of the project,

apprehend that funds cannot be obtained sufficient for its accomplishment, or that if they can, emigrants in large numbers cannot be found willing to embrace the invitation of the Society. This objection deserves the most respectful consideration, because, although it is founded in mistake, it doubtless proceeds from honest motives. In relation to the financial part of the objection, I would remark, that heretofore, although the Society has depended almost entirely upon private contributions, it has been enabled, every year, to send from one to four expeditions to Africa. And so complete has been the triumph of the experiment, and so perceptibly beneficial has been its influence, that already has the policy of contributing to its little Treasury become the theme of debate in the Legislatures of many of the States.—The theme of debate, did I say? They have not only debated the proposition, but several of them have made handsome annual appropriations in aid of its funds. Among them, Sir, is our own State, which, less sagacious in this, as well as in some other important matters of State policy, than South Carolina, has not yet discovered that this is an Abolition scheme, wearing the mask of Colonization! At its last session, the Virginia Legislature passed a law appropriating \$18,000 annually to this object; clogged, I am aware, with conditions, which, in a great measure, detract from its value and impair its usefulness; but, nevertheless, showing the existence and manifesting the power of an enlightened public sentiment, which, the more the subject is canvassed, will be the more disposed, not only to augment the amount of this appropriation, but also to disencumber it of those provisions, which, if they do not now render it almost nugatory, will certainly prevent its entire absorption. One of these impolitic provisions, and that of which the friends of Colonization have most reason to complain, is the clause which restricts the benefits of the appropriation to persons of color *already free*, thereby tending to check that generous spirit of voluntary manumission, in which, as I conceive, with becoming deference to the many wise and good men with whose opinions mine conflict, consists the true policy of a slave-holding State, suffering under the evils of the unnatural social system which is its consequence, lamenting its existence, and anxious to find some safe mode of escaping from its baneful effects. Surely, Mr. President, it is not the wild dream of an unnaturally excited enthusiasm, which, with these facts before it, looks forward, with undoubting hope, to the period, as not very remote, when every State of this Union shall cheerfully pour its liberal contributions into this great Reservoir of Patriotism and Philanthropy—whence they may be distributed, with a wise and prudent discrimination, in invigorating and fertilizing streams, not only over this entire Republic, but over the distant continent of Africa—removing from among ourselves one of the most teeming sources of pollution and mischief, while we add, in the same, or even a greater ratio, the elements of strength, civilization, moral regeneration and happiness to the land which has sustained such deep wrong at our hands, and which will receive this generous return as an ample retribution for that wrong. And, Mr. President, I hope I may also be permitted, without the dread of giving offence to the most jealous Unitarian, to refer to the great Public Domain, conquered by the arms or purchased by the treasure of the United States, or ceded, after the formation of the Union, by several of the State governments to the federal head, for the common benefit of the whole, as an exhaustless mine of wealth, to which, if necessity should exist, we may with confidence look for ample aid. I do not intend to enter into a discussion of the constitutional question. The lateness of the hour, as well as the nature of this address, and the limits to which it must be necessarily restricted, forbid it. Suffice it to say, that in relation to the right of the general government to give this direction to the proceeds of the sales of the Public Lands, I cannot doubt, when, in that opinion, I am supported by the authority of some of the most learned and patriotic commentators on the constitution. But, if the power be not already possessed by the general government, it can be readily obtained by an amendment of the constitution—to which very few, if any, of the States will, I imagine, offer the slightest opposition. Thus, whether we refer to the history of the past, or look to future probabilities, I think it will appear, to the satisfaction of every reflecting mind, that we have no just ground to entertain an apprehension of a deficiency in the pecuniary resources of the Society.

Nor are we to suppose that the colonization of the free blacks will very long continue to call for such a great expenditure as it has heretofore done, and as it must still do for a few years. For I not only regard it as probable, but certain, that the period will arrive, when the Colony, now stretching along a line of coast 150 or 200 miles in length, and penetrating from 50 to 100 miles into the interior, and which will doubtless extend its geographical boundaries, as future accessions to its numbers may render it necessary, will be densely populated, and possess in abundance all the elements of national wealth and prosperity—that the fruits of a well-defined system of Agriculture will deck its fields with the rare and rich products congenial to the warm sun and teeming soil of Africa—that Manufactures, which, we are assured by travellers who have penetrated into the interior of that country, are already fabricated with no little art, even by the untutored natives, will become a prosperous and lucrative pursuit—that Commercial enterprise will enrich the Colony by an exchange of its numerous and valuable productions for those of foreign countries—and that, to crown this picture of prosperity, the Arts and Sciences which follow in their train, will embellish, adorn and dignify the scene. Think you, Sir, that when this now infant, and in many respects helpless and dependent Colony, shall have reached such a high degree of wealth, respectability and strength, the free negroes in this country will require not only *persuasion*, but *bounties*, to induce them to gather their little all, if any thing they have, and to fly to this Land of Hope—to them emphatically the Land of Promise? No, Sir. They will rush to your sea-ports in doves, and crowd your wharves, and if they cannot beg or buy a passage to that

land, they will "work before the mast." Thither they will go, with even more eagerness than the hundred thousand oppressed, toil-worn and poverty stricken children of Europe now annually fly to this country, abandoning home and friends and relatives, that they may sit down under their own vine and fig tree, free from the exactions of petty tyranny, and permitted peaceably to enjoy the fruits of their labors, and to assume that equal station among their fellow-men to which they are entitled, but from which they have been so long excluded by the artificial policy of the land of their birth.

Mr. President, if these speculations be well-founded—and if we may be permitted to infer future events from the past, they are so—we have surely no just reason to apprehend the failure of this scheme, either from a deficiency of money or of emigrants. The free people of color cannot long remain insensible to the value of the high boon which the generosity of the present age proffers to them. Prejudice and ignorance may, for a while, induce them "to bear the ills they feel," rather than fly to those imaginary evils which they are taught to dread, as the consequences of expatriation; but that prejudice and ignorance will be eradicated by the accumulating facts which every day reach us, showing the rapid advance of the Liberian Colony in refinement, wealth and power, and the inducements to emigration which it holds out to those who are ambitious of real freedom, and anxious to enjoy its inappreciable immunities. Yes, Sir, the day will assuredly arrive when they will embrace the offer, which too many of them now, with a blind disregard of their most vital interests, contemptuously reject, with as much joy as the captive feels, who, immersed in the gloom of a dungeon until the sense of vision becomes a useless faculty, is restored to freedom, and the light of the noon-day sun again bursts upon his "sightless orbs." Be assured that this vast and momentous project is not of man's devising. It is one of the great engines in the hands of Providence, who sees the end from the beginning, for regenerating the world—and though it may, for wise purposes, be subjected to those alternations of prosperity and adversity, which attend, in a greater or less degree, all enterprises in which human agents are employed, it will eventually be crowned with the most complete and triumphant success. Not more surely does the light of day follow the midnight darkness, than the cheering beams of civilization and freedom and Christianity shall dispel the moral gloom which now spreads its pall over the African continent—that vast "valley and shadow of death."

Many persons, however, who admit that the Liberian Colony must prosper, and that it will exercise a vastly auspicious influence in redeeming that continent, one little spot of which it now decks with its green verdure and its hopeful fruits of promise, from barbarism and idolatry,—yet contend that it cannot have the effect of drawing from this country the free persons of color, in such numbers, as to render it, in a political and social point of view, an object of much importance to ourselves. They think it a hopeless task to attempt the expulsion of an entire class of people, though comparatively weak in number, from the larger and stronger body of the community. But they are mistaken. The difficulties in the way of an amalgamation of distinct *castes* are insurmountable, as all history, confirmed by our own experience, assures us. But, while the flight of the Israelites from Egypt, the expulsion of the Moors from Spain, the inextinguishable hostility between the Greeks and Turks, resulting already in the partial freedom of the former, and the gradual retreat of the Aborigines of this continent from the Atlantic towards the Pacific, as the waves of civilization beat upon their receding footsteps, all attest the impossibility of fraternizing and consolidating distinct races of men, they likewise teach us that there is a natural and almost inevitable tendency, first, to their complete detachment from each other; next, to their array in hostile masses; and finally, to the extermination or expulsion of the weaker party. Unless, therefore, it be contended that Benevolence, Patriotism and Justice are too weak to effect the same results which have been achieved by oppression, Fraud and Violence, this objection, like the others which I have considered, must be relinquished.

I might, were it proper to consume more of your time, Mr. President—and I fear that your patience has already been too severely taxed—take several views, and enter into various other arguments, drawn from the fearful statistics of the country, and which naturally suggest themselves in the discussion of this subject. But I will not add argument upon argument to demonstrate the grandeur and practicability of this scheme, or to illustrate its strong claims to the confidence and support of the American community, and more particularly of the Southern portion of the Union. I might as well attempt to repaint the lily, or to add a perfume to the violet, or to gild refined gold, or to tinge the rainbow with a brighter hue. I need but repeat, Sir, that the work *will* go on, in despite of opposition from Fanaticism, Prejudice, Timidity and Obstinacy. It is a cause which has struck its roots deep and wide in the affections and judgments of the people: and, so far from being uprooted by the unnatural alliance of opposing passions by which it is assailed, like the pliant willow, it will bend to the violence of the storm, and, when its fury shall have past over, it will resume its upright position, unscathed by its rage.

The advocates of this great cause, Sir, stand on elevated ground. Their only interest, proximate or remote, in its success, is drawn from the holy fountains of love of country, and love of the human race. They go not forth, as did the wildly enthusiastic Crusaders of the iron age, cased in armor, and wielding the sword and spear, to wrest from the "uncircumcised Infidel" the sepulchre of the Saviour and the tombs of his Prophets, kindling the flame of war and persecution in their path—but they go with the peaceful emblems of Civilization in their hands, and wearing the holy badges of Christianity, to irradiate a continent, around which the "starless night" of ignorance, superstition and barbarism has so long wrapped its murky folds, with the cheerful and invigorating beams of freedom, science and reli-

gion.—And, Sir, although we cannot see through “the gray veil of Fate,” I unhesitatingly and boldly repeat, that we must and will succeed. The attributes and the promises of our Creator are all enlisted in this cause. And he is an unobservant watcher of the portents of the times, and turns a deaf ear to the sounds which ring with earthquake violence throughout the world, who does not see and feel that great Moral Revolutions are on the wing, and are even now at hand—that the Star has already appeared in the East, streaking the horizon with a strange and ominous light, which shall presently grow brighter and brighter, like the gradually expanding cloud which the Prophet beheld, until both Heaven and Earth shall be wrapped in one broad and unbroken sheet of living effulgence; and Man shall every where walk forth, in its noon-tide blaze, a “redeemed, regenerated and disenthralled” being! As humble instruments, in the hands of the Allwise Disposer of Events, it is our high duty and our ennobling privilege to exert all our energies in producing and speeding this glorious consummation.

“If you pant for glory, build your fame

“On *this* foundation, which the secret shock defies

“Of envy and all-sapping time.”

Toil in *this* great cause, and when you are no more among the living, you shall be classed with the

“Founders of arts that dignify mankind,

“And lovers of our race, whose labors give

“Their names a memory that defies the grave!”

BRITISH COLONY AT SIERRA LEONE.

Since the publication of the numbers of the Repository containing a Review of Major Ricketts's “*Narrative of the Ashantee War*,” we have not, until now, found room for the subjoined extracts from the “*Brief View of the Present State of the Colony at Sierra Leone*,” which he has appended to that work, and which is a far more meritorious composition than its associate.—They will gratify the natural desire of our readers for information concerning Africa:—

“It was my lot to witness, during the period of my service on the coast, the arrival and premature decease of five successive governors, viz. Sir Charles Mac Carthy, Major-General Turner, General Sir Neil Campbell, Lieutenant-Colonel Denham, and lastly, Lieutenant-Colonel Lumley; whom I had the honour to succeed in the government. Of the unhappy and cruel fate of Sir Charles Mac Carthy, I have already spoken in the preceding narrative.

“Major-General Turner arrived in the colony in February, 1825. His death was caused by his unremitting exertions up the river Sherbro, where he fought several actions with the natives and others engaged in the slave trade; after which he returned to Sierra Leone in a bad state of health, and died in March, 1826.

“General Sir Neil Campbell arrived in the colony in August, 1826, and sailed shortly after for the Gold Coast; from whence he returned and was seized with sickness in November following. Having recovered, he proceeded to the Gambia, and returned in a short time in better health; but soon after fell sick again, and died in August, 1827.

“Colonel Lumley arrived in the colony at the same time with Sir Neil Campbell, and after the death of that officer, assumed the government, and in about six weeks proceeded to the Gold Coast, from whence he returned in April, 1828, when he was superseded by Lieutenant-Colonel Denham, upon whose decease, he again assumed the government, and died in August, 1828.

“I first became acquainted with Colonel Denham at British Accra, in the month of January, 1828, where he had arrived from Sierra Leone. His celebrity as an African traveller had already excited a high degree of interest in his favour, and upon his landing he was received with every mark of respect.

“Shortly after, we visited the Danish castle “Christianburg” together, and were received by the governor with much civility; after which Colonel Denham embarked on board the Sybill, Commodore Collier, and I, on board a transport for Fernandez Po. After remaining there several days, Colonel Denham sailed again with that officer, and returned to Freetown, in the Plumper brig of war, after a long passage, much straightened for provisions and water, where I had preceded him nearly a month. He had at this time been upwards of twelve months the superintendent of the liberated Africans, and, as I had served in the different settlements on the coast for nearly eleven years, and had had much intercourse with the natives, he seemed desirous of obtaining whatever information it was in my power to give, and I feel persuaded that the general coincidence of our opinions was a source of mutual satisfaction.

"His exertions whilst he superintended the liberated Africans in their villages, and also his judicious plans and exertions for the short time he was governor, were highly beneficial and useful, and would no doubt have produced in time the most desirable effects. He had whilst in the discharge of his arduous duty adopted an excellent plan of locating the people along the roads, by giving each individual a certain portion of land adjoining his own house, which plan I also followed, conceiving it to be the most advantageous that could be suggested, and the most probable means by which the colony could be effectually improved. He had heard of his appointment, and his reception at Freetown was highly gratifying to his feelings, being met on landing, by a body of the inhabitants, who escorted him to the government house.

"After he was sworn in, he dispatched me back to the Gold Coast to complete the arrangements that had been previously ordered by government, and very shortly after this he died of the Sierra Leone fever, to the great regret of all classes of those who were able to appreciate his talents and virtues. He survived the first attack only about nine days. By this unfortunate event the government again devolved upon Colonel Lumley, but he also soon afterwards fell a victim to the climate. I then assumed the government, which, in consequence of ill health, I was obliged reluctantly to relinquish and return to England, after having served in various capacities on that coast, during the period already mentioned.

"Sierra Leone is a peninsula, very mountainous, and so named it is presumed by the Portuguese, from the roaring of the thunder through the vallies on the approach and at the termination of the rainy season, resembling that of a lion. It is situated in latitude 8 deg. 30 min. north, and 13 deg. 43 min. west longitude, and was transferred from the African company in 1808, to his majesty's government. The scenery upon drawing near the colony from the sea is picturesque, and in sailing along the land (which is on the right) towards the harbour, the verdure of the woods is delightful, being partly composed of the beautiful palm tree, and here and there on the hills are seen cultivated spots with some good sized houses, and the barracks as the country occasionally opens, until anchored in front of Freetown, which has a picturesque appearance, especially if viewed at a distance from the shore, many of the houses being built on a gentle declivity from Fort Thornton, close to which the old barracks stand: the three new barracks and hospital have a fine effect from the sea: the former, built of bricks, with joists and posts of iron, and slated roofs, are situated on a considerable eminence at a short distance in the rear of Fort Thornton. The two former contain each one hundred and seventy persons, and the other a proportionate number of officers.

"The hospital is a very good one; it is situated half way between the old and new barracks and at the foot of the ascent to the latter." p. 178—182.

"The hermitia is a very dry easterly wind, which, in a few days, dries up all vegetation, except trees; it sets in about December, and continues at intervals for several days together: such is the nature of the hermitia, that the flooring of the houses, window shutters, and other wood work, shrink and separate more than an inch asunder; the glass is broken, and the furniture is warped, but at the approach of the rains, the open seams gradually close again.

"After the absence of rain for many months, the parched surface of the earth, all its vegetation, except trees, having been dried up by the hermitia, and then scorched by the intense heat of a tropical sun, is suddenly covered with verdure. The day after the first shower, the force of vegetation is so great, that the face of nature is completely changed, and it may literally be said that the grass and weeds may be seen to grow; yet, however strange it may appear, although these, as well as the indigo plant, grow spontaneously every where, new land will not satisfactorily produce the usual articles of consumption for three successive years, and some land will not even yield the second year. The dry season is preceded by rainy tornados, which towards the latter end of May are accompanied by rain; they last generally for about an hour, some times not so long. They very much resemble the hurricanes in the West Indies, but are not so furious; they vary from south-east to north-east. A dark cloud in the eastern horizon foretells the approach of a tornado, it advances, accompanied by tremendous thunder and vivid flashes of lightning, which at first are distant and faint, until the whole heavens gradually become obscured by one black cloud. It frequently happens that from the quarter opposite to that where the cloud first appears, there previously arises a breeze, which dies away, as the tornado gathers; the atmosphere then becomes very sultry, and the tornado advances, with a great rush of wind, bursts, sweeping before it (if no rain has previously fallen) immense clouds of dust. The wet tornados are succeeded by a beautifully serene sky, and the air is greatly refreshed; the frame becomes invigorated, and the mind more cheerful. As the rainy season advances, the tornados gradually cease, and are succeeded by almost constant heavy rain. At the termination of the rains, the tornados again make their appearance, becoming weaker as the dry season approaches, until they cease altogether.

"At intervals during the day in the rainy season, the action of an intensely hot sun on the earth, covered with a luxuriant vegetation, and saturated with moisture, produces a disagreeable sickening smell, which is probably one of the causes of the fever that prevails at this period of the year, as persons recently arrived are generally taken ill in July or August; some, however, have been known to reside in the colony above two years without having been affected by it. If they remain beyond this time, they are certain not to escape much longer, and when at length they take the fever, it generally proves fatal to them. It is considered the more favourable symptom for a stranger to be seized with the fever soon after his arrival. The fever, which this dreadful disease has made among the Europeans who have gone out, or have been sent to the colony is well known. On the first arrival of European troops in 1825, they died in greater numbers than at any subsequent period: the cause was attributed much to

the incomplete state of the barracks, which had been hastily erected, the materials arriving from England at the same time with the troops, the barracks could not consequently be covered in before the rains. From the want of accommodation on shore, most of the troops were kept on board the transports for some months. After the completion of the barracks, and the walls had become dry, the troops enjoyed better health, but they drank freely, and it was very difficult to keep them sober. This no doubt tended much to bring on sickness among them; the officers died, however, in proportion." p. 183—186.

"The population of the colony is about twenty-six thousand. Freetown is inhabited by European merchants, who have built houses for their stores and residences, Maroons, Nova Scotians, blacks, (called settlers,) discharged soldiers from the West India regiments, exiles from Barbadoes, and liberated Africans, who have obtained lots of land in the town. It is well and regularly laid out, and the streets, most of which lately have been properly constructed, are sixty feet wide. Notwithstanding the money which has been expended on public buildings, there are none in the town with the exception of the jail, the barracks, the commissariat, and the buildings of the liberated Africans, that are worthy of the name.—The houses, from the destructive nature of the climate, require annual reparation; even iron, unless well painted, will not withstand its effects long. The buildings are erected with a red clay stone, which is found in quarries in the neighbourhood." p. 188—189.

"Next to the Europeans, the Maroons are the most respectable class in the colony. Some of these people, as well as the Nova Scotians, have acted as commissioners of requests, and have filled the office of mayor, aldermen, and sheriff. During the government of Sir Charles Mac Carthy, they took great pride in these appointments, but latterly they reluctantly accept of any honorary office. A few of them, as well as some of the other people of colour, keep small retail shops of goods and ardent spirits, purchased on credit from the European merchants at auctions, where they pay cash; and some of the Maroons have shops on nearly as large a scale as the Europeans, and import their own goods from England, whence vessels are often sent out to them for a cargo of timber.

"They possess a considerable proportion of the houses in Freetown, which are principally built of stone, wood, and shingles, and consist generally of a hall, two bed rooms, and a piazza supported by stone pillars, the hall and bed rooms are raised about five feet from the ground on stonework, of which the walls also of the houses are built. The under part of the house is used as a store room or cellar. There are other houses of wood built on stone foundations. The merchants' houses are built upon a much larger scale.

"In consequence of very high rents being given for lodgings for the officers and other persons in the public service, whilst the public buildings were in the course of construction, the Maroon mechanics, who reaped large profits, were induced to build some better houses than have been mentioned; many of which however have never been finished, owing to the failure of means, and the impossibility of letting them, the public expenditure not long after the commencement of the speculation having been greatly curtailed and the public servants accommodated in government buildings. Houses of a good description are consequently now seen in various parts of the town uninhabited, or unfinished, and falling to decay. The settlers inhabit the eastern part of the town, designated Settlers Town. These people are inferior to the Maroons in respectability, but have been longer in the colony. Their houses in general are not so good, they are not so industrious, are addicted to drinking, and most of them are of indifferent principles; they have decreased, while the Maroons have increased in number latterly. There has always existed a hostile feeling and jealousy between these people and the Maroons, but which is now slowly subsiding; there are, however, a few exceptions among them, who are deserving to be classed among the most respectable coloured inhabitants of the colony.

"Divine service was formerly performed over the jail, and was well attended by the blacks, but lately in the unfinished new church in the centre of the town, where but few of either Europeans or blacks attend. The latter have erected several places of worship of their own.

"The Maroons deserve credit for the neat little chapel they have erected by subscription among themselves. They had formerly a Methodist preacher, whom they procured from England, but like most other Europeans he did not survive long. There is also a respectable Wesleyan chapel in Settlers Town, which is well attended, and many other private places of worship for dissenters are in different parts of the town, which are supported by contributions from congregations consisting principally of liberated Africans and discharged soldiers: very few of these can even read, and many of the former hardly understand English; and perhaps the preacher, who may be a discharged soldier, or a liberated African, himself scarcely knows his letters, yet they join heartily in singing psalms, which constitutes the principal part of their service. These latter places are opened at day light for about an hour, and in the evening from six till eight o'clock: the chanting may be heard at a considerable distance, and their discordant voices are not a little annoying to the Europeans, who happen to reside in the immediate neighbourhood. On the Lord's day the shops are closed and the Sabbath is otherwise religiously observed by the coloured population."

"Many persons belonging to the surrounding tribes have taken up their temporary residence in the colony, and the Mahometan religion, which many of them profess, allowing a man to have several wives, is in that respect making much progress. With the exception of the most respectable of the Maroons and Nova Scotians, the native inhabitants have not advanced much in European civilization, not being so refined in this respect as the domestic slaves in the West Indies; but they are fond of dress, and newly liberated Africans soon

so low their example to the extent of their means. The Maroons still retain a dialect peculiar to them in Jamaica. Some of the Maroon lads, by being employed in the Europeans' shops, improve themselves much, particularly in their writing. They occasionally give parties, at which there are young ladies who figure away in a country dance, copied from the Europeans, some of whom give a ball and supper, but to which none of the males of colour are invited except one individual, a merchant, who is often a guest at the dinner table of the Europeans. In Sir Charles MacCarthy's time the coloured people who by their good conduct became deserving of his notice, were received at his table, and marriage among them was much encouraged." p. 191—195.

"It is astonishing to see some of the market people, who for the want of room, or in preference, sit outside of the building the whole of the day without any covering on their heads, or perhaps without any clothing at all, except a piece of cloth tied round their bodies, exposed to a vertical sun, which almost strikes a European to the ground, and would blister his skin if exposed to it only for a short time. The exports from the colony are timber, rice, occasionally to the West Indies, palm oil, some camwood, a small quantity of bees-wax, and now and then some gold.

"The timber is generally teak, which is obtained at a considerable distance up the branches of the Sierra Leone river, which are called Bunce, Rokel, Port Logo, and Mahara rivers; these are intersected by numerous creeks, on the banks of which the timber is felled and squared by the natives themselves, and with cork wood floated by them to the factories established by the European merchants on these streams, where it is purchased with goods and shipped for England." p. 206—207.

"The roads are repaired once a year, shortly after the rains, by the liberated Africans in the villages. Unless some method should be devised to give employment to the greatly increasing population caused by the emancipation of slaves, who are almost daily arriving, now that the public expenditure has declined comparatively to nothing, it is probable the liberated Africans will relapse from their present state of civilization into their former habits and customs. There was evidently such a tendency when I quitted the colony." p. 209.

"A great number of men and women from the neighbouring countries take up their residence in the suburbs of the town, the greater part of them without permission from the proper authorities. Some of these are criminals, who have fled from the justice of their own country, and who furnish a bad example to the liberated people by the evil practices which they introduce with them. Some of them, after a short residence in the colonies, instigated a war in the neighbourhood, and nearly involved the colony in it. The merchants were much interrupted by it in their timber and other trade. These persons dance and sing in their country fashion. The Maroons born in the colony dance to the gumbia, (drum,) to which they sing and keep time by clapping their hands together. This custom was introduced by the original Maroons from Jamaica. Those who are still in existence speak of their former residence with fond remembrances and sigh to return to it. There are a number of Kroomen generally at Sierra Leone. They come from about Cape Palmas to seek employment in the colony and on board the ships of war and merchant vessels. They are industrious, and being active and strong, are always employed in preference to the other natives. They inhabit a small nest of huts near Freetown.

"As soon as a Krooman has laid by as much money as he thinks will enable him to appear in his own country as a person of consequence, he purchases goods, which he takes with him home, and after his wealth has been exhausted, he returns to seek for more. Numbers of them enter the Navy for a period of three years. Each vessel is allowed to take a number proportioned to her rating, and they receive about the same pay as the white seamen, and also share in prize money. They have been of infinite use in preserving the lives of our sailors by going generally in the boats in their stead." p. 210—212.

"At present, except those who are tied to the villages by possessing good houses in them, the liberated Africans move from place to place as their fancy leads them, and as no regular allotment until lately had been given to them, they sit down as they call it wherever they like. Ideas of perfect liberty have too soon been given to these people considering their utter ignorance. If one of them were now asked why he does not repair his house, clean his farm, mend his fence, or put on better clothes, he replies, "that king no give him work this time, and that he can do no more than burn bush and plant little cassada for yam" (to eat.)

"The trade in slaves is carried to a greater extent than formerly, in the neighbouring rivers; the vessels that frequent them carry for this purpose Spanish dollars and doubloons, which subsequently find their way to Sierra Leone for goods. Many of the liberated Africans have been enticed from the colony, and others kidnapped by the vagabonds already mentioned who reside in the suburbs of Freetown: they are resold as slaves; some of them after a few months have been recaptured in slave vessels, and brought back to the colony to be liberated. The numerous creeks in the immediate vicinity of Sierra Leone, which communicate with the rivers, afford great facility for carrying them off." p. 214—215.

"The winds on the coast are about south-west. Numerous deaths occur among the slaves on their passage, from its tedious length; and sometimes they are much straitened for provisions and water. The slave vessels have been known to be from two months to eleven weeks on their passage up the coast. The male slaves are generally secured by the slave traders with irons between decks, but the women are seldom confined, and are kept in a separate part of the ship, and small parties are allowed to come upon deck in rotation.

"The Portuguese and Spaniards impress on the minds of the slaves that the English are

anxious to destroy them; in consequence of which the poor creatures are just after capture much dejected; but as they are generally immediately released from their confinement and every possible attention paid to them, they soon become cheerful, and although totally unacquainted with one another's language, shortly become familiarised by signs or motions, and when anchored in Freetown harbour, awaiting their adjudication, their countrymen located in the colony visit them, and from being acquainted with their approaching delivery, they indulge in merriment and pleasure. Should there be any disease among the slaves on board the ships, they are landed as soon as the necessary legal forms are gone through. Many of these poor creatures arrive in such a deplorable state from want and disease, that it is difficult to preserve their lives.

"It is really shocking to humanity to see a cargo of children arrive sometimes mere skeletons, in a complete state of exhaustion. The small pox and measles often break out on board the slave vessels, as well as the ophthalmia. Slaves are purchased from the natives on an average for about four pounds each, and are paid for in gunpowder, arms, tobacco, ardent spirits, &c." p. 217—218.

STATE OF THE COLONY.

In some former articles in the present volume of the Repository, we called the attention of our readers to some fallacious statements which had been put forth, in relation to the moral condition of the Colony at Liberia. As a sequel to the exposures of those statements, we now copy from the New York Spectator of the 21st ult. an official publication made under the authority of one of the most important Auxiliary Societies in the Union.

§§ The explanatory notes are from the Editor of the Spectator:—

"COLONIZATION SOCIETY OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK.—At a meeting of the Board of Managers held September 13th, 1833—On motion, it was

Resolved, That a Committee be appointed to propound questions on the state of Liberia to Mr. Williams, Vice-Governor, and Mr. Roberts, High-Sheriff of the Colony, for the purpose of obtaining information.

Messrs. G. P. Disosway, Thomas Bell, and H. V. Garretson, were appointed to constitute that Committee.

Extracted from the minutes.

IRA B. UNDERHILL,

Recording Secretary."

Pursuant to the foregoing authority, the undersigned met in the City of New York on the 17th of September, 1833, and on request, Messrs. Williams and Roberts were in attendance, with a view to the object expressed in the above resolution.

The Committee now present to the public the following as the result of the examination:

Mr. Williams stated that he had resided at Liberia, with the exception of one visit to America before the present, ever since the year 1823; and Mr. Roberts, that he had been there ever since 1823, until his recent departure for this country. They were both natives of Petersburg, in Virginia.

The first question propounded was in relation to the sale and consumption of ardent spirits in the Colony, and it was inquired whether the report is true that 1400 barrels of ardent spirits had been annually sold there, or in any one year?

Answer.—It is not true—there has never been any thing like that quantity sold there in any one year since it was settled. There are not more than three stores in the Colony that retail, and they cannot sell by less quantity than a gallon, on penalty of \$30 for the first offence, and double that sum for every subsequent offence.

Question.—Are there any grogshops in Liberia?

Answer.—There is not one in the Colony.

Question.—How many confirmed drunkards does it contain?

Answer.—I know of only two in the Colony, in a population of between three and four thousand. It is rare to see any man there the worse for liquor; and there are comparatively little ardent spirits drank in the Colony. It is rather a place of deposit, where it is held, until it is disposed of in trade to the natives and others. A license to sell ardent spirits, at a less quantity than a gallon is \$300, which amounts to a prohibition, for the sales would not warrant the expense.

* This inquiry was made in consequence of a falsehood originally put forth by Garrison, that one thousand four hundred barrels of rum were annually sold in the Colony. This calumny has also been circulated under the sanction of a leading abolitionist in this City—been transmitted to England and returned to this country under the auspices of a violent English abolitionist by the name of Stuart. It is now fully disproved.

Question 1.—Is it a fact that Mr. Waring, a Missionary, deals in ardent spirits?*

Answer.—Mr. Waring is not a Missionary. He is a large commission merchant, and probably receives consignments of that article. He is also a lay preacher and a useful magistrate and valuable citizen.

Question.—What is the general state of morals in the Colony?

Answer.—It is good. There has not been a capital offence committed there from the first. There is very little profanity, gambling, or other vices. The Sabbath is much more respected there, than here.

Question (to Mr. Roberts.)—What are the official duties that devolve upon you as High Sheriff of the Colony?

Answer.—Principally to arrest for debt, and petty thefts, and keep order in the Courts.

Question.—Do you find difficulty in the discharge of those duties?

Answer.—None. There has been no riot in the Colony for this three years, nor any resistance to lawful arrest. I might say, not a cross word. There is a night-watch established for greater security.

Question (to Mr. Williams.)—Have you a trade?

Answer.—I am a shoemaker.

Question.—Have you been successful at Liberia?

Answer.—I have made more there in three years, than I should probably have made here in all my life.

Question.—What are the facilities afforded to emigrants?

Answer.—If the emigrant settles in Monrovia, he has a building lot assigned him, and also a five acre pasture lot in the outskirts. If he settles in the country, he has fifty acres of land, and is entitled to a deed of it, as soon as he shall have built a permanent house upon it, and got two acres under cultivation. Lands may be purchased at the distance of three miles from Monrovia, at fifty cents per acre; and within that distance they are generally worth a dollar per acre.

Question.—Do the inhabitants turn their attention to agriculture?

Answer.—Less than could be wished. They are more fond of trading; but when they do farm it they are successful. I know of one farm from which between forty and fifty Jolles worth of produce was sold, besides supporting the family, and another which sold between two hundred and three hundred dollars surplus.

Question.—What is the character of the Grand Bassa?

Answer.—It is an agricultural settlement.

Question.—What are their productions?

Answer.—They raise rice, corn, yams, plantains, cassada, bananas, squashes, melons, cucumbers and potatoes—both Irish and sweet—the latter of which grow particularly well.

Question.—Do you mean that they raise Indian corn there?

Answer.—Certainly—I have seen it and eat it.

Question.—What are some of their fruits?

Answer.—Oranges, and most, if not all, the usual tropical fruits.

Question.—What kind of domestic animals do you have in the Colony?

Answer.—Cattle and cows are plenty. Hogs and poultry also do well, and are abundant, and also sheep.

Question.—Is the Colony healthy?

Answer.—It is—after the emigrants are acclimated they are not sickly. We have no fever and ague. The face of the country is generally level, but there are a few swamps or ponds, and the exhalations are far less than in the lower part of Virginia, where we were raised. In the interior there are no fogs. When the colony is more extensively cleared and opened, we expect it will be still more healthy. The oldest child of the colonists born there is six or seven years old, and the children are very hearty.

Question.—Is the water good?

Answer.—It is—very pure and pleasant.

Question.—How soon may an emigrant maintain himself after his arrival at Liberia?

Answer.—Almost immediately, if he is a mechanic—if a farmer, six months are allowed. The Physicians advise them not to go out much sooner after their arrival. It takes about eight months for the crops to come round. We have no taxes to pay, and our circulating medium is gold, silver, and palm oil.

Question.—Is there any danger of starving there?†

Answer.—None whatever.

Question.—How many of your people have become wealthy?

Answer.—Probably a dozen are worth from fifteen to twenty thousand dollars each.

Question.—What are your relations with the natives?

Answer.—We are under no apprehensions of difficulty with the natives. They are amicable, and bring their children among us. There have been about fifty marriages between the emigrants and recaptured Africans and the natives. The latter are much better looking than the blacks in this country—and no repugnance whatever is felt to forming intermarriages. Marriages are all recorded, and the natives fall particularly easy into the white man's

* This question was put to refute an anti-slavery falsehood, that, Mr. Waring was a Missionary and a dealer in ardent spirits. This imputation is also refuted.

† This question also, was put to refute the assertion often made by the opposers of African colonization, that the emigrants were liable to starvation in Liberia.

fashions, as they call them. The fame of the Colony has spread far into the interior, and they come fourteen days' journey to visit and trade with us.

Question.—Is there any discontent at the Colony?

Answer.—They are generally satisfied. The colonists wish to remain under the management of the Society. I know of three only who came back—one in the Hilarity, one in the Jupiter, and one in the Roanoke.

Question.—Is it true that any of the colonists have been engaged in the slave trade?*

Answer.—Never. The law imposes a fine of a thousand dollars for the first offence, besides twelve months' imprisonment; and for the second offence *death*. A violation of that law would be rigidly enforced.

G. P. DISOSWAY,
THOMAS BELL,
H. V. GARRETSON, } Committee.

MR. BACON'S LETTER.

The following letter is from one of the earliest and ablest friends of our Institution, and it will doubtless receive the consideration which it so well merits:

TO THE REV. R. R. GURLEY—My dear Sir:—I have often thought that a full interchange of views among the friends of the American Colonization Society, in different parts of the country, and especially among those who have been led by circumstances to bestow particular attention on the subject, might lead to some happy results. Sometimes I have hoped to see a convention of the friends of African Colonization, assembled from all quarters, to compare opinions, and, by the light to be evolved in the course of free and friendly discussion, to establish the principles, and to mark out the plan of more extended and efficient action.—At other times, such a convention seems inexpedient, not to say impracticable. There is, however, a mode in which the friends of this cause can communicate with each other, easily and effectually. Through the press,—through just such a medium as your magazine, which circulates extensively in every district of the United States,—the friends of the Society may hold free and amicable conference respecting any topic important to the common cause.—Will you permit me to attempt the experiment of opening such a conference? With your leave, I propose in the present communication, and perhaps in one or two that may follow, to throw out for the candid consideration of the members and friends of the American Colonization Society, a few suggestions respecting the policy to be pursued by the Society at the present crisis. And if any thing suggested by me shall seem to any friend of the Society to demand an answer, or to be worthy of further consideration, let me here express the feeling that, as the proper signature of the author is affixed to these communications, so it is desirable that whatever may be said by others to carry on the discussion, should be said under a similar responsibility.

The first topic on which I propose to offer a few thoughts, is that which has been the theme of much invective against the Society, by persons of a particular temperament, whose invectives, strangely identical in style and spirit, have been of the most opposite tenor, according as the authors have happened to reside North or South of the Potomac. It is hardly necessary to say, that I mean slavery. The question is a serious one—what policy ought to be pursued by our Society, at the present crisis, in respect to this now most agitated, and always most irritating subject?

There are persons, not unfriendly to colonization, who would gladly see the Society taking much stronger ground than it has ever yet taken, in opposition to slavery. I do not mean those who would have all its reports and agents ever preaching that the immediate, total, unqualified abolition of slavery is the first and greatest of all possible duties, and who would never be satisfied that the Society is not a device of Satan, as long as a single master of a bond-servant should speak of it with favour. The vagaries of such minds are not worthy even to be considered, in reference to the present inquiry. I mean persons of another stamp. I mean those who, while they feel that the establishment of our colonies is accomplishing vast benefit for this country, for Africa, for the entire African race, are yet impatient that the Society does not change its original plan, and adopt for its object the abolition of slavery in the United States, as well as the undoubtedly kindred object of colonizing the free people of colour. Probably it would meet the views of these friends, if the Parent Society were to take a position similar to that recently assumed by the enterprising State Society of Maryland.

* The Anti-Slavery Address, lately published, puts forth the charge, that "the Colonization Society facilitates the slave trade," and similar representations, equally unfounded and malicious, have been, from time to time, made by leading members of the abolition party. It has even been asserted that some of the colonists have been engaged in the abominable traffic.—These imputations are likewise put down by clear and undeniable proof.

The time has been when I had some indefinite views of the same kind. Then, had I spoken my impressions, I should probably have reasoned thus:—"The friends of the Society, its efficient and available friends, are all enemies to slavery; and those who oppose it at the South, oppose it on the ground of its necessary tendency to the extinction of slavery; therefore, it can lose nothing, and may gain much, by adopting and announcing the extinction of slavery as its aim. It may call out and organize the spirit of opposition to slavery, and may make that spirit pour abundant contributions into the treasury of colonization. It may lead in the discussion of slavery, exposing its impolicy, its dangers, its natural oppugnation to the spirit of Christianity, its demoralizing influences, its innumerable and irresistible tendencies to evil."

Now, however, I take a somewhat different view of the subject—not that I look on slavery with a more friendly regard. My opinions of that relic of barbarism have never been changed, save as they have grown more clear and vivid. Not that I consider it either illegal or dangerous for freemen in a free country to discuss the abolition of slavery, or to use peaceful measures for the enlightening of the public mind respecting that momentous public interest. Indeed, if it were desired at the present time to prevent or suppress the discussion of slavery, such a desire must be hopeless. Since the proceedings in Virginia, two years ago, nothing less can be expected than that those who wish to see slavery safely and equitably abolished, will speak out; and those who are in love with slavery, and desire its perpetuity, must either produce their reasons, or content themselves with being deemed altogether unreasonable. Nor would I intimate a word of dissatisfaction in respect to the position taken by the Maryland Society. That enterprise has my most cordial approbation, and shall have all the support I can give it. I presume that the abolition of slavery in that one State, merely by the removal of the slaves, is not only practicable, but sufficiently within the range of a single and unexceptionable description of measures, to be safely adopted as the direct and leading purpose of that Society.

The view to which maturer reflection has led me, in respect to the policy of the American Colonization Society in this particular, may be briefly stated thus. Our Society has its own distinct yet ample sphere of action, its one definite object on which to act; and that object is not the emancipation of the enslaved blacks, but the colonization of the free. To this one object no other can be added, without seriously infringing on that simplicity of plan to which the Society has heretofore owed so much of its prosperity, and which is obviously essential to its greatest efficiency. I believe that nothing is plainer in itself, or more abundantly proved by the history of voluntary associations, than that one great Society can do but *one thing well*. On this principle, the Christian public has found it expedient to have one organization exclusively for the publication and distribution of Bibles, another for religious tracts, another for the encouragement and aid of Sabbath schools, and, in each distinct denomination, another still for Missions. And there is no doubt that, under this system, a far greater amount of moral energy is developed, and a far greater amount of pecuniary aid is drawn forth, in aid of each of these objects, than would be practicable, if all these distinct organizations were merged in one. As it is, each distinct object stands by itself, with its distinct claims on public patronage; and every individual in the community can regulate his contributions to each specific object by his own feelings or judgment. So far is this principle of the division of labour carried out, that foreign missions, and missions within the bounds of our own country, are held to be objects, allied indeed, yet distinct; and so far distinct, in their nature, and in the character of their claims on public attention, as to require each a separate organization. When it appears that men are wanted, to be employed in evangelical labours, neither the Foreign Missionary Society, nor that which has Home Missions for its sphere, attempts to educate its own missionaries; the Education Society is called into being to supply this particular deficiency. In one point of view, all these efforts of Christian zeal aim at a common object; but in another point of view, the object of each is distinct. And certainly, there are innumerable advantages in that arrangement which assigns to each institution its own single, peculiar work. All those who have any practical acquaintance with such matters, know that there is not one of these institutions, which would not find itself miserably embarrassed in a moment, if it were to attempt any part of the appropriate work of any other. In the same way, I apprehend, our Society would find itself embarrassed, if, departing in the least from its proper sphere, it should attempt to exert any influence in regard to slavery, other than that influence which will infallibly result from the steady prosecution of the Colonization enterprise.

There is an additional consideration which, in my judgment, much strengthens this conclusion. Ours is not a Society for the propagation of opinions and principles, but for direct action on a given object. The only opinion to which it is, or can be committed—the only doctrine which it professes, is that of the utility and importance of colonizing the free people of colour. This is a point on which all intelligent and philanthropic men can agree; and in behalf of this object, all whose co-operation is desirable, can co-operate. In behalf of this object, men can co-operate, whose views on subjects immediately connected with this, are most diverse. I know some friends of our Society, who believe that the entire coloured population of our country will yet be restored to Africa. Others I have heard speak, who do not believe that the utmost prosperity of the colonization scheme can ever materially diminish the number of our coloured inhabitants. And between these two extremes, I doubt not, every conceivable variety of opinion might be found among the hearty supporters of the cause. But for none of these opinions is the Society responsible. On this point, the Society,

with its present constitution, is incapable of having an opinion. So in regard to the bearings of the enterprise on slavery—some of our friends have one view, full of confidence and hope; others, equally the enemies of slavery, have another view, less encouraging; every man is responsible for his own opinions—the *Society* for none. In regard to measures to be adopted for promoting the safe and equitable abolition of slavery, the difference of opinion among the active supporters of our cause, would doubtless prove greater and more serious than on any other subject. Not a few are for leaving the whole matter to the operation of existing influences, without any interference, at least for the present. Of the thousands who are for doing something, how few can agree *what* should be done. Let those who can agree what should be done, do it if they can, either singly, or by combining their strength in associations; only let them act with the discretion which the nature of the case demands. But let them not insist that the Colonization Society shall depart from its legitimate functions, to be the organ of their movements on the public mind. By yielding to the views of any such class of its friends, and changing its character, and "organic law" to meet their wishes, it would immediately divert public attention from its original object to its new speculations; it would strike out from the list of its contributors all those who, however benevolent in their feelings, have not yet been brought to entertain one particular view on a question which, simple as it may seem to some minds, is in fact one of the most complicated on which human legislation was ever called to act. Thus curtailed in its resources, and afloat on a boundless sea of stormy discussion, it would in all probability soon make shipwreck of that great undertaking, on which the attention of benevolent hearts and philosophic minds, in every country, is fixed with feelings of the liveliest interest.

I hope, therefore, that no effort will be made to bring the Society to any new position, as it respects slavery. The members of the Society are of course at liberty, and have always felt themselves at liberty, not only to adopt and express any opinions on slavery which to them seem reasonable, but to employ whatever measures are lawful and expedient for accelerating the abolition of slavery. Of that liberty, I, as an individual, shall continue to avail myself. All that is in my power I shall do, to promote, not the mad and maddening invectives which from certain quarters are launched so indiscriminately against all who sustain the relation of masters—but sober discussion respecting the existing state of things, and calm and candid inquiry respecting the means and process of reforming the fundamental evil in the social structure of the Southern States. But I ask not the Colonization Society to become responsible for my opinions; nor can I believe that it ought to be responsible for any opinions whatever in relation to such a subject.

I say, "any opinions whatever;" for, while I have had in view more particularly, in the course of these remarks, that class of our friends who wish to see a little more *anti-slavery* written on the front of our proceedings, I have also had in view those who may perhaps be desirous of leading the Society to condemn, by a solemn resolution, the principles of certain abolitionists. The recent attacks of some Southern politicians may influence some of our friends in that quarter to imagine that a disclaimer, and something more than an abstract disclaimer of all abolitionism, is demanded of the Society at this juncture. Let me, then, in closing this communication, already, I fear, too protracted, record my serious conviction, that the dignity and usefulness of the Society require it to stand entirely aloof from *all* opinions about the mode of extinguishing slavery. Members and contributors may pursue what course they please; the Society takes no cognizance of their principles, their motives, or their actions. Officers and agents may reason and plead as they think best: the Society may accept their services, without becoming responsible for their reasonings or their rhetoric. If calumnies are uttered against our cause, whether North or South of the Potomac, the Society's friends and agents can give all needed refutation; the Society itself attends not to the refutation of calumnies, but to the conduct of its own enterprise. The same argument which convinces me of the Society's interest and obligation to commit itself for no scheme of abolition, convinces me also of its interest and obligation to commit itself *against* none. It would be as right on the part of the Society, and as wise, and as magnanimous, to yield to the swaggering of the Liberator, as it would be to be awed into a protest by the fanaticism of the Columbia Telescope. Respectfully yours,

LEONARD BACON.

NEW HAVEN, CONN., 25th OCTOBER, 1833.

From the Huntsville (Ala.) Democrat.

COLONIZATION OF THE FREE COLORED PEOPLE.

No. VI.

Examination of the Objection of the Abolitionists, continued.

To us it appears that there are two grounds upon which the abolitionist has fallen into error—1. As to the easiness with which his plan could be effectuated in the *South*—2. In estimating the importance of certain rights, called, indiscriminately, *abstract, natural, inalienable*, independently of circumstances inseparably connected with the general welfare, excluding, if not justifying the conduct of those whose interposition delays or obviates their en-

joyment. As to the *first* alleged ground of error, we think the reason why it is embraced is not of very difficult development; and this, without imputing to those who act under its influence, any mischievous intent to embarrass us or disturb our peace. In New England there is, according to the federal census of 1830, a *free white* population of 1,946,603; of the free coloured, 21,810: There are, then, in this section of the United States, more than 90 free whites to 1 free coloured person. In New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, united, the proportion is 45 to 1. It may be readily supposed that the inconvenience arising from the presence of a *class* (for as such we speak of them, admitting with pleasure that there are many prominent and meritorious exceptions) of degraded people, where the proportion is so small as that of 1 to 90 or of 1 to 45, dispersed, too, over its whole extent, may be but slightly felt by the free whites generally; if at all, by such of them as have, from peculiar circumstances, become deeply interested in relieving them from those disabilities which the laws of the country and the structure of society have, in their opinion, injuriously imposed upon them. But *suddenly* transfer to New England *one hundred*, and to New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania half that number of free coloured people for each *one* which they now respectively entertain of that class, within their limits, and there will be exhibited the proportions as they would exist in many parts of the South, were our slaves emancipated. And in the confusion which would be introduced by these new-born freemen, untaught in the most elements of learning—untutored in morals—exulting in licentiousness, rather than enjoying a sober and well-regulated liberty, an imagination not very teeming may form for itself some reasonably fair representation of the ills which we of the South would be heir to, should abolition be adopted as the method of relief. But enough of this: if the abolitionist be really desirous of benefitting his fellow-men, and of advancing the cause of human happiness—and other motives we should very reluctantly ascribe to him—we would invite him to visit those parts of the *South* where there is already a large proportion of the free coloured class. If he be diligent, judicious and dispassionate, we risk nothing in saying, he will be convinced of the superior wisdom of trying every other plan, bearing upon its face the least appearance of feasibility, before experimenting be made of his favourite *abolition*.

Secondly—the abolitionist errs because, in estimating the value of *abstract right*, he gives no weight to the circumstances and relations in which the subject of it may fortuitously be placed, and which may, as we apprehend, not improperly stand in the way of its enjoyment. Although it may subject us to a charge bordering on a “begging of the question,” yet we must here say, that to pronounce the enjoyment, by individuals, of any *abstract right*, as paramount to all circumstances and controlling relations, involving the general welfare of those interested, seems to us the very summit of inconsiderate and unphilosophic zeal. We are here reminded, by its applicableness, of an apologue used by a friend of the *American cause* in Parliament (Mr. Burke, if our memory serves us) to expose the infatuation of the British ministry, in their high-handed pretensions to tax the colonies. He represented a very inflamed tyro in the school of *abstract rights*, as declaring with delight his intention of shearing a wolf then in his possession. His more sober friends interposed their advice—expostulated with him—presenting the difficulty of the job—the scuffling, scratching, biting that must inevitably ensue; and the danger even of life to which a luckless *snap* might expose him; and, above all, the utter worthlessness of the *fleece* should he even succeed in the operation. But not argument and reason were in vain—he had the *right*, for God said he had given to man “dominion over every living thing that moved upon the earth”—the wolf was a “living thing that moved upon the earth;” this no person could dispute—therefore it fell clearly within the terms of the grant. His *right* no man could call in question, as it was derived from the only proper source of all right—it was his pleasure to exercise that right, thus solemnly conferred upon him as “man,” and *shear the wolf he would*. As to the difficulties which he might have to encounter, they but served to animate him—the danger arising from the *wolfish* nature of the *varmint* would crown success with the greater share of honour; and as for the worthlessness of the *wool*, it would convince the world that he contended for *principle alone*. Not unlike this is the reasoning of the abolitionist. As *men*, says he, those who are in servitude have a *right* to their liberty, no matter what may be the confusion of social order—the wreck of public and private happiness unavoidably connected with their enlargement amongst us; yet, come what will, the right must be maintained—the *wolf* must be *sheared*.

Again, we are told, that the declaration of independence, our most solemn state paper, proclaims that “life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness are rights that are inalienable.”—True; and with the venerable Madison I could wish, with my whole heart, “that our country was now in the full enjoyment of liberty, and that the world had the full benefit of its example.” But is it to be supposed that these *elemental truths*, which had always been such, and will ever, we trust, be received without controversy, by Americans—were intended to operate to the immediate breaking up of a domestic relation, existing at the time of their promulgation, to a considerable extent in the United States; and not rather as an assertion of our equality, as individuals composing a community, with those constituting another community, which was attempting to impress upon us the stamp of inferiority? Will not the history of the times sustain as more probable, the opinion that these *truths*, as expressed in the declaration of independence, were intended to apply in their full force to the condition of our country as it was affected by her relation to the mother country, and to the other nations of the world, rather than to the condition of slavery; and that, in reference to the latter, they were to be received subject to be modified and limited in their operation, by *circumstances*—Considered as applicable to individuals constituting separate independent communities,

these rights are to be interpreted without limitation; but when brought down to the case of individuals of the *same community*, they must ever receive a construction subject to many and great modifications. Thus "life" is declared to be one of the "inalienable rights:" yet, if a man, by murder committed but in a single instance, give evidence that he is possessed of such a temper as renders the continued enjoyment by himself of this right dangerous to the enjoyment and existence of the same right in others, it has been considered almost without dissent, that the "inalienable right" of life may be extinguished by the capital execution of the individual. Further, a man may properly be restrained of his "right of liberty," if the enjoyment of it be injurious to the enjoyment of the same right by others; and he may be stopped short "in the pursuit of happiness," unless he confine himself to such *modes* as shall not be pernicious to the happiness of others.

It will not be controverted on our part, that all abridgments of natural rights—all obstacles to their enjoyment, in themselves considered—and indeed that all punishment *in itself, independently of any ulterior good*, is an evil; and when it becomes necessary to carry it to a capital extent, a very great evil. Yet we do believe, that all gradations of punishment, even to the taking away of life, are justified upon the principle, *that there is in society an inherent power for self-preservation, which it is authorized to use for the removal of any evil, that, in its nature, tends to produce social dissolution, although it may be unavoidable that another evil be introduced instead of the one removed, provided it be of less magnitude.* If this principle be true, and it seems to us the only one upon which obedience to those institutions which hold society together can be demanded, or punishment for their transgression inflicted,—it follows, that there may be circumstances of such a character as to justify society in depriving individuals of even the most sacred and inalienable rights, and compelling the possessor to surrender them as a sacrifice to the public good; and that even slavery may continue to exist, where, in the honest conviction of those who control it, the continuance of that condition would be attended with less evil to society than would be its change in the mode proposed by the abolitionist. I would not be understood as contending for the position, that a denial of any of the rights to which men are entitled, absolutely, should be the end—the ultimate object of civil or social institutions; or that the enjoyment of these rights should be withheld for a moment, unless it be, in good conscience, for the prevention of some greater evil than that which is involved in their temporary suspension or in their total loss. J. G. BIRNEY,

June 18, 1833.

Agent of the American Colonization Society.

INTELLIGENCE.

The Secretary of the Colonization Society having been permitted, in the good providence of God, again to return to the scene of his usual labours, cannot refrain from expressing to the numerous friends, in various places recently visited by him at the north, of the great cause with which he stands connected, his heartfelt sense of the kindness with which they have come forward to aid the object of his mission. Nothing would be more gratifying to his feelings than to mention the names of hundreds in the city of New York, and elsewhere, who, moved by the purest Christian motives, have not only contributed largely to promote the interests of the Colonization Society, but even substracted large amounts of time from the urgent pursuits of business, that they might expend them in earnest thought and labour for the advantage of that work of Humanity and Religion which this Society was established to promote. But he could not hope to do justice to his sense of the moral beauty and elevation of those

principles of action, which he has seen prompting numerous individuals to make large sacrifices of money and time and effort for the sake of an afflicted people, and for the purpose of founding and building up on a remote and barbarous shore monuments of Art and Civilization and Religion, to be, through all time, memorials in honour of American Benevolence. The resolutions recently adopted to raise \$10,000 in Boston and the state of Massachusetts; \$20,000 in the city and state of New York; and \$10,000 in Pennsylvania, cannot fail, if carried into effect, to give a powerful impulse to the cause of Colonization, and open new fountains of life and consolation to Africa.

COLONIZATION DEBATE.

A highly interesting debate on Colonization and Abolition was held on the 5th and 6th instants, in the Tabernacle church, Philadelphia, between R. S. FINLEY, Esq. Agent of the N. York City Colonization Society, and Profes-

sor WRIGHT, of the New York Anti-Slavery Society. We believe the Colonization cause gained strength, by this debate, in the public judgment.

COLONIZATION MEETINGS.

"We learn," says the New York Observer of the 23d ult. "that public meetings have been held in Hudson, Catskill, and Troy, in aid of the American Colonization Society. These meetings were large and respectable: they were addressed by the Rev. R. R. Gurley, Secretary of the Society, and by distinguished citizens of these places, and resolutions were adopted (unanimously in Troy and Hudson, and with a very feeble opposition in Catskill,) expressing approbation of the Society, a general concurrence in the views entertained by the citizens of New York at their recent meeting in Masonic Hall, and a purpose of co-operating in the effort to raise \$20,000 for the Society. It was resolved to be expedient in Troy, to raise \$1,000 in that city towards this object, and \$365 were subscribed on the spot. Committees have been appointed not only there, but also in Hudson and Catskill, to obtain donations for the same object." Of the proceedings at the meeting at Hudson no detailed account has hitherto reached us. The following interesting account of the meeting at Troy is taken from the Daily Troy Press of November 19th:

"Great Colonization Meeting.—At a very large and respectable meeting, at which also many ladies attended, which convened, in pursuance of a notice, at the Court House last evening, STEPHEN WARREN, Esq. was called to the chair, and John T. McCoun appointed Secretary.

The Rev. Mr. Gurley, Secretary and Agent of the American Colonization Society being present, addressed the meeting at some length. He was listened to with attention; and his remarks, from the plain, simple and candid manner of the speaker, awakened deep interest.

After Mr. G. finished speaking, David Buel, Jr. offered the following resolution which he supported by an earnest address to the meeting. The facts stated by Mr. Buel being the result of his own personal observations in the southern States, on the condition of the colored population, the free as well as slaves, and of the feelings of our Southern brethren on the subject, produced a strong impression.

Resolved, That this meeting cordially approve of the design of the American Colonization Society, as alike friendly to the interests of our own country and of the whole African race. [Passed unanimously.]

Hiram P. Hunt, Esq. then offered the following resolution, and addressed the meeting in a few pertinent and brief remarks in relation to it.

Resolved, That in the view of this meeting, the moral influence of the Colonization Society, by exciting humane sentiments towards the slaves and preparing an asylum for such as may be liberated, where they may be elevated to real freedom, tends powerfully to promote the peaceful, voluntary and entire abolition of slavery. [Carried unanimously.]

The third resolution was offered by Dr. Joseph Russell. The remarks which he made by first drawing attention to the success of colonization, and its benefits among ourselves from the first settlement of our country, happily led the mind to those kindred benefits and influences which would result to Africa from the success of the colonization scheme.

Resolved, That the scheme of African Colonization commends itself to the affections of this meeting, as contributing speedily and extensively to bless Africa with our free and enlightened institutions and the Gospel of Christ. [Passed unanimously.]

J. P. Cushman having put certain inquiries to Mr. Gurley, touching the extent, situation and circumstances of the land on the coast of Africa, within the colony of Liberia, to which the title of the natives had been distinguished, to which Mr. Gurley gave immediate and satisfactory answers, and having also made some remarks bearing directly upon the substance of the resolution he held in his hand, offered the same. It is as follows:—

Resolved, That we concur generally in the views expressed by the citizens of New York, at their recent meeting in Masonic Hall, especially in regard to the expediency of raising twenty thousand dollars for the American Colonization Society, in this State, and that we will give to this measure our cheerful co-operation and aid. [Carried unanimously.]

John D. Willard, Esq. then offered the following resolution. Owing to the length to which the time of the meeting, though most agreeably and edifyingly spent, had been protracted, his remarks were brief. The resolution he had to offer was a practical one, and he trusted the mode in which the meeting would think proper to dispose of it, would show that it was composed not only of theoretical but practical colonizationists. He intimated that it would be readily seen his resolution was rather calculated to put that point to the test.

Resolved, That we will endeavor to raise in this city one thousand dollars in aid of the American Colonization Society, and that a committee be appointed to adopt such measures as they may deem expedient to effect this object. [Passed unanimously.]

Messrs. Hunt, Willard, and McCoun, were then named by the Chairman, a committee to circulate cards among the individuals present, for such contributions as they in view of the subject should feel justified to make. The sum of \$365 was immediately subscribed.

The following persons were then appointed Ward Committees to solicit donations from

our citizens generally, to carry into effect the 5th Resolution.

First Ward.—T. B. Bigelow and Dr. H. Stone.

Second Ward.—John D. Willard and John T. McCoun.

Third Ward.—Rufus Richards and Day O. Kellogg.

Fourth Ward.—Gurdon Grant and Abraham Van Tuyl.

A Resolution was then passed authorising the Ward Committees, at a suitable time, to call a meeting for forming a Society auxiliary to the American Colonization Society in this city. It was then Resolved, that the proceedings of this meeting be signed by the Chairman and Secretary, and published; and that the meeting adjourn.

STEPHEN WARREN, Chairman.

JOHN T. MCCOUN, Secretary."

The intelligent Editor of the Daily Troy Press remarks: "The meeting at the Court House last evening was a palpable demonstration of the power and strength of public opinion in this city on the subject of Colonization—a demonstration from which the friends of the cause at home and abroad, have substantial reasons to gather encouragement. The meeting was well attended, and has communicated *tone* and *action* to public feeling on the subject."

From the Catskill Recorder, Nov. 28.

At a meeting of the citizens of this village, on Wednesday evening 20th inst. to hear the Rev. R. R. Gurley, Secretary of the American Colonization Society, explain the objects and views of the Society,—Mr. Gurley addressed the meeting at some length, after which Caleb Hopkins, Esq. was called to the Chair, and Dr. C. C. Hoagland to be Secretary of the meeting. Rev. Mr. Wyckoff offered the following resolution:—

Resolved, That in the judgment of this meeting the American Colonization Society is an Institution founded upon principles of enlarged patriotism and benevolence, worthy of the liberal support of the whole American community.

In support of this resolution, after it had been seconded by Rev. T. M. Smith, the Rev. Mr. Wyckoff spoke in a very impressive manner, and intimated that the meeting was probably unanimously in favor of the resolution. When he had concluded, the Rev. Mr. Dowling rose and denied the intimation. He was interrupted by a motion to adjourn, which not prevailing, he proceeded to show why he was opposed to the resolution. He

was followed in answer by Rev. Mr. Gurley, when the resolution was passed by acclamation, and with few dissenting voices. The following resolutions were then offered in their order, and passed in like manner:—

Resolved, That we will cheerfully co-operate with our fellow citizens of New York in their effort to raise \$20,000 for the Colonization Society.

Resolved, That a committee of five be appointed, with power to add to their number, for the purpose of obtaining contributions in aid of the object proposed by the citizens of New York, and also should they think it expedient, to take measures for forming in this place, an Auxiliary Colonization Society.

Resolved, That this committee be Rev. Dr. Porter, Rev. J. N. Wyckoff, Rev. T. M. Smith, Orrin Day, Esq. and Thomas B. Cooke, Esq.

After which, the meeting adjourned.

CALEB HOPKINS, Chairman.

C. C. HOAGLAND, Secretary.

Great Colonization Meeting in Philadelphia.

A very large and respectable meeting was held in the Musical Fund Society Hall, Philadelphia, on the 9th instant, at which the Right Reverend Bishop WHITE presided. MATTHEW CAREY, Esq. was chosen Secretary.

The Rev. R. R. GURLEY, Secretary of the American Colonization Society, in a brief speech, explained the principles and object of the Institution, and invited to them the candid and charitable consideration of the audience.

ROBERT S. FINLEY, Esq. Agent of the New York City Colonization Society, then offered the following resolution, which was adopted:

Resolved, That in the judgment of this meeting, the American Colonization Society is founded upon principles of enlarged benevolence, and entitled to the liberal support of all American Patriots and Christians.

On motion of ELLIOTT CRESSON, Esq. late Agent of the American Colonization Society in England, it was

Resolved, That the scheme of introducing civilization and Christianity into Africa, by the establishment of Christian colonies of free men of colour on her shores, is most happily adapted to unite the sympathies and charities of America and England, and indeed of the whole Christian world.

On motion of Rev. GREGORY T. BELLELL, D. D., seconded by the Right Rev. Bishop DOANE, of New Jersey, the following preamble and resolution were adopted:

WHEREAS, in the opinion of this meeting, the Colony of Liberia opens a wide and encouraging field for the introduction and sup-

port of religious Teachers and Missionaries among the uncivilized tribes of Africa, therefore

Resolved, That it is expedient to raise in this city and state the sum of ten thousand dollars, to be entrusted to the Managers of the American Colonization Society, with the request that so much of said sum as may be necessary, be applied towards founding as early as practicable, in Liberia, or its vicinity, a settlement to bear the name of Pennsylvania.

The movers of the preceding resolutions sustained them with able and eloquent addresses.—On motion by MATTHEW CAREY, Esq., it was

Resolved, That a Committee be appointed with power to add to their number, to adopt and execute such measures as they may deem best for carrying the last Resolution into speedy and complete effect.

PROPOSED SAVANNAH EXPEDITION.

The following extract of a letter from a highly intelligent and respectable coloured man in Savannah, cannot fail to be read with deep interest by all the Friends of our cause.

SAVANNAH, SEPT. 17, 1833.

Respected and Dear Sir—Your very polite and friendly favor of the 24th August came safe to hand; and on perusing the same, I was much pleased—also my friends. Your excuse for not answering my letter sooner, is quite satisfactory—nor did I think ill of you for not doing so; for I had seen, through the medium of newspapers and other publications, the many difficulties and severe conflicts you *had* and will have yet to encounter for this holy and praiseworthy cause which you have espoused. But I hope and trust that the Lord will bless and support you, and all that are engaged therein, with *wisdom, perseverance, zeal, and ability* to produce arguments sufficient to silence and bring to naught all the machinations and low designs of those who are inimical to and wish the destruction of our little but much loved Liberia, which can be justly called the *promised land*, or only hope for the poor, despised, and at present degraded sons and daughters of Africa and their descendants. I pray continually that the Lord may bless the friends and supporters of this truly philanthropic Institution—and that they may be endowed with *courage* from on high, insomuch that they may never be intimidated by the formidable *phalanx*, which are in array against them.

"You desired in yours that I would let you know the general sentiments of the free people of colour here. To this I can only reply that I am ashamed to say. But really they seem generally not to possess the feelings of men; for you cannot by reasoning prevail upon them to leave this for Liberia. They seem determined to stay where they are, preferring the empty name of freedom to that genuine *liberty* which the coloured man can enjoy no where but in Liberia. However, I thank God that there are a few worthy exceptions; for there are a few that will do honor to any community, who have made up their minds, and are only waiting an opportunity to go to this land of

privileges, let the sacrifice be what it may.—For my part, I am determined to go, God being my helper; for my soul *yearns* after poor benighted Africa; and I pity the poor unfeeling, callous hearted men of colour—particularly those who wear the holy appellation of Christian, and do not feel it to be their duty to go over and assist in this vast field of moral usefulness, and secure for themselves and those they ought to love as themselves, a country of liberty, together with its concomitant blessings.

I have received six letters from Philip Moore since he arrived in Liberia, also several from other emigrants who went over in the *Hercules*, and they generally were very encouraging. Moore says that he is much pleased, and that if he had ten times the sacrifices to make, he would cheerfully do so to reach that country, and recommends my doing so. T. Smith, from Florida, says that if the passage were six months instead of six weeks, he would cheerfully undertake it; and begs me to endeavor to assist his wife and children on. They are in Savannah, waiting an opportunity for *Liberia*.

AUXILIARY SOCIETIES.

The following letter to the Editor gives information that another Auxiliary Society has been organized in the State of Ohio:

Poland, Trumbull Co. Ohio, Nov. 26, 1833.

REV. & DEAR SIR—Agreeably to a suggestion in a late number of the *Repository*, I herewith transmit the proceedings had at the organization of a Society in this place, auxiliary to the American Colonization Society, in March last. The subject of colonizing the free people of colour was one, upon which the people in this place had a very limited knowledge indeed. At the formation of the Society an address was delivered by the corresponding secretary, containing little else than a statement of facts of what the Parent Society proposed to do—what it had already done—of the prosperous condition of the Colony at Liberia; and such other matter as was gathered from the circular of the Managers of the American Colonization Society and the annual reports of the same. At the close of the meeting, many expressed their astonishment that so much had been done, and so much was now doing, and they ignorant of the fact.

About twenty dollars were subscribed by those who became members at the time, and some more has been added since. Our annual meeting will take place in January, when we shall remit the amount collected, and hope to increase our contributions, as well as members.

We have the promise of a visit from the agent of the Western Reserve Anti-Slavery Society. His prospects in this vicinity are not very flattering. Great exertions are making throughout the Reserve by the friends of immediate emancipation, for organizing auxiliary societies to the Anti-Slavery Society.—The effect is, the increase of the friends of Colonization; the people are evidently awakening up to the cause. But I have already rendered this communication unnecessarily long for the object in view. I will only add the list of officers for the current year.

John McClelland, *President*.
 Andrew Dickson, *Vice-President*.
 William McCombs, *Treasurer*.
 Selden Haynes, *Cor. Secretary*.
 Archibald G. Botsford, *Rec. Secretary*.
 Hugh Duncan, Joseph Truesdale, Ebenezer
 S. Smith, *Managers*.

Respectfully your ob't. ser'vt,
 S. HAYNES, *Cor. Secretary*.

Vermont Colonization Society.—The Report of the Vermont Colonization Society is published and distributed. One thousand copies were printed. Six copies were sent by mail to each of the officers living out of Montpelier, and the several members of the House of Representatives were requested to take six copies for the large towns, three for the small ones, and four for the medium towns. The following is a list of the officers:

Hon. Elijah Paine, Williamstown, *President*.

Horatio Seymour, Middlebury, Saml. Prentiss, Montpelier, *Vice Presidents*.

Hon. Heman Allen, Burlington; Rev. Willard Child, Pittsford; Rev. John K. Converse, Burlington; Rev. John Richards, Windsor; Hon. Phineas White, Putney; Hon. Israel P. Dana, Danville; Rev. Samuel Hopkins, Montpelier; Hon. Samuel Clark, Brattleborough; Hon. Thomas Emerson, Windsor; Hon. James Bell, Walden; Wyllys Lyman, Esq., Burlington; Rev. Thomas A. Merrill, Middlebury, *Managers*.

Hon. Benjamin Swift, Hon. William Slade, *Delegates to the American Colonization Society*.

Daniel Baldwin, Esq., Montpelier, *Treasurer*.

Hon. Joseph Howes, Montpelier, *Auditor*.

Rev. Chester Wright, Montpelier, *Secretary*.

The Report of the Treasurer shows that collections have been taken in about 50 towns during the current year, and that from these and all other sources, a little short of six hundred dollars have been realized.

From a little experiment made since the annual meeting, it is demonstrated that this small sum is not all which the people of Vermont are willing to pay to this Society. It is believed they are willing to pay more than three times as much. It is believed that more than three hundred congregations in this State would have gladly contributed, if an opportunity had been given them. And it is hereby respectfully requested of all the leaders of public worship in Vermont, who have not asked their respective congregations for a collection for this Society, to make the experiment on, or on some Sabbath near, the approaching anniversary Thanksgiving. It is also requested of all who have received or may receive a copy of the Report, to endeavour to collect at least one dollar for the Society. It is moreover requested of the officers of the Society, that they will not suffer their highly respected and much honoured names to appear before the public as officers of a benevolent institution whose interests they make no exertions to promote. On the contrary, it is hoped that each of them will endeavour to make the six reports forwarded to them bring at least six dollars into the treasury.

Since the annual meeting, the subscriber

has received advices from the general agent, Mr. Gurley, of the pressing wants of the Society to enable them to carry forward their benevolent operations. All monies collected should be forwarded as soon as may be to Daniel Baldwin, Montpelier, the Society's Treasurer.

C. WRIGHT,

Secretary of the Ver. Col. Soc.

Montpelier, Nov. 12, 1833.

The subjoined extracts from the Report (the fourteenth in the annual series) referred to in the foregoing article, cannot fail to be deeply interesting to the friends of Colonization.

"The complaint that ardent spirits are sold and used in Liberia in abundance is very satisfactorily answered by A. D. Williams, Vice Agent of the Colony, (a coloured gentleman, who recently visited Boston,) in the following manner, in reply to questions proposed.

"Ardent spirits were an article introduced by slavers ever since the commencement of the slave trade, and had become an article of great demand. From my first arrival in the Colony, it has been my wish to abandon the use of ardent spirits, and not my wish only, but the wish of the principal citizens in the Colony. But to abolish it at once we found impracticable. In the early state of the Colony we were dependent on the natives, and had to use all means in our power to effect the great object for which we embarked. The time was when the Colonists themselves thought it advisable to use a little stimulus for the preservation of their health; and when we employed a native his first inquiries were, how much rum am I to have? And unless you would give them rum, you could scarce get them to work at all. We generally gave them at that time about two glasses a day. But the time has now arrived, when the Colonists, the principal part of them, find that the use of ardent spirits is an evil from which no good can arise. *Most of them have therefore abandoned the use of it entirely.* The natives that could not be hired at one time, without first agreeing to allow them their usual allowance of rum, will work for us at this time without scarcely mentioning the want of it. No public labourers in the Colony at this time are allowed rum. You find, sir, it is my opinion upon the whole, that moderate means should be used, if we expect to be successful. We have raised Temperance Societies in the Colony, and much good has resulted from them, and I have no doubt but in a short time the use of that article will not be known there."

"From this statement it appears that the Colony of Liberia is, at this moment, far in advance of our own country—far in advance of the far famed State of New-York in the temperance reformation.

"It is worthy of special and grateful notice that various events of recent occurrence shed a cheering light on the prospects of the African race.

"The governments of England and France have agreed to exercise the mutual right of search along the western coast of Africa, for the more effectual suppression of the slave trade.

"The government of Brazil has prohibited, under severe penalties, the further introduction of slaves into that extensive country.—Such as may be brought thither in future are declared to be free, and are to be sent back to Africa. Efforts are being made in France in favour of the slaves in the French Antilles. The recent discovery of the course of the Niger discloses a channel of communication with a population of many millions of people, which will soon be improved for the introduction of the gospel and other branches of useful knowledge among them, by missions from this country and from Europe. It is cheering to know, that missionary operations already in existence, and continually extending in various parts of the African coast, co-operating with the establishment of Colonies and other conspiring causes, promise to accomplish, at no distant day, the utter extermination of that infamous traffic in human flesh, which has been so long the crime and disgrace of the civilized (perhaps it should on this account be said, the half civilized) world."

After stating the *practical* character of the Colonizing policy, the Report thus proceeds:

"We can thus give to at least a small part of the slaves, and free blacks among them, advantages in Africa which we cannot give them here. And we have no fear that by so doing we shall diminish the comfort, or darken the prospects of those that remain. We know it has been urged in favour of this cause that colonizing the free will render the slaves more contented, less liable to insurrection, and more profitable to their employers. Be it so. It follows not from this that the design or tendency of colonizing is to perpetuate slavery, as our enemies have urged. Such a design never entered the heart of such men as Finley, and Mills, and Mercer, and Caldwell, and Harper, and other benevolent founders of the parent society. Who has forgotten the rapturous language in which the last named of these worthies described the future happiness and glory of his country and of Africa, when his vivid imagination beheld in perspective, the latter disenthralled and filled with the light of science and religion, and the former forever freed from the curse of slavery, by the process of colonization? We say not, that by such process, the delightful visions of that beloved man and honoured statesman will ever be realized. But we do say, that we pity those misguided friends of abolition, who would have it believed, that such men have, in forming and supporting this Society, entered into a conspiracy for perpetuating slavery.

"If by moral means as we believe, and not by acts of violence, slavery is to be abolished in this country, we do not believe that the better behaviour of the slaves will tend to rivet their chains, by rendering their masters less willing to enlarge them. So far from this is our belief, that could we speak to the slaves we would say to them.—be diligent in your work—be inflexibly honest—make the interest of your masters your own, and prove to them that you are capable of enjoying freedom without abusing it. In so doing, you will do right, and while you are doing right,

you will be doing the best that you can do to procure your freedom; in so doing, you will enlist the sympathies of your masters, and the sympathies of all good beings in your favour.

"We of the North utterly disavow all design of illegal interference with the social condition of our brethren of the South. We, of this Society and our sister auxiliaries, rejoice to believe, that many who have slaves in possession are waiting for an opportunity to resign them to the vessel that will carry them where their condition will be far better than, under existing circumstances, it can be rendered at home. Our high privilege is to aid in this benevolent work.

"It remains to state, that the wants of the Parent Society were never greater than now. In the last number of the Repository, the agent states, that without an increase of funds the Society will be incapable of sending expeditions to Liberia during the present year; he also states, that on the list of applicants for a passage, are hundreds recommended as deserving assistance, many of them slaves, ready to be liberated, and all waiting with anxiety for the means of removal to Africa, and emphatically asks, "Shall they appeal in vain to a generous and magnanimous people?"

"Brethren of the Vermont Colonization Society, and all ye people present, let our liberality to night, and let the liberality of our State answer the question, and let it echo from all our evergreen mountains, and let it be echoed from all the Auxiliary Societies of the North and of the South—No! No! No!!!"

We have received, and read with much interest, the tenth annual Report of the *Wilmington (Del.) Union Colonization Society*, made at the City Hall on the 27th of June last. The following passages, extracted from it, will excite general and deep attention:

"When the Colonization Society commenced its operations, it had to encounter chilling apathy in one quarter, and in another, zealous opposition. Many in the South looked upon its plans and movements as an unwarrantable interference in their concerns, while others viewed them as Utopian. But as the Society has moved on in its majestic course, and as its principles and designs have been developed, our brethren of the South have been found among its devoted friends. And in the South, so far as we know, none are now opposed to the Colonization Society but those who advocate perpetual slavery.

"But most violent opposition has arisen against the Society from another quarter, from which it was not expected; even from those who are anxious to secure the immediate and universal emancipation of the slaves. The New England Anti-Slavery Society is the source from which the opposition comes. From the title of this Society, and its opposition to the cause of colonization, one would suppose, who was ignorant of the facts, that the main design of the Colonization Society was to defend and advocate and perpetuate slavery. We now this charge is made against us. But

where is the reasoning—what are the facts to substantiate this charge? All the reasoning and the facts prove the opposite. When we consider the opposition of the abolitionists,* we are ready to ask *cui bono*; to what purpose is this opposition? What evil has the Colonization Society done? If the abolitionists are in the right; if their plan is practicable—let them go on and prove it. We place no obstacle in their way. When they have proved this, if we do not fall in with their measures it will be time enough to reproach us for our cautious movements.

"The New-England Anti-Slavery Society agrees with us that slavery is a great moral and political evil, and that it is desirable that this evil should be removed entirely from our country. Here, then, is common ground.—On this point the friends of colonization and the abolitionists harmonize. In what, then, do they differ? As to the measures to be employed, they differ *toto coelo*. The abolitionists advocate immediate emancipation; whereas the friends of the Colonization Society say, let emancipation be effected gradually, so as to secure the real good of the individuals liberated, and at the same time the public safety. The abolitionists attack the slave-holder with all the invective that language can convey; while the friends of the Colonization Society use no railing accusation against their brethren of the South, but endeavour to win them by persuasion and indirect influence. It is true, the Society whose cause we advocate does not declare open war against slavery; and the reason is, this would secure the defeat of the very object it wishes to promote. Silence on this subject is an evidence of the wisdom of the Society, and not that it is secretly plotting the perpetual bondage of the slave.

"In our opinion, the Colonization Society presents the only safe and feasible plan for the liberation of our slaves from bondage. Let the Colonization Society be blotted out of existence, which seems to be the desire of the abolitionists, and at once you rob the Christian and the patriot of their cheering anticipations of Africa's redemption: and blight every hope they entertain respecting the emancipation of the slave population of America. If the day should ever arrive when the cause of African Colonization will expire under the blow inflicted by our brethren of the North, (who have in this cause more zeal than discretion, as we are compelled to believe), then the South will not be less zealous in opposing abolitionists. And if they refuse to emancipate the slaves, *who can compel them?* If this day ever comes, then the controversy will be between the advocates of immediate emancipation, and those who advocate perpetual slavery. Here will be no common ground. Then the friends of colonization will retire from the arena, and weep over the blighted hopes of Africa's redemption, which they once fondly cherished.

"Let those, therefore, who are opposed to

the Colonization Society consider what will be secured if they succeed in their opposition. The angry contest will burn in every part of the land; the North and South will be at war, and while thus exasperated, the southern people instead of alleviating the woes of the slave, will become callous to all his miseries. It is our deliberate conviction that the abolitionists are the enemies of the slaves of this land. In speaking thus, we do not design to malign their motives; but we say their measures tend to awaken the prejudices and opposition of the slave-holders, and the discontent of the slave. Instead, therefore, of abolishing slavery, the New England Anti-Slavery Society is in our opinion pursuing a course that will secure its perpetuity.

"But though we have expressed ourselves thus, we do not in the least fear the result of the present controversy. It no doubt has been ordered by the Disposer of all events, for good to this Society. Already it has awakened much inquiry on this subject; and many who have been hitherto opposed to the Colonization Society have been led to espouse this noble cause. The course pursued by abolitionists is advancing the interests of the Colonization Society, more than any thing else. The number of its friends is increasing, and those who were previously friends, are becoming more decided."

John Wales, Esq. addressed the meeting.—In his address he showed that of all the plans devised for the benefit of the man of colour, none had so strong a claim upon the patriot, the Christian, or the philanthropist, as the American Colonization Society.

Dr. A. Naudain was appointed to represent this Society at the next annual meeting of the American Col. Society, to be held in Washington city, on the third Monday of January 1834.

The Society proceeded to the election of Officers for the ensuing year; when the following persons were chosen:

Hon. Willard Hall, *President*.

Rev. Isaac Pardee, *First Vice-President*.

Rev. E. W. Gilbert, *Second do*.

Rev. Robert Adair, *Secretary*.

Mr. Allan Thomson, *Treasurer*.

Managers—John Wales, Esq., H. Gibbons, M. D., Messrs. Thomas Young, John B. Lewis, Robert Porter, and James Watson.

Tennessee Colonization Society.—The Tennessee Colonization Society, auxiliary to the American Colonization Society, held their anniversary meeting at Nashville, in the Hall of the House of Representatives, on Monday, October 14th. The President stated to the meeting the object of the Society, when James G. Birney, Esq. the General Agent of the American Colonization Society, for the South Western States, addressed the meeting at some length on the designs and prospects of the Society, and the necessity of increased support. After which, the Corresponding Secretary read the following report of the proceedings of the Society for the past year:

"The Managers of the Tennessee Colonization Society, in presenting their Annual Report, have but little to say regarding the proceedings of the Society for the past year.—Many causes, unnecessary to dwell upon here,

* The term *abolitionists*, in this Report, is used to designate those who are the friends and advocates of the New England Anti-Slavery Society. This Society is waging a war of extermination against the American Colonization Society.

have combined to delay their entering actively upon the benevolent and important work assigned to them. With very limited resources, arising from the very limited interest hitherto taken in the cause, by the people of this State, they have not felt themselves competent to do more than commence the good work.—At the last meeting of the Society, it was expected that a small body of emigrants would proceed immediately from this State to Liberia. Circumstances, however, principally arising out of the fatal disease then prevailing along the rivers, and at New Orleans, caused the emigration to be deferred until the spring. In the last of March and the beginning of April last, emigrants to the number of forty-one, including men, women, and children, left this place in various steam-boats, provided with such needful things as could hastily be provided for them, for New Orleans. They reached that city safely, and embarked again at that place in the brig Ajax for Liberia, under the charge of Mr. A. King, a native and resident of this State, and accompanied by a body of emigrants from Kentucky. They left New Orleans in good health, with fair prospects, and followed by the good wishes of many. No certain intelligence has been heard from them since that period, although the return of the agent is now daily looked for, and the Board will doubtless take immediate measures to communicate to the public any information they may be able to receive from him.

"At the time of the departure of the emigrants from Nashville, the treasurer had in his possession the sum of \$422 25, which whole amount was consumed in paying their expenses, and only a very small sum having been since received, the treasury is now nearly empty.

"If the Managers can be sustained in this good work, by public opinion, no doubt need be entertained that the public safety and the public good may be advanced by it, and that the coloured free people of this country may not only be transferred to a region in which they will enjoy all the rights of man, but also, that through them, civilization, the principles of American liberty, and religion, may be diffused throughout what is now the most benighted region of the earth."

The account of the treasurer for the past year was then submitted. His receipts appear to have been \$464 50, and his expenditures \$452 25.

A collection for the funds of the Society, amounting to fifty-four dollars, was then taken up. Several persons then became members of the Society, and subscribed the constitution.

The Society then proceeded to the election of officers for the ensuing year, when the following persons were duly chosen:

Rev. Philip Lindsley, D. D., *President*.

Samuel G. Smith, Joseph Woods, Dr. John Shelby, George Brown, John M. Bass, *Vice-Presidents*.

H. L. Douglass, Rev. John T. Edgar, A. W. Johnson, Joseph P. Brown, Samuel D. Morgan, Nathaniel Cross, *Managers*.

Robert H. M'Ewen, *Recording Secretary*.

Rev. Geo. Weller, *Corresponding Secretary*.

John P. Erwin, *Treasurer*.

At a meeting of the Board of Managers, held on Monday, Oct. 21, it was

Resolved, That the Secretaries give notice through the public prints, that it is the intention of this Board to send from this place, by the way of New Orleans, sometime in the month of March next, such free people of colour as shall previously give notice of their intention to emigrate to Liberia, and shall present themselves at Nashville, or be ready to depart from some point in the State below Nashville, by the first day of March, 1834.—Application may be made to either of the Secretaries, or to any other officer of the Society.

DEATH OF CECIL ASHMUN.

This poor African boy, who had been rescued from pirates by the lamented Ashmun, and brought to this country that he might be educated for usefulness among his countrymen, died in this city on the 26th ult. For two or three years after his arrival in the United States, he attended the African Free School in New York, where he acquired a tolerable English education. He was then placed with the Publisher of this work, who afforded him every facility in qualifying himself to become a printer in the Colony; and it was expected that he would be capable in two years of managing a press in Liberia. Though his early habits of life had been very unfavourable to his moral character, the religious instruction which he received was not, it is believed, lost upon him; as there were times when he was deeply serious and concerned for his salvation. This was particularly the case, during his last illness, and near the close of life he manifested what was reasonably hoped to be a truly Christian spirit. No mother, sister, relative, watched by him in his dying hour, or wept over his grave! He was stolen in childhood from his home, rescued from cruel hands by a noble friend of his race; brought to a Christian country, to learn something of God, the Saviour, and his own immortal destiny, and to die! How many African children experience a fate less tolerable than his! How few one so full of mercy and of hope!

✂-Professor Green's Letter shall appear in our next number.

We are under the necessity of also postponing to our next number, the list of Contributions to the Society.

THE
AFRICAN REPOSITORY,
AND
COLONIAL JOURNAL.

VOL. IX.]

JANUARY, 1834.

[No. 11.]

HINTS ON COLONIZATION AND ABOLITION.

[THE following article contains reflections deeply interesting to our whole country. If we mistake not, it is from the pen of the Rev. Robert J. Breckinridge of Baltimore. The liberal and candid, we are sure, will not hold us responsible for every sentence and sentiment in every article which may appear in our pages, for our object is not simply to express our own views, but to afford the materials of thought and investigation to humane and honourable men, on a question of largest consequence to our national welfare and the improvement and destiny of our whole coloured population. We recommend this essay to the consideration of all who would ascertain the truth. It contains much which is sound in principle, Christian in sentiment, and logical in argument.]

They who are wise enough to place implicit confidence in the statements of the Bible, as to the origin of the human race, find no difficulty in tracing the three distinct races of men who inhabit this vast continent to the patriarch Noah, as the second head and progenitor of mankind. Nor is the difficulty great, to reach the assurance that the three sons of that patriarch were respectively the heads of the three races which surround us: all things concurring to prove that the North American Indians are of Asiatic, that is of Shemitish origin, whilst the origin of the white and black races is not only matter of familiar knowledge and full experience, but is stamped upon the very aspects and lineaments of the beings themselves, in characters which time is not able to erase. Indeed we think we see in the very state of things which are passing before us, the evidence of the truth of God, in the exact fulfilment of a prophecy, which, from the distance of forty-two centuries, seems to point steadfastly to us. "God shall enlarge Japheth, and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem, and Canaan shall be his servant." This is very remarkable; and as far as we know, has been true: no where else but here; and true no where, if its statements were reversed. Shem has not ruled Ham, in the tents of Japheth; nor Ham either of them in the tents of the other; nor Japheth, been served by Ham in the tents of Shem, any where but in this western hemisphere. God enlarged Japheth, until he hath stretched himself over the tents of Shem, and the liberties of Ham; the double plunderer of both his brethren.

With only one of these races, it is our purpose now to occupy these pages: having reference to a second race only so far as their high interests or clear duties may implicate them in the discussion; and dismissing the third from our thoughts as not now particularly concerned. For, although the question of colonization has not only been made, but matured and executed as to considerable portions of the Indian race; it is obvious that it stands upon wholly different grounds from the same question as applied to the African race.

The African race in the United States, at this time, does not vary much in amount from two millions and a half of persons. Of these, something more than two millions are slaves, and the remainder admitted to a very limited state of freedom. This race is again capable of another division, which, though generally overlooked, is of no inconsiderable consequence; the division we mean into unmixed Africans, and coloured persons originally of African origin, but more or less mixed with the white race. No means have been used to ascertain the precise number of mulattoes in this country; but they undoubtedly amount to many thousands of people, scattered through all the States, varying through all possible grades of complexion between black and white, and yet forming unitedly a distinct, powerful and remarkable class of beings. By the laws of the slaveholding States, any person whose veins contain as much as one quarter of African blood is technically called a mulatto, and is considered and

treated in all respects as if he were black. The question, as to the right of freedom, upon the mere fact of having less than a fourth part of African blood; that is, being neither a black nor a mulatto, but a *white man*; (such are so by these laws) and as such, *per se*, free, has not, we believe, been yet made in our courts as a legal question. Nor is it our province to say how it will be decided when made; but if the law be construed to favour freedom, as all law pretends to do, there are multitudes of persons now held in bondage, who will go free. This whole class of mulattoes is to be considered and treated as distinct from the blacks.—They consider themselves so; the blacks consider them so; and all who have opportunity of comparing the two cannot doubt that the former are the more active, intelligent and enterprising of the two. They look upwards, not downwards. They are constantly seeking, and acquiring too, the privileges of the whites; and cases are within our own knowledge where persons of respectability, in nearly every walk of life, have sprung within the memory of man from this mixed race. For all the purposes of this discussion therefore, this race may be left out of the question, or rather considered as united, for its ultimate destiny, with the whites rather than the blacks; to the former of which they are far the most assimilated in constitution and in character.

The unmixed race of coloured persons, may, as has been already indicated of the whole race, be divided into two very unequal masses, the smaller embracing free persons, the larger slaves; unitedly forming about a sixth part of the entire population of the Republic.—What is to be the destiny of these multitudes of human beings? What influence can we exert over their present and everlasting interest? What connexion has their destiny with ours and with that of the world? These are questions which we cannot escape; which we ought to meet and examine and decide with the carefulness and candour and firmness becoming free, enlightened and Christian men.

In the discussion of these deep interests, let us as far as possible keep all jarring matters separate; and while we look at the whole subject in all its imposing magnitude, let us do it in such a manner as not to confound things which are essentially distinct. It is within the compass of possible events, for example, that the public sentiment may settle down into just such a state as we should prefer on all the questions relating to free persons of colour, while the reverse occurred on all those relating to slaves; or the precise opposite might happen.—The questions are separate, and should be separately discussed.

First, then, as to the free people of colour. We hazard nothing in asserting that the subsisting relations between this class of persons and the community cannot remain permanently as they are. In the year 1790 there were sixty-three whites to every single free coloured person in this nation: in 1830, there were only thirty-five to one. A similar rate of approximation for about two centuries and a half would make the free coloured persons equal to the whites, without taking slaves at all into the account. Neither the safety of the State nor the resources of any community would endure within its bosom such a nation of idle, prodigate and ignorant persons. There is a point beyond which the peace of society cannot permit the increase of the elements of commotion; for the moment that point is passed, they who were the vagabonds of yesterday become the lords of the ascendant to-morrow; so that States, by a sort of self-adjusting process, purge away the grosser elements which compose them.—True, the process is usually demoralizing, and always stern and bloody; but, in the long run, not therefore the less inevitable. So, on the other hand, there is a point beyond which no community can allow a system of pauperism to go; and whether this system exhibit itself in a useless and corrupt aristocracy, nominally above society, as in foreign States, or in a class of abandoned idlers, below it, as with us, the result is sooner or later the same, and really from the same causes. Society can bear only such a rate of idle hands, to the mouths that must be fed; and whether the excess that cannot be borne is attempted to be fed by oppression under pretence of law, or by real theft, or by general mendicancy, makes no difference as to the certainty that the body politic must react, and the excrescence slough off.

We may be allowed also to say, that in an age of Christian enterprise, such a condition as that which is generally exhibited by the free coloured population of this country, cannot be permitted long to exist, under our daily observation. Their condition is no doubt represented to be comparatively worse than it really is, in some respects, as we may have occasion to show hereafter. But that it is really most degraded, destitute, pitiable and full of bitterness, no man who will use his senses can for one moment doubt. And whatever their condition, that it has been brought upon them, chiefly if not entirely by our own policy and social state, is just as undeniable. They are victims to our fathers and to us; how, we pause not to ask. But they are victims: and every sentiment of religion impels us to regard their case with an eye of pity.

They, therefore, who are for doing nothing in reference to this great subject, are out of place, and behind the necessities and the feelings of the age. To do nothing, is to let the very worst be done. They who are prepared to do something, are divided between the plans: the first of which proposes to retain the free coloured people in this country, to admit them to all the privileges of the whites, and to discountenance and break down forever every sentiment, or feeling, or taste, or prejudice, which stands in the way of a perfect equality and complete mixture of the two races: the other plan proposes, to divide the two races totally, by colonizing the free blacks. Widely as these schemes differ, there is a point in which the enlightened and humane who advocate either, cordially agree; namely, that the moral and intellectual condition of these unhappy men, should be immediately and greatly improved, whether they stay here, or go to whatever land their destinies may determine. It is a cause of deep thankfulness to God, that they who differ so widely in many things, should

agree on this vital point. And yet what fruit has this concurrence of opinion yielded?—Where are the evidences of Christian effort among these people, for their present instruction? The Missionary, the Sabbath School, the Temperance Agent, the Tract Distributor! where are they all? Alas! how meager are the efforts of benevolence for the present advantage of these dying multitudes, who are left to perish, while we discuss questions relating to their future condition. For this at least, there can be no excuse; for we know well, that no people hear the gospel of God with more greediness than these neglected children of sorrow.

To return, however, to the first of the two plans indicated above, let us inquire, Is it the best? Is it practicable? Is it wise? To each of these questions, we think a negative must be given; and as the point here involved is also still more deeply implicated in a question touching the slave population of this country, to which we will come by and by, it is proper to examine it candidly and fully?

It must be admitted that no moral obligation would be violated by society, if this plan were executed fully, in all the details which are so revolting to the public taste. We do not mean to say that men are at liberty to violate, individually, the deep and settled public feeling on subjects of this kind; but only, that if society could be led to the scheme, there is nothing that morally forbids it. When we admit this, we admit all that the moral sense of every rightly constituted heart and mind can on this point demand. For surely no one will assert that the public taste which has so steadfastly, and for so long a period, revolted at this project of levelling and mixing the races, is, *per se*, morally wrong. We know not on what principle it can be judged criminal in us to shrink with aversion from the thought of contracting the tenderest relations of life, or allowing our near relatives to do it, with persons, who from their physical organization create disgust. It may be said these feelings result from the previous contempt and aversion for this race generated by the previous relations of the parties. But if this be so, how happens it, that in those States where slavery has long ceased, or where it never existed, yea, even among those who most deeply feel for the condition of the blacks, this repugnance to the levelling and mixing of the two people, still exists in full force? Who in any country of white men, selects his wife, his friend, his ruler from among the blacks? If rare cases are found, men set them down to rare merit on the part of him who has arisen above the force of natural instincts, or to rare depravity on the part of him who fails below them. Now unless this strong and abiding repugnance of all cultivated societies, to pass over natural barriers of this kind, can be shown to be criminal in itself, it seems to be most preposterous to stake a whole plan of mighty good, upon the single point, of forcing men to give it up. We say preposterous: for such conduct would be most unwise, even if the thing complained of were morally wrong, so long as any other way existed of effecting the chief end in view, which in this case is the good of the blacks. But will any attempt to show that the black can never be happy and free and wise and Christian unless he be a member of the same community, and on equal terms with the white man? Or, still worse, will any assert, that his present condition among us can never be improved by removing him to some other land unless we first agree to say and to prove, that he is now, physically, intellectually and morally, our equal in all respects? It is manifest then, even if our feelings on this subject deserve no better name than prejudice, that it is useless and foolish, and may we not add, criminal, to risk a great cause upon a point, which seems immovably settled against us, and which is at any rate not indispensable to our main design.

It may be asked, why we have placed this matter on personal relations chiefly, or at all?—We answer, because the best criterion is thus afforded, both of the nature and extent of the repugnance to the plan we are combating. Buonaparte asserted that the only possible way to place various castes and races of men, in any state, upon a footing of perfect equality, was to allow polygamy. This was the result of his reflections on the political state of Egypt; and he saw no method to secure peace among the multifarious classes of all eastern nations better than the violation of the fundamental principle of all Christian institutions. This opinion is certainly worth something; and the universal course of events which confirms it, is worth still more. For we believe it will be hard to find a community, in which races of men, materially different from each other, have lived in the enjoyment of equal privileges, where polygamy has not been tolerated. Now while this fully justifies the manner in which we have treated the subject, it presents us with a most instructive commentary on those schemes which it is our immediate purpose to confute. For what our race has uniformly exhibited in every stage of its existence, may be reasonably supposed to have a deeper location than in the prejudices of society, at least should not needlessly be brought into contest as an absurdity or a crime, where its overthrow is not of necessity involved in the very success of the chief good to be obtained. Or, if that be really so, it would seem not utterly inconsistent with wisdom and humility, to call in question the facts and reasonings, which had brought us in conflict with the sentiments of so many generations.

For our part, we have never been able to see what good was to be effected, by reducing all the races of men to one homogeneous mass; mixing the white, the red, the tawny, the brown, the black, all together and thus reproducing throughout the world, or in any single State, a race different in some physical appearance from all that now exist. What would be gained by it that would be valuable? Nothing, absolutely nothing. For if such a state of things could be produced, it is manifest it could not be made permanent. The same causes that have made the European white, and the Asiatic tawny, and the African black—we care not, and inquire not, what those causes are—would beyond doubt produce again the very same effects; and with the outward appearance and corresponding habits, produce also the very same propensities and tastes and feelings which now irritate the thorough abolitionist.

The object is *physically* not less than *morally* impossible. We have found in certain positions and latitudes, the man of one complexion and organization; and in another position and latitude we have found a different race; and this with a uniformity so surprising, that when the arrangement has been disturbed, it has been by causes operating against the common course of things, and counteracted at last themselves by the more enduring laws which God has stamped upon the universe. Who believes that the white man will possess western or central Africa, or southern Asia, or even that he will continue to hold the West India Islands? Or, who would not smile at the thought of the black man making permanent locations around the polar seas? If any portion of our broad land is best adapted to the black man, we rest assured, that He, who does all things well, will give it to him. But any attempt on our part to mix up, and give him what is not best for him, is as absurd as all effort to keep him from his own must finally be nugatory.

But it may be said, we care not for the amalgamation of the races, we ask only for equal privileges and rights; we reply, the things are inseparably united; united by universal experience; united in the feelings, the sentiments, the prejudices of mankind. The class out of which we choose our rulers and teachers and associates, is the same out of which our children choose their husbands and wives; *it is the class of our equals*,—whether we be all equally free or equally slaves—it is the class of our equals only. All civil equality which begins not in such sentiments as will tolerate perfect personal equality, is idle and fictitious; and as to political without personal equality, it is every where impossible, but in a land of repeated and popular elections, the notion is utterly absurd.

But suppose it were not so; what peculiar advantages would accrue to the free persons of colour by residing in this country, on terms of perfect equality, among the whites; that would not exist to an equal degree, if there were no white men here? Or if they were alone in some other land as good as this? Amalgamation with the whites, we think, has been shown to be out of the question, and not desirable if it could be attained. The attainment of equal civil or political rights here, without amalgamation, we think has been shown to be impossible. And we now demand again, if neither has been proved, in what is some other land, equal to this in soil, climate and all other advantages, inferior to this, as the black man's home? Will he say, it is inferior simply because it is not his home? And does he really mean to say, that the place of his birth, though in no respect superior to other portions of the earth, is so dear to him, as to be preferred *with oppression and contempt*, and that in his own judgment, or with poverty and ignorance and nominal freedom, in the judgment of all, to a land not less lovely, with plenty and liberty and knowledge! And is this the evidence upon which he expects to be admitted to the privileges of citizenship, among a people who love liberty with idolatrous devotion! This, however, is mere pretence. And it seems as if every reason alleged to support the useless and unreasonable claims which have been set up for this unhappy race, flatly contradicted all human experience. What nation has ever yet located the permanent seat of its empire in the native land of its inhabitants? What people have not migrated from their original seats? The earliest monuments of our kind, show us a race of wanderers; and, at the hour in which we write, there is hardly a country, some of whose people are not going to and fro over the earth. And shall a despised and degraded race, who have been forced not only into exile, but into bondage, now arise and contradict the whole of human experience? And for what? To prevent their restoration from exile their deliverance from ignorance and want! If there ever was a case, where every high and pure consideration conspired with the amplest personal advantage, to foster this migratory propensity of man, this undoubtedly is it. The black man possesses no single advantage here, which he will not retain in an equal or higher degree in Liberia; he abandons no enjoyment here, which he will not be an hundred fold more likely to acquire there, than he ever can do here. Besides this, he is not only residing here, (as to the larger portion of North America assuredly) in a climate which is better fitted to us than to him; but the climate to which we desire to transfer him is perfectly fitted to him, and to nobody else on earth. Central and western Africa is the home of the black man, and the grave of all others. It is as if God called him with a voice the most imperative, issuing out of the bosom of the land of his ancestors, to come back to her laden with the trophies of civilization and religion, which he has reaped in the midst of tears. If he refuse, who shall set up the standard of the cross in Africa? It is the brightest hope of Africa which her own sons are trying to extinguish! It is the most effectual door for the entrance of the Gospel into that dark continent, which they, who profess to love the Lord Jesus, are trying to shut upon us!

It is therefore alike the interest of the free coloured people,—of their kindred in Africa—and the cause of Christ, that they should fall in with the plans of the Colonization Society, and remove to Liberia. That such is also the interest of this nation, is not less obvious; whether we consider the existing evils resulting from the presence of these people among us, or the advantages both interior and exterior, that would result from their removal. The same advantages that resulted to Europe from the settlement of the white man in this hemisphere, would, in a proportionate degree, result to all America, and more especially to ourselves, by the settlement of civilized communities in Africa. It is not improbable, that every year's commerce with Liberia will yield a nett profit to this nation of greater amount than the entire expenses of the Colony to us, up to each period of accounting. And is it nothing to us to spread our laws and arts and language and manners and institutions over one entire quarter of the earth, now covered with a darkness that may be felt? Is it nothing to these great interests, and to our love for them, to possess another habitation, against the time when the calamities that have overtaken in succession every portion of the earth, and every human

institution, shall make us desolate? When we consider too that in obtaining results so valuable, we are actually delivering ourselves from a population, that in its present relations, is and must continue to be a great public calamity, it is unaccountable how any enlightened citizen can refuse to aid us. Great as the degradation of the free black population is, no friend of Colonization has ever said that their vices or crimes were of such a nature as to be incapable of reform. They result, so far as they are peculiar to them, from the peculiarities of their condition; and when the condition is changed, the vices disappear. There is, therefore, nothing but sophistry and want of candour in the reproach which upbraids us for expecting to make men, who are degraded here, virtuous elsewhere. We expect nothing from change of place only, but every thing from change of place and condition also: and they who deride us, expect the same results as we look for, by change of condition merely. Then, surely, we have more reason to expect them than they. There is, however, a proneness in the public mind to aggravate the vices of the free blacks; and the abolitionists are not without grounds when they complain of it. It is true, that the proportion of convictions of free persons of colour is greater than that of white people. But this is to be taken with great allowance as an evidence of criminality. For their temptations are, usually, manifold greater and more pressing; their offences are more narrowly looked after, and therefore a greater proportion detected: and of those detected, a greater proportion are convicted by reason of their possessing less public sympathy, smaller opportunities of escaping, and less means of blinding, seducing, or bribing justice. In addition to all this, the very code of offences in all the slave States, is more stern as to them than the whites; and the very principles of evidence are altered by statute, so as to bear most rigorously against them. Or if we contrast them with the slaves, we have no means of forming a judgment; for the very nature of offences and punishments is different in the different classes. We have known a slave hanged for what a white man would hardly have been prosecuted for; and we have known free blacks put into the penitentiary for several years, upon evidence that was illegal by statute against a white man; and for offences for which a gentle tempered master would have rebuked his slave, and a hot tempered one have caned him. We admit the general corruption of the free blacks; but we deny that it is greater than that of the slaves; and we affirm that it is judged of by false methods, and is in a high degree exaggerated. We once thought differently; but we have seen reason to change our opinion.

There is, however, a danger here of an opposite kind, which is threatening the absolute ruin of the cause and the Colony itself. We have spoken above in general terms, and of the general state of the free people of colour. That in many parts of our country there are portions of them who sink below that general state, wretched as it must be admitted to be, is certain. And the danger is, that the most ignorant and wicked and wretched of their class may become the chief emigrants to Liberia. The steps taken by the abolitionists have poisoned the minds of the free blacks, in an extraordinary degree, against the plans of the Colonization Society. Just in this condition the regulations of several of the States, as Virginia and Maryland, in relation to these people, commenced their pinching operations upon them, tending, perhaps designed, to drive them from their borders. The strong, and the thrifty depart; and they depart exasperated, disposed and not unequalled to find means of annoyance. The weak, the ignorant, the idle, the irresolute, are unable to depart, ignorant how to act, overborne by a concentrated public odium, and accept, against their wills and with heavy hearts, the provisions for removal to Africa. And when they arrive there, they weaken the settlement in fact, and weaken it by putting weapons into the hands of its enemies by their ill conduct there, and weaken it again by shaking the fervour of that zeal with which the purest hearts in this land have upheld this cause before men, and borne it up to the throne of God. We need not doubt as to the condition of those to whom we have reference, when the Governor of the Colony felt himself called on to state to the Board of Managers, that a few more cargo ships like one that was composed of emigrants from the lower part of Virginia, would put it out of his power to carry on the affairs of the Colony. No man could know better than Dr. Mecklin, that free vagabonds, forced to Africa, as really as if they had been fettered and carried there, are not the people by whose agency the philanthropists and Christians of America, expect to enlighten and redeem Africa. What can such people do for Africa?—"The natives," says Mr. Pinney the Missionary, writing from Monrovia in February last, "are, as to wealth and intellectual cultivation, related to the Colonists, as the negro of America is to the white man; and this fact, added to their mode of dress, which consists of nothing, usually, but a handkerchief around the loins, leads to the same distinction, as exists in America between colours. A Colonist of any dye (and many there are of a darker hue than the Vey, or Dey, or Kroo, or Basso,) would, if at all respectable, think himself degraded by marrying a native. The natives are in fact menials, (I mean those in town,) and sorry am I to be obliged to say, that from my limited observation, it is evident, that as little effort is made by the Colonists to elevate them, as is usually made by the higher classes in the United States to better the condition of the lower." Here is unexceptionable, disinterested, and friendly testimony. We confess it went like a bolt of ice through our hearts. May God deliver this cause, both at home and abroad, from any influence that is not thoroughly Christian. Instant and inevitable must be its ruin, if the Christians of this country awaken not to the mournful conviction, that it is in danger of being unchristian, or less than Christian, in its management, effects, details and results, here and in Africa, as well as in its great conception, and mighty reach. Politicians have done and can do, almost nothing for this cause, but make speeches out of facts generally furnished to hand. It is Christ's cause, and his

people must uphold it, and watch it, and pray for it, and direct it. And when they cease to do so, it is ruined, it ought to be ruined.

Now, if the free people of colour were solely or chiefly interested in this discussion, with the resulting effects upon America and Africa, which have been merely hinted at; its importance would be sufficient to engage the attention of the community. But, we have said, as is manifestly true, that the question here made between the two schemes for the melioration of the condition of the free blacks, is still more deeply involved in all the questions relating to our slave population. And it is perhaps true, that they who advocate the equality, legal and personal, among ourselves, of the black and white races, have taken their positions with reference especially to the condition of the slaves, and with the hope of aiding them. It is also true, that the most determined opposition to the plan of Colonization, has been manifested on the part of those who are favourable, not only to the amalgamation and levelling, one or both, but who are in favour of that, *instantly*; and who oppose Colonization, because they suppose it operates injuriously to *instant*, and, as they affirm, to *all emancipation*.—Here is a point as much more interesting than the former, as the fate of millions of men is more important than that of thousands; as much more affecting, as the delivery from absolute and unqualified bondage is better than the melioration of a condition of qualified freedom; as much more imperative, as the claims of naked right and justice are above those of affection and benevolence. Let us, therefore, meet the question not only with fairness, but with alacrity.

What, it may be asked, have we to do with slavery? And to whom is such a question addressed? And of what slavery is it predicated? With the *legal* rights of the master, or the legal wrongs of the slave, in Georgia or the Carolinas, a citizen of Ohio has surely no legal right to interfere. So it is equally clear that no citizen of the United States has, as such, the right to interfere with the civil regulations of England, or the religious institutions of China. But will any man dispute our right to discuss the wrongs of English oppression, or pray and labour for the dispersion of Chinese darkness? There was not less true philosophy than touching pathos in that noble sentiment which drew down the plaudits even of heathen men, *Homo sum; nil humani alienum a me puto*. There is no state of man, which might not have been ours, or may not be our children's. All that relates to men, relates to us; and the same rules by which our rights are established, are applicable to all who are enabled to enforce them; and the same pretexts upon which the rights of others are subverted are applicable to us, as soon as we are weak enough to be subdued. As men, then, we have a right to speak, and argue freely, on all that relates to man. As Christian men, this sacred right becomes a high duty to our Master; and as free Christian men, it is among the noblest privileges and distinctions of our estate. But limit the privilege as you will, to me at least there is no restriction, if there be liberty to any.

What, then, is slavery? for the question relates to the action of certain principles on it, and to its probable and proper results; what is slavery as it exists among us? We reply, it is that condition enforced by the laws of one-half the States of this confederacy, in which one portion of the community, called masters, is allowed such power over another portion called slaves; as,

1. To deprive them of the entire earnings of their own labour, except only so much as is necessary to continue labour itself, by continuing healthful existence, thus committing clear robbery;
2. To reduce them to the necessity of universal concubinage, by denying to them the civil rights of marriage; thus breaking up the dearest relations of life, and encouraging universal prostitution;
3. To deprive them of the means and opportunities of moral and intellectual culture, in many States making it a high penal offence to teach them to read; thus perpetuating whatever of evil there is that proceeds from ignorance;
4. To set up between parents and their children an authority higher than the impulse of nature and the laws of God; which breaks up the authority of the father over his own offspring, and, at pleasure separates the mother at a returnless distance from her child; thus abrogating the dearest laws of nature; thus outraging all decency and justice, and degrading and oppressing thousands upon thousands of beings created like themselves in the image of the most high God!

This is slavery as it is daily exhibited in every slave State. This is that "dreadful but unavoidable necessity," for which you may hear so many mouths uttering excuses, in all parts of the land. And is it really so? If indeed it be; if that "*necessity*" which tolerates this condition be really "*unavoidable*" in any such sense, that we are constrained for one moment, to put on the course of conduct which shall most certainly and most effectually subvert a system which is utterly indefensible on every correct human principle, and utterly abhorrent from every law of God,—then, indeed, let *LIBABOD* be graven in letters of terrible light upon our country! For God can no more sanction such perpetual wrong, than he can cease to be faithful to the glory of his own throne!

But it is not so. Slavery cannot be made perpetual. The progress of free and just opinions is sapping its foundations every where. In regard to this country, no political proposition is capable of clearer proof than that slavery must terminate. And the importance of the thing itself, and its direct relevancy to the matter in hand, demand a few words in illustration of this point.

We utter but the common sentiment of all mankind when we say, none ever continue slaves a moment after they are conscious of their ability to retrieve their freedom. The

fact of the existence of that ability is matter of conjecture or calculation, and can never be solved but by experiment. It is possible, therefore, for men to err, and suppose they are not strong enough, long after they are so, and thus continue in bondage, when they are capable of being free. And on this idea proceed all the systems which require slaves to be kept in ignorance. But men seem to forget that all the natural impulses prompt us to err on the other extreme, and thus produce premature commotions, and partial and desperate insurrections. Under a higher state of knowledge on the part of the blacks, the Southampton affair would never have occurred. It is no part of our purpose to inquire as to the time when these principles would be mature, in this nation. But it is worthy of a moment's thought, that the constant tendency for fifty years has been to accumulate the black population upon the southern States; that already in some of them the blacks exceed the whites, and in most of them increase above the increase of the whites in the same States, with a ratio that is absolutely startling; that the slave population could bring into action a larger proportion of efficient men, perfectly inured to hardships, to the climate, and privations, than any other population in the world; and that they have in distant sections, and on various occasions, manifested already a desperate purpose to shake the yoke. It is our deliberate conviction, that if this Union were dissolved, in half a century, the sugar and rice and cotton growing country would be the black man's empire. In such an event—which may God avert—and such a contest may it never come,—we ask not any heart to decide where would human sympathy and earthly glory stand; we ask not in the fearful words of Jefferion, what attribute of Jehovah would allow him to take part with us; we ask only—and the answer settles the argument—which is like to be the stronger side?

Slavery cannot endure. The just, and generous, and enlightened hearts and minds of those who own the slaves will not allow the system to endure. State after State, the example has caught and spread—New England—New York—the middle States on the sea board; one after another have taken the question up, and decided it, all alike. The state of slavery is ruinous to the community that tolerates it, under all possible circumstances; and is most cruel and unjust to its victims. No community, that can be induced to examine the question, will, if it be wise, allow such a canker in its vitals; nor, if it be just, will permit such wrong. We argue from the nature of the case, and the constitution of man; we speak from the experience of the States already named; we judge from what is passing before us in the range of States along the slave line, in Maryland, Virginia and Kentucky; from the state of feeling on this subject in foreign countries, and from the existing state of opinion throughout the world. The very owners of slaves will themselves, and that, we hope at no distant day, put an end to the system.

But more than all, He who is higher than the lihest, will, in His own good time and way, break the rod of the oppressor, and let all the oppressed go free. He has indeed commanded servants to be obedient to their masters; and it is their bounden duty to be so. We ask not now, what the servants were, nor who the masters were. It is enough that all masters are commanded to "give unto their servants that which is just and equal!" and to what feature of slavery may that description apply! Just and equal! what care I whether my pockets are picked, or the proceeds of my labour are taken from me? What matters it whether my horse is stolen or the value of him in my labour be taken from me? Do we talk of violating the rights of masters, and depriving them of their property in their slaves? And will some one tell us, if there be any thing in which a man has, or can have, so perfect a right of property, as in his own limbs, bones and sinews? Out upon such folly! The man who cannot see that involuntary domestic slavery, as it exists among us, is founded upon the principle of taking by force that which is another's, has simply no moral sense. And he who presumes that God will approve, and reward habitual injustice and wrong, is ignorant alike of God, and of his own heart. It is equally easy to apply to the institution of slavery every law of Christianity, and show its repugnance to each and every one of them. Undenially it is contrary to the revealed will of God; and so the General Assembly of our Church have solemnly, and righteously, and repeatedly ordained. "We consider," says that body in 1813, "the voluntary enslaving of one part of the human race by another, as a gross violation of the most precious and sacred rights of human nature; as utterly inconsistent with the law of God, which requires us to love our neighbour as ourselves; and as totally irreconcilable with the spirit and principles of the Gospel of Christ which enjoins that all things whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them." (1 Digest, pp 341, 342.)—And who will dare to say, that the Holy One of Israel will approve of and perpetuate that which is "inconsistent" with His own law, and "irreconcilable" in its repugnance to the Gospel of His Son? It cannot be; it will not be. Nature, and reason, and religion unite in their hostility to this system of folly and crime. How it will end time only can reveal; but the light of heaven is not clearer than that it must end.

Now just in this contingency the scheme of African Colonization comes forward; and, taking for granted, that slavery is an evil of enormous magnitude, both personal and social, it offers in the first place to relieve the country of one of the direst results of slavery, namely, the free black population, in a manner cheap, certain, and advantageous to all the parties; and in the second, it offers to the owners of slaves, the highest possible inducements to free his slaves, by showing him how he can do it in a manner at once humane, wise, and full of promise to the slave, the master and the country. whole v! Was ever a plan more timely? Was one ever more

But it entered into the heads of the
perpetuate slavery, by acting as an

the conduct and declarations of many professed friends of the cause gave them some countenance. Here arose the conflict between the abolitionists and the colonizationists, upon a point which now admits of no doubt in any honest and enlightened mind: the question we mean as to the effects of colonization on the emancipation of slaves. Can any man doubt? Who emancipated the hundreds of slaves now in Liberia? Who gave the funds to carry out and sustain all the colonists who have gone out? It is needless, however, to reason, where the thing is proved by facts; and out of the multitude at hand, we will state but two; the first is, that, *throughout all America ninety-nine in every hundred friends of colonization, who do any thing for the cause, are ardent friends of emancipation also*; the second is, that *the friends of colonization have done more in twelve years for the emancipation of the black race, than the abolitionists have done for twelve centuries*. For the truth of these two facts, on the first of which the author is willing to stake his reputation for veracity, and on the second for the least knowledge of the subject, he frankly appeals to the public.

But, (say the abolitionists,) your plan does not demand instant emancipation. Suppose it does not; can not they demand this, and leave us to do good in other ways to those whom their prudence and Christian love may induce masters or communities to set free? The missionary societies do not demand the civil abrogation of paganism, as a condition precedent to preaching Christ among the heathen. But the abolitionists have a different logic and benevolence, and object to all improvement of the condition of the slaves by colonizing; because all who favour this plan may not compassionate the slave as deeply as they ought; or because all of them will not demand the immediate abolition of slavery. We have proved their accusation, that our plan favours slavery, to be false; and as to the unfounded allegations about the unsuitableness and unhealthiness of the region to which we propose to send the coloured people, we pass them by as unworthy at this day of any reply.

They have demanded instant abolition; and pray consider to what issues their theories have brought them. The owners of the slaves replied, We have tried abolition, and really the results have been such as to shake our confidence. How very common is it to hear men of sense and humanity say that slavery itself is to be preferred as a permanent condition, to the evils of a free coloured population. Now we consider this sentiment false; and boldly say, that if the only alternative left to us, were the perpetuity of slavery, or the general and immediate abolition of it, it would be the duty of all men to choose the latter, and risk its present evils, rather than make the horrors of slavery eternal. But why need such a question as this ever arise, or even be discussed, when we have a method better than either side of that alternative, fully within our reach? Let the abolitionist, if he can, answer that question. But when the slave-owner has pressed this difficulty, the reply has been, not indeed without truth, that these very vices and crimes of the free blacks which operate to prevent us from liberating the slaves, are in truth the result of our own laws and institutions: and that therefore we ought at once to remedy the condition of the free blacks, instead of making our own wrong an excuse for further injustice. True, most true. But how shall we proceed to remedy this condition? The abolitionist says, by levelling and mixing one or both; the colonizer says, by separation. In regard to the free blacks, we think we have proved the plan of the former to be absurd and impossible: that of the latter, to be wise and practicable. In relation to the slave, surely the argument cumulates with vast power. What! admit the slave to all the privileges, rights, and immunities, at which, in the case of the free blacks, the heart so steadily revolts, and revolts upon principles neither immoral, unfounded, nor of a temporary duration, but deeply seated in the very constitution of man! And demand this with acrimony and intolerance, as the foundation of all right action on the subject! It is really wonderful that any man should ever have expected to produce any emotion but disgust and rage by such conduct. The inference of the abolitionist is all false, and does not follow from his premises. It is undeniably our duty to do something, to do every thing, for the slaves as well as the free blacks, that justice, humanity, and religion demand. But does it therefore follow that we are to make them our familiar friends, to intermarry with them, and to select our rulers from among them? We are bound to love our neighbour as ourselves; but does it follow from thence, that every village and city shall constitute a single family, or, according to Mr. Owen, the whole fabric of society be fused down, and brought out, not only new, but homogeneous? Or is it not rather clear, that just in proportion to the conviction you are able to impress upon the mind of the slave holder, that the duty of liberating his slave is founded on some such principles, or lead to some such results as these, you disgust him, and set him more firmly against every scheme that tends towards emancipation? And this is the mode by which we are required to advance the cause of the blacks! We speak from the deepest conviction, when we say, that in our judgment, the abolitionists in America, have done more to rivet the chains of slavery, than all its open advocates have done!

What then, it may be demanded, is not immediate abolition of slavery a moral duty? We answer, this is far from being clear in the mode stated: That slavery is criminal, we fully believe; it ought, therefore, for this and a thousand other reasons, to be abolished. But how and when, are questions not perfectly clear on the side of the abolitionists.

It is an undeniable truth, that society has the right of restraining the liberty, and taking away the life of any citizen for the public good. And this right is exercised, without question, in a thousand forms, in all societies, every day. The powers vested in the parent, the guardian, the master of the apprentice, the keeper of the poor, the idle, the dissolute, and the criminal, in the sheriff and jailer and hang-man, all rest for their sole foundation precisely here. We cannot perceive what there is that hinders society from exercising these powers in one way, more than in another; or that requires them to put them in one set of hands,

rather than another, except such considerations as are merely prudential. If therefore, the good of society requires the personal liberty of a certain portion of its people to be restrained, why may they not be restrained? And what moral principle forbids the white man from being the agent of the body politic in restraining the black; or vice versa? Or again, what requires, that they who are restrained, should be put in prison like a thief, or within ideal prison-limits like a bankrupt; in gangs like prisoners, or by single individuals like apprentices? The right is most obvious, and the modifications are merely prudential. It is admitted, however, that before society can rightfully exercise this power, it must show that they who are restrained, cannot safely be allowed full liberty. And here, the whole question, as to the real condition of the blacks in this country, comes fully up; upon which we have only to say here, that we consider the case already clearly made out as to the free blacks, and still more so as to the slaves, that they are not, and can perhaps never be in a condition to dispense with some degree of unusual restraint, while they continue to reside among the whites.

But there is still a question of personal duty on the part of the slaveholder, distinct from the general duty of society. Suppose society push the restraint too far, or refuse to mitigate it, when we think it should be done: what are in that case my duties to my slave? If it is clear, or probable, that by refusing any longer, to exercise ownership over him, we place him in a worse condition than he would be, if we continued to act as his master, would we be at liberty to turn him off? Our moral sense tells us, we would not; but on the other hand, that clear duty would compel us to continue the relation of master and slave, until we could place him in a better, or at least, not in a worse condition, than we found him. We omit for the present all consideration of duty to society itself; whether that of striving to enlighten it, or of abstaining from injuring it. Here again the whole question of the relative conditions of the slave and free coloured population in this country comes fully up. In relation to which, we shall only say, that cases are most numerous, in which masters have been prevented, for the time being, from liberating their slaves, by no other considerations than such as these. They were not yet fit for Liberia, and the laws prohibited their enlargement here. It seems to us, then, that society not only has the right to permit the relation of master and servant, so far as the restraint of liberty is required by the public good; but even that (in an individual case) Providence may put me into such a relation to my slave, as to make it my duty to continue it for the time being.

We do not pretend to justify slavery. God forbid that we should make such an attempt.—We only design to show that the abolitionists err in principle, as well as prudence, in all their violent and overwhelming denunciations. There is a view of the matter, however, which presents subjects, in relation to slavery, which require immediate action and union on the part of all who love God, or have a heart to feel for human wrongs! If society undertakes to say that one class of its members are not fit to be free, and proceeding a step further, to appoint another class to restrain them, it does this for the public good, not for the good of the keepers; and is therefore solemnly bound, to enact a system of laws, by which the owners shall be restrained from substituting their passions in the place of the authority of society, and the slaves shall be protected from being restrained beyond what the public good imperiously demands. It is as much the public duty and interest to prevent unfit masters from owning slaves, or to prevent fit persons who are masters, from exercising too much power, as to prevent improper persons from enjoying too great license. But when we apply these principles to the accessories of slavery, as they may be called, to what are set forth as its contingent results, the case becomes still clearer and more imperative. Suppose it to be right to deprive a man of liberty, in certain cases, for the public good, does that authorize society to stand by and see him robbed of his money; or does my being made his keeper, justify me in depriving him of the wages of his hard labour? Upon what possible ground can society, or any human creature, justify the act that compels me to labour without compensation for another individual? Every community is bound to administer justice between its citizens; and justice never can permit one man to take without return the labour of another, and that by force. Will the slaveholder say, he returns to his slaves in the long run, as much as he takes from them? If this were true, it is no answer; for society is bound to see the slave paid and righted, on fixed principles, and may not lawfully leave the subject to the owner's discretion. Again, justice has nothing to do with such lumping accounts, as those which place hundreds in a mass, and rob one healthy, strong labourer, to make up for the deficiency in the cases of many weak and worthless. What excuse is it for him who would plunder us, that he has attempted before to rob others and failed? Society is bound, and that *now and always*, to see that every man in it is fairly dealt by, and justly paid by every other man in it; and every human being is bound to "do justice" always, to every body. Even the master who believes, and this he may in many cases believe wisely and righteously, that he ought not to set his slaves free in their existing condition, becomes thereby, only the trustee, for them, of the entire proceeds of their labour; and has no more right to put it in his pocket, than to apply to his own use the estates of his ward. This, the reader may say, would soon bring slavery to an end. Doubtless: and the remark shows that it is only for its supposed profits, and not from public or conscientious considerations, that slavery is so widely tolerated.*

* We throw into a note, the British project for the emancipation of the slaves in their West India Islands, which was submitted to Parliament by Ministers in May last. Several most interesting questions arise out of this movement. What will be its effects on the whites in the Bri-

Again; upon what ground can slave-holding communities justify the denial of those civil rights to their slaves, the possession of which would make them better men, and the denial of which does not make them better slaves? We will specify but one; and that one ordained of God, and of universal use and necessity in all ages of the world. We allude to the rite of marriage. There was never born in this nation a legitimate slave. Every one, without exception, is, in the contemplation of law, "*filius neminis*," and by statute a bastard. Shall the master say, the religious rights of the parties still subsist? And to what end? Suppose the great State of New York were to repeal every law that forbids polygamy and divorce, every law that gives redress for the breach of marital rights, every one that makes marriage and its fruits subject of civil regulation, what corruption, bloodshed, and havoc would arise throughout that empire State! Yet this is the condition of the slaves in this land; forced on them by our institutions! And yet we marvel at their corruption. It is said, however, that if the civil rights of marriage were allowed to be contracted between the parties, the rights of the master over them, and their issue, in that case legitimated, would be interfered with and curtailed. The wife could not be brutally chastised at pleasure, nor atrocities perpetrated, which while we think of our cheeks burn, nor the children of slaves be liable to such absolute dominion of the master. These are reasons for a Christian land to look upon; and then ask, can any system which they are advanced to defend, be compatible with virtue and truth?

We have spoken of the children of slaves; and here lies one of the most abhorrent features of slavery. Men may become slaves, perhaps for life, for crimes lawfully proven. But no absurdity can be more inconceivably gross than to think of making slaves of the unborn; and no injustice more audacious, than that which makes misfortune and crime descend from father to son, and dooms the child of Africans to perpetual slavery for no better reason than that his parents had been thus doomed before him. He who is not born cannot be a slave,—

tish Islands? And on the slaves, in all the other Islands? and upon our southern States? And upon our national sentiment, and public character, and estimation with posterity? Are we able all, to loose the race for human liberty and advancement? Let the plan speak for itself. It is as follows:—

I. That every slave, upon the passing of this act, should be at liberty to claim, before the proprietor of slaves, custos of the parish, or such other officer as shall be named by his Majesty for that purpose, to be registered as an apprenticed labourer.

II. That the terms of such apprenticeship should be—

1st. That the power of corporal punishment should be altogether taken from the master and transferred to the magistrate.

2nd. That in consideration of food and clothing, and such allowances as are now made by law to the slave, the labourer should work for his master three-fourths of his time, leaving it to be settled by contract whether for three-fourths of the week or of each day.

3rd. That the labourer should have a right to claim employment of his master for the remaining one-fourth of his time, according to a fixed scale of wages.

4th. That during such one-fourth of his time, the labourer should be at liberty to employ himself elsewhere.

5th. That the master should fix a price upon the labourer at the time of his apprenticeship.

6th. That the wages to be paid by the master should bear such a proportion to the price fixed by him, that for the whole of the spare time, if given to the master the negro should receive 1-12th of his price annually; and in proportion for each lesser term.

7th. That every negro, on becoming an apprentice, shall be entitled to a money payment weekly, in lieu of food and clothing, should he prefer it, the amount to be fixed by a magistrate with reference to the actual cost of the legal provision.

8th. That every apprenticed labourer be bound to pay a portion, to be fixed, of his wages, half yearly, to an officer to be appointed by his Majesty.

9th. That in default of such payment, the master to be liable, and, in return, may exact an equivalent amount of labour without payment in the succeeding half year.

10th. That every apprenticed negro, on payment of the price fixed by his master, or such portion of it as may from time to time remain due, be absolutely free.

11th. That every such apprentice may borrow the sum so required, and bind himself, by contract before a magistrate, for a limited period, as an apprenticed labourer to the lender.

III. That a loan to the amount of 15,000,000*l.* sterling be granted to the proprietors of West Indian estates and slaves, on such security as may be approved by commissioners appointed by the Lords Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury.

IV. That such a loan be distributed among the different colonies, in a ratio compounded of the number of slaves, and the amount of exports.

V. That the half yearly payments herein before authorized to be made by the apprenticed negroes be taken in liquidation of so much of the debt contracted by the planter to the public.

VI. That all children who at the time of the passing of this act shall be under the age of six years be free, and be maintained by their respective parents.

VII. That in a failure of such maintenance, they be deemed apprentices to the master of the parents, without receiving wages, the males till the age of 24, the females to the age of 20, which period respectively they and their children, if any, shall be absolutely free.

VIII. That this act shall not prevent his Majesty from assenting to such acts as may be passed by the colonial legislatures for the promotion of industry or the prevention of vagrancy, applicable to all classes of the community.

IX. That upon the recommendation of the local legislatures, his Majesty will be prepared to recommend to Parliament, out of the revenues of this country, to grant such aid as may be deemed necessary for the due support of the administration of justice, and of an efficient police establishment, and of a general system of religious and moral education.

He cannot be made so by conquest, nor by prescription, before his existence. He cannot be made so for crime, or incapacity for freedom, before existence, and therefore before crime or incapacity. He cannot in that case, if ever, make himself a slave. His parents cannot make him a slave before he exists; nor during his minority; for his parents can part with no more right to govern him than they possess themselves, which goes no further than his arriving at the period when he can control himself. Hereditary slavery is, therefore, without pretence, except in avowed rapacity.

The conclusion of the matter then seems to be this: that society, and the owners of slaves by the consent of society, may righteously restrain the personal liberty of the slave, so far as is needful for the public good, or for the advantage of the slave; and hence that instant abolition is not more sound in morals, than it is hurtful if not impossible in practice. But it is equally clear that this construction justly extends no further, and can be continued no longer than the public good requires; and that it is the instant and pressing duty of the communities where slavery exists to put it on such a footing, that the slaves shall as soon as possible be prepared for freedom, and, while they are preparing, that they shall enjoy every right, natural, civil, social and personal, not inconsistent with the public good, and their own permanent advantage, and that therefore the existing results and consequences of slavery are utterly indefensible, and such as no righteous man or community, should for a moment partake of or tolerate.

What then shall we say? Let the abolitionist give up his cause as impossible of execution, hateful to the community, ruinous to the cause of the blacks, and founded upon principles wrong in themselves. Let the colonizationists no longer make excuses for slavery, which too many have done; but acknowledging the evils of that wretched system, and taking for granted, as from the beginning, that it was so bad, men only needed to see their way clear to break it up, let us lay open before the public in the practical operations of our cause, the great and effectual door which God has set for the deliverance of this country, for the regeneration of Africa, and for the redemption of the black race. The second of those great objects is, with ordinary faithfulness and prudence in conducting the affairs of the Society and the colony, already rendered nearly certain. Freedom and religion and civilized life have been transplanted in the persons of her own sons, into that desolate continent, and we commit to God the issue on which His own glory is so deeply staked. What the Colonization Society is *now doing*, would, at the end of a single century, if continued at the same rate, exhibit more than a million of persons in Liberia, as the fruits of its operations. I speak of course of the natural increase of the people sent there as well as the emigrants themselves, basing the calculation upon the rate of increase among ourselves. Let us take heart then, and go forward in the work, and the ends of the earth will call us blessed.

As for America, we are doing nothing; and for the black race here, alas! how little. The operations of the Society have not removed from the country perhaps one in many hundreds of the annual increase of the black population since its operations commenced. The annual increase from 1830 to 1840, will not vary much from eighty thousand a year. At its rate of removal since the first of those periods, the Society has not removed yearly one out of every hundred of the increase. If its operations were so much increased, that it would take off yearly one in forty of the annual increase, which would be a great augmentation, as compared with the past, the yearly increase would then be diminished only two per cent. Now if that advanced rate were attained, and preserved for a whole century, the result would be, that we should at the end of it have nearly sixteen millions of slaves left here, besides free coloured people, and exclusive of all that were carried abroad, supposing every one carried to have been a slave. This presents an aspect of the case which is most deplorable as it relates to America. Nor does it stop here. For before that century is one-half elapsed, if the spirit which now actuates the abolitionists towards the slave owners, or even that which is beginning to manifest itself in a portion of our people towards the lower classes of foreign emigrants into our country, should take possession of the colonists in Africa, all future transportation of coloured people thither would be at an end. Let them once be persuaded that to receive our manumitted slaves, is to retard the cause of freedom here; or that to receive our free vagabonds coerced away from the slave States, is jeopardizing their own condition, and how long after that will they receive either? That colony will be a nation, powerful and respected, before this generation passes entirely away. Those are now alive, who will yet see her banner float proudly over the mighty outline of an empire. And where will then be an outlet for our slaves? Let us not deceive ourselves on this most vital point. Can any tell, by statistical tables, where the million of people who inhabit Ohio came from within fifty years? Or even where the thirty or forty millions of white people in the new world came from in the last few centuries? And so we may people Africa with nations of blacks, if we will only do it gradually, without seeming to diminish even their rate of increase among ourselves. We are actually doing this very thing; we are just doing enough to prevent our doing any thing hereafter to mitigate our condition.

Let us then arise, and do this work as becomes men sensible of the greatness of the obligation which rests upon us, and the imminency of the peril that impends over us. There is in reality but one question presented to us; do we prefer giving up the blacks alone, which we can do now, or waiting and then giving them up with some of the fairest portions of our republic as a recompense? Or, if we choose to vary the question, do we prefer giving fifty or an hundred millions of dollars to restore them to their native land: or a thousand millions to pay mercenaries to make them work, and finally to cut their throats? Our condition is like that of him who held a tiger by the ears until he was afraid to let him go, and was conscious

he could not hold him much longer. Now a giant is n by to relieve us.—
Shall we wisely accept his aid and live; or shall we take what chance
may bring us? May God give us wisdom!

THOUGHTS ON THE COLONIZATION OF FREE BLACKS.

[These thoughts are from the pen of the venerable Dr. Finley, to whom belongs more, than to any one individual, the honour of being the Founder of the American Colonization Society. They show how pure and benevolent were the motives, how elevated and comprehensive the views of this devoted Minister of Christ, when he projected the establishment of this Institution. These thoughts were, we believe, published in Washington a few days only before the original meeting at which the Society was organized.—There is a soberness and practicableness in the opinions of this holy Philanthropist which must commend them to the serious consideration of all wise men.]

What shall we do with the free people of color? What can we do for their happiness consistently with our own? Are questions often asked by the thinking mind. The desire to make them happy has often been felt, but the difficulty of devising and accomplishing an efficient plan has hitherto appeared too great for humanity itself to accomplish. The mind shrunk back from the attempt. The time was not arrived. The servitude of the sons of Ham, described by Noah, in the spirit of prophecy, concerning the future condition of his posterity, was not terminated. At present, as if by a divine impulse, men of virtue, piety, and reflection, are turning their thoughts to this subject, and seem to see the wished for plan unfolding, in the gradual separation of the black from the white population, by providing for the former, some suitable situation where they may enjoy the advantages to which they are entitled by nature and their Creator's will. This is a great subject, and there are several weighty questions connected with it, which deserve a deep consideration.

Is it a practicable thing to form a colony of free blacks in our own wild lands, or on the coast of Africa?

Is it probable that the establishment would be productive of general happiness?

What is the most desirable situation for such a settlement? In what manner, and by whom might such a colony be planted with greatest hope of success?

Much wisdom would not be required in arranging a plan of so much magnitude, and some perseverance in executing it to perfection. But it cannot be supposed to be among the things attainable, to plant a colony, either of blacks or whites, either in Africa, or in our own country. Most nations have had their colonies. Greece and Rome, which grew and flourished, and which, as they grew, added strength and territory to their country. At the present time, there are few nations who have not colonies, and some of them from year to year are increasing the numbers of their colonies. Great Britain transplanting a part of her population, in the remotest regions of the earth, and peopling New Holland, a land destined like our own to extend the empire of liberty and Christian blessings to surrounding nations.* It does not appear that it would require much greater skill or labor to form a separate establishment for free blacks in our own distant territories, than it is to form a new state. The people of color observing the constant emigration of the whites, would soon feel the common impulse, if they could see a place where they might remove, and which they could fondly call their own. Many have both the means and disposition to go to any reasonable distance, or even to a great distance where they could assume the rank of men, and act their part upon the great theatre of life. Their local attachments are no stronger than those of other men, their ambition no less than that of any other color.

To colonize them in Africa would be a much more arduous undertaking. The country must be explored and some situation chosen, fertile and healthy—expense must be incurred in fair and honorable purchase from the natives—an honorable appeal perhaps be made to the nations of Europe, as to the justice and humanity of our views. An efficient government must for a time at least be afforded to the colony—the free blacks must be instructed that it would be to their interest to remove to the land which gave them origin, and instruction

* It is a remarkable instance of the mysterious and inscrutable ways of Providence, that the colony of New Holland which is principally composed of Lascars, convicts, and other inferior beings; its inhabitants peaceable, orderly and industrious, and therefore the instrumentality of missionaries, Christianity is flourishing among them; and the benefits of the Christian religion, to the country and the adjacent islands.

provided to raise their minds to that degree of Knowledge, which in time would fit them for self-government. "These difficulties are real and some of them might be found to be very great, but they are not insurmountable." We have wisdom in our councils, and energy in our government. In such an undertaking we should have reason and the God of eternal Justice on our side. Humanity has many a virtuous son who would willingly and carefully explore the long line of African coast which has not fallen under the dominion of any European nation. Their devotedness to their country's interest and glory would make them faithful to their undertaking, and their desire for the happiness of the free people of color, would induce them if possible to find a country where health and plenty might be enjoyed. The consent of the chiefs to part with a sufficient portion of soil, might be easily obtained, especially when they were informed that the sole design of the colony, was to restore their own children and bring them back free and happy. From what has often taken place on the coast of Africa, we may be assured that the cost of procuring the right of soil, by fair and just purchase, would not be great. The expense of conveying the first settlers, of maintaining a sufficient force to protect the colony, and of supplying the wants of the colonists for a short period might be more considerable. Yet the wisdom of congress might devise some means of lightening, perhaps of repaying, the cost. Many of the free people of color have property sufficient to transport, and afterward to establish themselves. The ships of war might be employed occasionally in this service, while many would indent themselves to procure a passage to the land of their independence. The crews of the national ships which might be from time to time at the colony would furnish at least a part of that protection which would be necessary for the settlers: and in a little time the trade which the colony would open with the interior, would more than compensate for every expense, if the colony were wisely formed. "From the single river of Sierra Leone, where there is a colony of free people of color, the imports in Great Britain were nearly, and the exports to the same, river fully, equal to the imports and exports, exclusive of the slave trade of the whole extent of the western coast of Africa, prior to the abolition of that traffic."* To allay the jealousies of other nations, which might arise from our establishing a settlement in Africa, a successful appeal might be made to their justice and humanity. It would be only doing as they have done should no such appeal be made. Spain has her settlements in Africa. France on the rivers Gambia and Senegal, Great Britain, at Sierra Leone and the Cape. Portugal, in Congo and Loango. On the principles of justice no nation would have a right to interfere with our intentions. Moreover, in this period of the world when the voice of justice and humanity begins to be listened to with attention, is there not reason to hope, that plans, the sole design of which is the benefit of the human race, would be approved in the cabinets of princes and hailed by the benevolent of all nations? The colony would not suffer for want of instructors, in morals, religion and the useful arts of life. The time at last is come when not a few are imbibing the spirit of Him who came from Heaven "to seek and save the lost." That spirit is only beginning to go forth, which has already been so successful in teaching the Caffre, the Hottentot, the Boshemen, the means of present happiness and the way of eternal life.† In the mean time the great efforts which are making to improve the mental condition of the people of color, seems designed in Providence to prepare them for some great and happy change in their situation.

It need not be apprehended, that these people would be unwilling to remove to the proposed establishment. To suppose this, is to suppose that they do not long after happiness, that they do not feel the common pride and feelings of men. In some of our great cities there are associations formed to open a correspondence with the colony at Sierra Leone, and prepare their minds for a removal to a colony should it be ever formed.‡ The colony at Sierra Leone on the western coast of Africa, seems as if designed by God to obviate every difficulty, to silence objections, and point out the way in which every obstacle may be removed, if measures sufficiently wise are adopted in establishing a similar colony from this country.—The colony alluded to was first established in the year 1791. Its first settlers were a few people of color who were in Great Britain, and from 1100 to 1200 of the same description in Nova Scotia. In the year 1811 the population had increased to 2000 exclusive of many natives, notwithstanding the sickness and mortality incident to a new settlement, and the settlement being once destroyed by the French. In the year 1816, the population had increased to 3000.§ All this has been accomplished or at least it was originated, and for many years

* Ninth Report of African Institution.

† A plan of a school was laid in New York, October, 1816, for the purpose of training young people of color, as teachers for those of their own color, in this country, and to have a supply of instructors ready for the proposed colony, should it be ever formed.

‡ Such an association exists in Philadelphia.

§ "Early in the winter of 1816, about thirty people of color left Boston with a view of settling themselves in the British colony at Sierra Leone, in Africa. The vessel in which they sailed was the property and under the command of the celebrated Paul Cuffee. Captain Cuffee has returned to this country, and brings letters from the emigrants to their friends and benefactors.—We have seen one of the letters dated April 3, 1816. It states that they all arrived safe at Sierra Leone, after a passage of 55 days, and were welcomed by all in the colony. The place is represented as "good." They have fruits of all kinds and at all seasons of the year. The governor gave each family a lot of land in the town, and fifty acres of "good land" in the country, or more in proportion to their families. Their land in the country is about two miles from town. They have plenty of rice and corn, and all other food that is good. There were five churches in the colony, and three or four schools, in one of which there were 150 female Africans, who are taught to read the word of God." The Boston Recorder.

maintained by a company of benevolent and enterprising men, by men too who are far removed from those places where free blacks are to be found. What then might be done under the blessing of that Being who wills the happiness of all His creatures, by the American government, aided by the benevolence of all its citizens, and surrounded with thousands who would be willing to emigrate, and many of whom could carry with them property, the useful arts of life, and above all, the knowledge of the benign religion of Christ.

Is it probable that the general good would be promoted by the establishment of such a colony? [If there is not reason to believe that it would be for the general benefit, the idea ought to be given up and the scheme rejected.] But is there not reason to believe that the interest of the whites and the free people of color would be equally promoted, by the latter being colonized in some suitable situation? It can scarcely be doubted that slavery has an injurious effect on the morals and habits of a country where it exists. It insensibly induces a habit of indolence. Idleness seldom fails to be attended with dissipation. Should the time ever come when slavery shall not exist in these States; yet if the people of color remain among us, the effect of their presence will be unfavorable to our industry and morals? The recollection of their former servitude will keep alive the feeling that they were formed for labor, and that the descendants of their former masters, ought to be exempt at least from the more humble and toilsome pursuits of life. The gradual withdrawing of the blacks would insensibly, and from an easy necessity induce habits of industry, and along with it a love of order and religion. Could they be removed to some situation where they might live alone, society would be saved many a pang which now is felt, and must in course of time be much more sensibly felt from the intermixture of the different colors, and at the same time be relieved from a heavy burden, in supporting that large portion of this people which falls into poverty and must be maintained by others. If the benefit of the proposed separation would be considerable to those States where the people of color are comparatively few, how great would it be to those where they are very numerous. The love of liberty which prevails in those States, must be attended with a desire to see abolished a system so contrary to the best feelings of our natures. But however strong the desires of many, however lively the impressions of the great principles of right, or however pungent the convictions of a dying bed, it is believed to be unsafe to encourage the idea of emancipation. The evil therefore increases every year, and the gloomy picture grows darker continually, so that the question is often and anxiously asked—*What will be the end of all this?* The most natural and easy answer seems to be—Let no time be lost—let a colony or colonies be formed on the coast of Africa, and let laws be passed permitting the emancipation of slaves on condition that they shall be colonized. By this means the evil of slavery will be diminished, and in a way so gradual as to prepare the whites for the happy and progressive change.

The benefits of the proposed plan to the race of blacks appear to be numerous and great. That they are capable of improvement is not to be contradicted, and that their improvement progresses daily, notwithstanding every obstacle, is not to be denied. Their capacity for self-government whether denied or not, is ever present to our view in the Island of St. Domingo. But it is in vain that we believe them capable of improvement; or that we are convinced that they are equal to the task of governing themselves, unless this unhappy people are separated from their former masters. The friends of man will strive in vain to raise them to a proper level while they remain among us. They will be kept down, on the one side by prejudice, too deep rooted to be eradicated; on the other, by the recollection of former inferiority, and despair of ever assuming an equal standing in society. Remove them.—Place them by themselves in some climate, congenial with their color and constitutions, and in some fruitful soil; their contracted minds will then expand and their natures rise. The hope of place and power will soon create the feeling that they are men. Give them the hope of becoming possessed of power and influence, and the pleasure of their invigorated minds will be similar to ours in like circumstances. At present they have few incentives to industry and virtue, compared with those which they would feel, in a land which they could call their own, and where there was no competition except with their own color.

This great enterprise, must be undertaken; either by a union of virtuous and pious individuals, as in the case of the colony of Sierra Leone, already mentioned, in its original state; or by the government of the United States. Perhaps on mature deliberation, it might appear a work worthy of the government, and one that could be accomplished with the greatest ease and in the most efficient manner under the patronage of the nation. None but the nation's arm could reach to all the situations in which the free blacks are placed through our extended country, nor any but its councils be wise enough to accommodate the various interests which ought to be consulted in so great an undertaking. If wrong has been done to Africa in forcing away her weeping children, the wrong can be best redressed, by that power which did the injury. If Heaven has been offended, by putting chains on those, whom by its eternal laws it has willed to be free, the same hand which provoked the divine displeasure, should offer the atoning sacrifice. Under a former government this guilt and evil were brought principally upon our land; but for many years the State governments, under the eye of the general government, continued this great violation of the laws of nature. Let then the representatives of this great and free people, not only feel it to be their interest, but their duty and glory to repair the injuries done to humanity by our ancestors by restoring to independence those who were forced from their native land, and are now found among us.

It remains yet to answer the question: Should Congress in their wisdom adopt the proposed measure; would it best answer the end designed, to plant the colony in some distant section of our country, or in the land to which their color and original constitution are adapted?

If fixed in the territories of the United States, the expense of procuring soil might be saved, and the difficulty of removing settlers to the appointed place would be diminished, especially if the colony were planted at no very great distance in the interior. But these advantages would be in part counterbalanced, by having in our vicinity an independent settlement of people who were once our slaves. There might be cause of dread lest they should occasionally combine with our Indian neighbors, or with those European nations who have settlements adjacent to our own, and we should have them for our enemies. However great the distance at which such a settlement would be made in our own country, it would furnish great facility to the slaves in the nearest States, to desert their masters' service, and escape to a land where their own race was sovereign and independent. An easy communication would also be open to send information to those who remain in slavery, so as to make them uneasy in their servitude. If removed to Africa, these last difficulties would disappear, or be greatly diminished. There we should have nothing to fear from their becoming our enemies. Removed far from our sight; our contempt of them, produced by their situation, and by long habit confirmed, would gradually die away, and their jealousy and suspicion proportionably decrease. The colony could never become an asylum for fugitive slaves, and but little opportunity could be afforded to communicate with this country in such a manner as to render the slaves uneasy in their masters' service. On the other hand, great and happy results might be produced by their being colonized in Africa. It is the country of their fathers, a climate suited to their color, and one to which their constitution, but partially altered by their abode in this country, would soon adapt itself. Who can tell the blessings which might in this way be conferred on Africa herself, when her strangers should be restored, and she should receive her children redeemed from bondage by the humanity of America, and by the hand of virtue and religion restored from their captivity. With what delight would she view them, improved in arts, in civilization and in knowledge of the true God.—She would forget her sorrows, her wounds would be healed, and she would bless the hands of her benefactors. Do we not owe to that hapless country a debt contracted by our fathers; and how can we so well repay it, as by transporting to her shores a multitude of its own descendants, who have learned the arts of life and are softened by the power of true religion, and who can therefore be instrumental in taming and placing in fixed abodes, the wild and wandering people who now roam over that great section of the globe. A nation of Christians ought to believe that all the earth is destined to enjoy happiness under the dominion of the Prince of peace. Africa is not forgotten by Him who "feeds the sparrows." The spirit of her people shall arise. Her sons shall assume their proper dignity, and she shall yet rejoice in her Creator's favor. Heaven executes its purposes by human agents, and perhaps this may be one of those means which are laid up in store to bless the sable millions that now exist, the pity of angels, but the scorn of thoughtless man. Could any thing be deemed so effectual for the happiness of that portion of the world as the plan proposed? In this way there might soon be fixed a seat of liberal learning in Africa, from which the rays of knowledge might dart across those benighted regions. Is it too much to believe it possible that *He* who brings light out of darkness, and good out of evil, has suffered so great an evil to exist as African slavery, that in a land of civil liberty and religious knowledge, thousands and tens of thousands might at the appointed time be prepared to return, and be the great instrument of spreading peace and happiness. Let not these reflections be thought wholly visionary. We know that the ways of the great Ruler of the world and director of events are wonderful and great beyond calculation. We know that great and increasing benefits arise to the natives of Africa from the colony at Sierra Leone. From the vicinity of that colony, the son of an African chief, who has seen and felt its benefits, thus writes in the summer of 1815: "What a happy thing it is to see the peaceable state that this country is now in! quiet and free from slave vessels!—no dragging of families from one another!—no innumerable slaves chained together, male and female! and the enemies of humanity, the slave traders, gradually quitting the country! It has struck me forcibly, that where the gospel makes its appearance, there satan's kingdom gradually diminishes. May God give grace and perseverance to his servants to carry on his work; and make them instruments in His hands of bringing them to perfection." On the fourth of June, 1815, ninety children and one adult were baptized into the faith of Christ in the colony. On which occasion the same young prince thus writes:—"I never was better pleased in my lifetime than to see so many of my countrymen brought so far as to be baptized, and particularly when I saw a grown up native come forward to be baptized. We had likewise the happiness of seeing our church so full that some were obliged to stand out of doors. Five or six of the native chiefs were present on the occasion. I had more hopes that day than I ever had of those poor perishing countrymen of mine."—The period in which we live is big with great events, and as happy as they are great. It is pregnant with greater still. We have lived to see the day when man has begun to learn the lesson of freedom and happiness. America is blessed with every blessing civil and religious. Europe begins slowly but sensibly to reform her governments. The gloomy and dread superstitions of Asia, begin to totter before the gospel of Christ. Nor shall Africa be forgotten. Her bosom begins to warm with hope, and her heart to beat with expectation and desire.—Toward this land of liberty she turns her eyes, and to the representatives of this great and free people, she stretches forth her hands, panting for the return of her absent sons and daughters. Happy America if she shall endeavor not only to rival other nations, in arts and arms, but to equal and exceed them in the great cause of humanity, which has begun its never ending course.

* Appendix to Christian Observer, for 1815.

MR. BACON'S LETTERS.

No. II.

TO THE REV. R. R. GURLEY.—My Dear Sir: I was much interested in learning, from the minutes attached to your last Annual Report, that a *projet* of a revised Constitution has been brought before the Society, and having been discussed to some extent, has been laid over for further consideration at the next annual meeting. By your kind attention, I have been favored with a printed copy of the proposed new constitution. I do not propose to examine in detail the provisions and arrangements of that instrument; but, with your liberty, I will suggest a few general considerations, connected with the subject thus introduced to the notice of the friends of our cause.

The operations of the American Colonization Society have already become so extended, and so important, that it is of no small moment to secure for the institution the safest and most efficient organization. The managers of the Society are the agents, or trustees, for the application of something like thirty thousand dollars annually, contributed by Christian and philanthropic individuals in behalf of one great interest of humanity. The amount thus contributed, comes not from the rich only; much of it comes from those who esteem it a privilege to impart, from the scantiest resources, from the earnings of their daily toil, something in aid of the great enterprises that seek to advance the happiness of men, and the glory of God. A profuse, a careless, an unthrifty expenditure of such funds, is a sort of sacrilege.—The men who are the agents for conveying such charities to their object, ought to act, not only under a sense of the sacredness of their charge, but also, with every practicable facility and advantage for the most efficient and economical action. Every cent of such a fund ought to be made to tell, on the end to which the benevolence of the donors destined it. The constitution of the Society ought to afford the greatest possible security that such shall be the result.

What are the functions of the executive department of the American Colonization Society? I wish that the members of the Society were better informed than I fear they are, in respect to the variety and arduousness of the duties constantly devolving on their Board of Managers, at Washington. To those managers it belongs, by their appeals through the press, and by their living agents, to rouse the public to sympathy and co-operation. To them it belongs, to concentrate upon themselves, by the light of their own zeal, energy, and self-devotion, that measure of public confidence which shall make every enlightened and philanthropic man, however cautious in his temper, most ready to co-operate with them; and which shall place them manifestly at the head of the great work of regenerating the African race, and shall enable them to draw every kindred movement into the train of their efforts. To them it belongs to superintend, in all the United States, from New York to New Orleans, the collection, outfit, and transportation of emigrants, and their support in Africa till they are in a condition to provide entirely for themselves. To them it belongs to see that none are admitted to the privileges of the Colony, but the honest, the industrious, the worthy; and to see that such persons are treated with all the fidelity and kindness due to their worth, and to their spirit of enterprise for their own good, and for the good of their posterity and of their race.—And what, more than any thing else, makes their responsibility pre-eminent and peculiar—to them it belongs to govern a community four thousand miles distant, which, more than most others, needs the wisest, kindest, most efficient, and steady government. It is a new phenomenon in the history of legislation and civil polity, that the supreme government of a young and growing nation in Africa—a government sustained by no military or naval force—a government pre-eminently dependent on the consent of the governed, and on their experience of its utility,—resides, for the present, and if rightly administered, will reside for some years to come, in the annually elected Board of Managers of an unchartered and unwendowed benevolent association, here in America. The Governor of the Colony is appointed by those managers, and is immediately and constantly responsible to them. The laws enacted by the Governor in council, are only temporary edicts, till approved by them. The funds by which the government is supported, and all its measures prosecuted, are drawn from their treasury; and the affairs of that government are every year becoming greater and more complicated.—How important, then, is it, that the organization of the Society should be such as to secure the greatest attention to its concerns, and the greatest promptitude, economy, and efficiency of action.

In order to this, it seems important, first, that the management be confided to a few individuals. A committee of five, or seven, can superintend the business of the executive department far better than if they were twice as numerous. Such a committee might employ and direct agents, either to appeal to the public for assistance, or to attend to the collection and outfit of emigrants; they might receive reports from the Colony, and superintend the entire administration of its affairs; and they might do all this as well, to say the least, as a much larger body. It would be difficult, I think, to suggest any advantage which would be gained by a larger committee. The larger the body, the greater is the difficulty of obtaining a full meeting, and the greater the liability to factions and divisions; while the feeling of individual responsibility is proportionally diminished. Every member of a small committee is expected to attend every meeting; and if one habitually or frequently neglect to attend, he

will either resign his place, or be excused by his constituents from farther service. But where the responsibility is divided among fifteen or twenty, it is sometimes quite otherwise.

A small committee, however, ought by no means to be invested with an irresponsible power. To such an organization as will best secure our end, it is equally important that there be not a nominal and formal, but a real and minute responsibility of the executive to the Society. The annual report should be presented to a meeting, representing as fairly and completely as possible, the actual contributors to the funds of the institution. This meeting ought to be not an affair of form and speech-making merely, but a meeting for the transaction of business. It ought not to be dispatched in a single evening, but should be prolonged, from day to day, till all the details of the proceedings for the year under review shall have been carefully looked into; and till every subject on which conference between the managers and their constituents is important, shall have been fairly and fully discussed.

As to the actual organization of the Society, I have only to call your attention, and that of your readers, to two facts. The first is obvious from an inspection of the constitution, and of the published catalogue of officers; the second I learned by a personal attendance on one of our anniversary meetings. Taken together, they seem to deserve consideration.

First: who, and how many, are the managers of our Society? They are, the President, the Vice Presidents, (at present 29 in number) the Secretary, the Treasurer, the Recorder, and 12 other members—in all 45. Besides all these, every officer of every auxiliary Society in the United States is authorised to attend and vote at all the meetings of the Board of Managers. How many of this indefinite number actually attend the ordinary meetings of the Board, I have no means of ascertaining. The constitution does not define any number as necessary to the transaction of business.

Secondly: to whom are the Board accountable, and by whom are their proceedings reviewed? I shall be told that the managers always present their report at the annual meeting of the Society, and that to the Society they are responsible. But if the annual meeting which I had the privilege of attending, was a specimen of the annual meetings of the Colonization Society, this revision is far less minute and thorough than seems desirable. I cannot look upon the miscellaneous congregation that assembles in the Representatives' Hall, to hear the annual report and speeches, as being a perfect, or even a fair representation of the actual contributors to the funds of the Society. Nor can I consider the formalities of such a meeting, as constituting any approximation to that extended and particular conference which ought to be had, at least once in each year, between the managers and their constituents.

For these reasons, while I would be far from intimating any impeachment of the fidelity of those gentlemen who have conducted the operations of the Society, and under whose administration the cause has gone forward so prosperously, in the face of many difficulties, I cannot but express my satisfaction that the re-organization of the Society is proposed, and my confident hope that such arrangements will be made, as shall infuse new vigor into all our movements, and secure new triumphs for our cause. Yours, &c.

LEONARD BACON.

NEW HAVEN, CONN., 2d JANUARY, 1834.

AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

[The following article is taken nearly entire from the Dumfries (Scottish) Journal. It shows the opinions of our English friends in regard to the moral tendency of the Society; but perhaps we are not sufficiently aware to what extent the Society is sustained by the opinions and charities of the South.]

The friends of the Dumfries Liberian Society lie under no necessity of defending the conduct of their American fellow labourers with the view of recommending to the favour of the public the principles which they themselves have adopted, because the plan of colonizing the coast of Africa with free blacks, viewed as a British object, must stand or fall on its own merits, as the means of civilizing and Christianizing that injured continent, whatever may be the views of its transatlantic supporters. But it is undoubtedly a matter of no trifling importance to be able to show that the arguments by which an attempt has been made to prejudice the public mind against the Society in which this admirable scheme originated, are altogether void of any solid foundation. One of the most imposing and influential of these arguments, as our readers are aware, is that the Colonization Society, under the show of promoting the interests of the free blacks, was in fact covertly supporting slavery in America; the object of many of its advocates being as is al-

leged, to get quit of the one class that they may have it their power more closely to rivet the chains round the limbs of the other. There seemed to be something so very preposterous in this statement that it ever made any impression on our own mind, more especially, knowing as we did the benevolent and Christian source in which the Society took its rise. We have indeed been enabled in more than one instance to afford direct evidence that the opponents of the Colonization scheme in the United States take up ground directly the reverse of its opponents on this side of the Atlantic.

To the documents we have already published in proof of this opinion, we are happy to add another, copied from the *Columbia*, a South Carolina paper in the interests of the slaveholders. The article in question is headed "Colonization is Abolition," and, after inserting an excellent letter of Professor Porter in favour of the Colonization Society, the Editor goes on to say:—

"Such disclaimers as this should not bear up the Southern distrust of Northern interference with the dangerous, nay, fatal subject. Dangerous, we mean to Southern tranquillity—fatal to the present political connection between the North and us. What care we for disclaimers while the incendiary work goes on; or of what value are the disavows of the politic, while these very men are, perhaps, all the while the most dangerous promoters of all that can work us mischief? The universal ground on which these people place their assurances to us, is the constitution of the United States. Do they mean to mock us? Which of our rights that the majority ever thought it worth their while to invade did the constitution ever secure us? Another equally general ground of their defence is, that they are not in favour of Mr. Garrison's plans—that they are advocates and zealous promoters of Colonization. This it seems ought to satisfy the South. And yet, which of these two plans is most dangerous to us? which has done us most hurt?—Not that of the open and direct abolitionists certainly. If slave property is made insecure—if the quiet and content of the negro is chased away—if the timid among our own people catch the alarm, and by their weakness assist the efforts for injuring our property and lessening our safety—we owe it, not to the wild fanatics whose notions our people can in no sort adopt, but to that other and subtler plan, which, while equally impracticable as to what it aims at, yet allures men into it merely by seeming to offer a middle way. It is utterly incapable of effecting the object it avows in the South. It does promote in the best possible manner—the only possible manner, the scheme of its rival—the scheme which in the South it disavows. The North prefer it *not because it does not aim at abolition, but because it offers the surest and speediest means of accomplishing it.* To that its operations are rapidly leading. If the present union continue, that Society will go on enlarging, extending itself, making fresh converts, organizing a larger and larger army of beggars and preachers, whose zeal will grow with their success, and with the fame and gain of the enterprise. The negroes they cannot remove, except just enough to disquiet the rest. How should half a nation be removed 3,000 miles? But the Society will go on, till by spreading a wider and fiercer zeal, by rendering the negro restless, by making his labour unprofitable, it will at last drive the master in mere despair, to try the mad and sudden remedy which all this was preparing. Then will come avowed and direct abolition, under the auspices of this very Society."

We do not know that a single word more is necessary in order to show the utter injustice of the attack which has been made on the American Colonization Society on the ground of their being abettors of slavery. Here is a most zealous and thorough-paced advocate of the slave system, who proves to demonstration that the very opposite is the true view of the subject; and that the friends of slavery have not more dangerous enemies than that Society.—But we cannot deny ourselves the pleasure of inserting two extracts from documents of a more private nature which have been communicated to us.

Copy of a Letter from Mrs. Sigourney, the celebrated American Poetess, to a Member of the Edinburgh Ladies' Liberian Society, dated Hartford, July 4th, 1833.

"MY DEAR MRS. —:—With what delight have I perused your letter, enclosing the circular, and the noble expression of the feelings of the Ladies of Edinburgh for Liberia, that little Zoar in a waste and howling desert. I pray you to permit me to extend across the ocean the hand of fervent, sisterly affection. May the Angel of the Everlasting Covenant bless every one of you, and gather you at last under his wings, where there is fullness of joy.

"You enquire respecting the sentiments of the coloured population of New England, on the subject of emigration to Liberia. They are, to a considerable extent, prejudiced against it. The leaders of the emancipation party, have taken pains by disseminating newspapers among them, and by public addresses to them, as well as by private letters to the more intelligent, to convince them that there is wildness in the designs of the Colonization Society; that the slaves are driven thither against their will as to a charnel house or sepulchre.— Their minds not being trained to logical reasoning, have very generally taken assertion for fact; and but slight efforts to undeceive them have been made. Their opinions as a body of people, on this point, have been but little regarded. The friends of the Colonization Society in this region, have been too much occupied with mightier matters, to turn aside for the scruples of those who had no grievance to be redressed. They have kept their eye steadily on the miseries of the slave, and upon the throne of that Being who hath power to break the yoke of the oppressor. They have feared that those good men who have thought themselves bound by conscience to oppose them, and to demand entire and immediate abolition, were but rivetting the chains of the slave. For an evil that has been wrought for centuries into the elements of material existence twisted with the framework of society,—incorporated with the interests and passions and senses of men, is not to be suddenly or slightly exterminated like a rootless weed. None can more deeply than themselves deplore the guilt of slavery, its warfare with the free and just spirit of this Gospel, and its peculiar stain on the annals of a nation so conspicuously professing freedom, and promising equal rights to all. But the very magnitude of the evil demands judgment in the choice of the remedy. Indiscriminate zeal, while it destroys the tares, might root up the wheat also. To establish a colony in Africa, by voluntary removal, to restore the kidnapped race to their sorrowing mother, fitted not only to rise to the level which for ages had been denied them, but to be instruments of her own regeneration, is a policy safe, philanthropic and Christian, and one which God hath deigned signally to bless. The only argument adduced against it which possesses much force, is its feebleness and inadequacy to the extent of the evil. But let Christian zeal arise in its energy and majesty, and this reproach shall be wiped away. Let the votaries of benevolence labour, and the prayers of the saints go up and cease not, till Africa to her utmost limits become a Liberia for the returning exile, till our dark browed brethren forget the name of slave, and Ethiopia, stretching out her hands to God, implore forgiveness for those who have repaid earthly wrongs with the news of a Saviour.

"May the divine blessing continually be with and around you.—Your sincere friend,

"LYDIA H. SIGOURNEY."

Extract of a letter from Miss Margaret Mercer, a lady of Maryland.

"Cedar Park, June 25th, 1833.

"I am endeavouring to extend a Society which has been in operation for some time, under the denomination of the "Cedar Park Liberian Society." Our plan is to aid in establishing a high school in Liberia; for which purpose we propose this year to devote our funds to educating two young men selected by the Governor of Liberia for the purpose—supporting and giving them every advantage of a perfect course of College exercises in *Edinburgh*.

(Signed)

"MARGARET MERCER."

COLONIZATION A MORAL EXPERIMENT.

"The faith which is most wanted, is a faith in what we and our fellow beings may become, a faith in the divine germ or principle in every soul."

DR. CHANNING.

The Colonization scheme presents to the reflecting mind, subjects of thought as various as they are important. No topic of national interest combines in itself such an amount of material, fitted to attract the serious attention, and enlist the warmest sympathies of the philosophical and enthusiastic—the patriot and philanthropist. Whether we view it as the only constitutional

method yet devised for the removal of slavery, or regard it as the blessed agent for morally renovating a benighted continent; whether we hail it as destined to give the death-blow to that detestable traffic which modern legislation has brought under the ban of the law, or contemplate, as its direct result, the advancement of a degraded portion of the human race, it is *life* with momentous considerations and glowing with thrilling interest.

It is however to the latter, its prominent aim, and one involving the consummation of every other object, that I turn with peculiar regard and intense hope, and to this point I would devote a few remarks.

It will readily be granted, I think, by all the advocates and friends of the colored population, that the chief counter influence, against which they are obliged to struggle, is the force of prejudice. However various in degree, and however modified by circumstances,—*this* is the main element of all opposition to the progress of this species of philanthropic enterprise. And it is equally evident, to the intelligent observer, that a want of confidence in the native capacity of the blacks, a distrust of their mental and moral constitution as affording a sure basis for the development of those master principles of individual and national greatness—self-government and self-improvement—is the latent or direct foundation of a sentiment so unfavorable to themselves and their cause.

The immediate consequence of such an opinion is a *want of interest* in the blacks. There may be, and doubtless is, christian principle enough to prevent, in most instances, the natural growth of simple prejudice into positive dislike, but scarcely sufficient to awaken any worthy feeling of hopefulness and respect, in the minds of the multitude. To inspire and sustain such a sentiment, human nature must be addressed through her best sympathies. There must be something which speaks of ancient nobleness mingled with the degradation of a people, to excite, in their behalf, deep and enthusiastic commiseration.

Our own community and its pervading spirit afford ample illustration of this truth. The cause of free institutions, and of freedom of opinion has been peculiarly our own. We have seen how powerfully public sympathy is aroused in favor of the oppressed yet magnanimous of the old world. How readily and extensively was this spirit enlisted in behalf of martyred Poland! And, when excited by the sufferings of Greece, how soon it subsided when her chains were unspurned and unresisted! How eloquently have the good and great among us plead for the unenslaved but nearly annihilated Indian, and with what pathos and beauty have our poets sung his melancholy fate, while, a reference to abstract principles—to the rights of man—to the evil and sin of human bondage—to the duties of religion and benevolence—is alone adequate to warm the hearts of the many towards the African. *Himself* must be wreathed with the claims of his cause to attract the ardent attention of his fellow beings. Not to him do men turn, as to one who retains even a faint impression of individuality, but as belonging to an abject race, possessing the common attributes of humanity, in a very common degree, the victim of degrading circumstances upon whom they have wrought their 'perfect work.' That such a view is rational or christian, far be it from me to affirm; that it is one which, in the present state of the world, is to be expected, and one that is actually and prevalently existent—I feel to be true.

And, I would ask, what means of kindling up a brighter, and more perfect sympathy, a wider and deeper interest, in favor of the colored population, lie within the scope of human ability and come recommended, by their intrinsic excellence and reasonableness, to human nature? The answer is plain. Let us afford every facility for the free development of African character, in its best forms. Let it expand in the invigorating atmosphere of freedom, but let the early breath of that bracing and renovating air be modified and its efficiency enhanced by every auspicious influence. Let the physical circumstances, and the social spirit, amid which it is inhaled, speak a

kindred and encouraging language. Above all, let religion and education, in purity and power, lend the aid of their divine ministry, and the incentives to a holy ambition and the occasions for active excellence be neither few nor small.

Such is the method alike indicated by philosophy and intelligent benevolence. And such a course is avowedly and obviously designated by the Colonization scheme, and is now carrying into effect under the benign auspices of the American Colonization Society. I thankfully recognize in the system of this Institution a means which, with the blessing of Heaven, is to improve and ennoble a class of mankind, against whose highest interests the whole force of physical condition and public sentiment has been long and fearfully arrayed. My anticipations on this point are based on a view of existing facts, and a recurrence to the first principles of human nature and the essential conditions of human improvement.

The testimony of individual consciousness and the world's history declares, that light and warmth are not more requisite to vegetative expansion, than is education, religion, liberty, to the soul's advancement. Ay, liberty—not that liberty only which leaves the body unshackled, but spiritual freedom—bringing with it a sense of dignity, an elevation of sentiment and a manly confidence, without which outward freedom is a vain and a dangerous gift.—To confer this genuine liberty, I believe to be the object of the Colonization plan. It would strike off the fetters of the slave, and at the same time, place him under influences calculated to disenthral his spirit from the bondage of ignorance, superstition and vice. It would remove the victim of a depressing prejudice into scenes fitted to promote his growth in self-respect and self-improvement. In short, it would make 'a freeman of the slave and a citizen of the freeman.'

Nor does a design so noble fail to recommend itself to those whom it so nearly concerns. I have heard an aged and comparatively prosperous applicant for the Society's aid, speak on the occasion the language of nature and truth. 'To me indeed,' said he, 'emigration promises little, but when I look upon my boys, and reflect that they have before them no prospect of advancement in society, and will rank lower than the lowest of the whites, I feel that for *their sakes*, I must go to Liberia.'

It was well said by that beautiful moralist and profound philosopher, Sir James Mackintosh, 'the more mind, the greater compass of motive,' and it may be added, with no less truth—the less mind the greater need of external incitement. This moral necessity is amply provided for in the circumstances of the Liberian colonists, and this fact presents no inconsiderable argument in the view of one who has faithfully studied the nature of man with reference to his outward relations.

To a mind, in which lurks one spark of native sentiment, there is something inspiring in the very idea of going forth to make one of a free and happy Colony; to take part in founding on the ruins of persecution and barbarism, a commercial and religious community; to render those breezes, which bore the cries of the captured, melodious with the songs of grateful worshippers; to cause that watery expanse, across which the slave-boats darkly hurried, to bear proudly on its bosom the ships of the enterprising natives; and to rear, amid the palms, a glorious city—the asylum of the oppressed, sacred to liberty, humanity and the truths of religion:—in a word, to aid in carrying on a grand MORAL EXPERIMENT, the meliorating effects of which, upon the slave system, the slave trade and the African race, may, with truth, be deemed incalculable.

H. T. T.

[Colonizationist.]

From the Huntsville (Ala.) Democrat.

COLONIZATION OF THE FREE COLORED PEOPLE.

Examination of the Objection of the Abolitionists, continued.

NO. VII.

I know it may be said, as well by the considerate friend of human liberty and happiness, as by the most reckless abolitionist, that no comparison can justly be instituted between evils, where one is transient—the other ever-during; and that the evil of a settled, perpetuating system, by which a large and increasing number of our race are, through all ages, to be debased of rights declared to be indestructible, is greater than any evil affecting the general welfare, to be produced by their liberation among us—because, how long soever it may be in its duration, it is still continually tending to its termination. We think it by no means improbable that, in this opinion, the calm and dispassionate in the South would concur with the proposer. "But," says the impatient abolitionist, "how is this? Of what value is a concurrence like this, when you are making no effort for the removal of the evil? Of what use is it to admit, that the evil of a settled system by which slavery is to be perpetuated, is the greatest that can affect the general welfare, whilst you reject abolition, the only plan by which the evil can be removed, and are yet doing nothing in this matter?" But stop, sir; we will answer you by saying—and we do it without intending offence, but rather in charitableness of judgment—that your lack of knowledge on this part of the subject is the salient point of nearly all the errors into which you have been precipitated. For your correction, visit the South; inquire of the candid and intelligent—we have many such—what was the condition of slaves 30, 20, 10 years ago? what of public sentiment upon slavery in the abstract? and see, for yourself, the care and kindness with which our menial servants are treated—the regular and abundant provision made for their wants and comfort—the meliorated condition of the field hands—the superiority of their present comforts to the much lower state of them a few years since—hear the reproach and the expression of indignant feeling with which a stint of food, insufficient clothing, or any species of divulged inhumanity, on the part of a master to his slave, is visited—witness the freedom with which the subject of slavery is discussed in ordinary conversation—the acknowledgment of the evil—the desire, every where expressed; to get rid of it, as soon as it can be done without the introduction of a greater evil—see those laws, deemed by dispassionate legislative judgment, necessary for the general good, wherever they bear with severity upon the black, neglected or set aside by the predominant power of public humanity—know these things—see in them the rapid march of that benevolence whose end is the concession of all right—be ashamed, and repent of the atrocious charges which you have trumpeted against us to the world for our moral condemnation.

Let us, for a moment, examine the real condition of the slave-holders of the South to see if we cannot find, in the difficulties by which they are surrounded, some relief against the accusation of abolitionists, that they are the wanton despisers of the rights of their fellow men. In doing this, we deem it unnecessary to revert to the introduction of slavery into our country. It aids us nothing, nor the cause of humanity, to throw the blame upon the mother country, which, in opposition to the numerous remonstrances of the colonies, kept open the African slave trade—or upon our forefathers, who yielded to the temptation thus held out to them—or upon our northern brethren, "whose hard soil could be cultivated only by the hands of freemen; and whose climate forbidding the introduction of slaves," sought their portion of the thrift, in waiting them for sale, to our more genial climes; all this will be of but little use, save it be the mischievous one to which it is too often employed, of keeping alive the spirit of crimination and injurious retort. This consideration is enough for us—we find ourselves, without being altogether accountable for it, in a state or condition, which it is desirable to change—surrounded by circumstances of a disagreeable nature, from which it is desirable to extricate ourselves, if in doing so, we be not brought into others that are still more disagreeable. How then, shall individual slaveholders—for it is individual example that must lead the way, that must agitate the mass—how shall they act, so as to bring about, most safely, this wished for consummation?

We will suppose one born in the south, to an inheritance of a plantation, and the number of slaves required for its cultivation: he comes into the world with these recognised and secured to him, by the laws of the country, as property. The same laws impose upon him duties necessary to the possession. Thus situated, he becomes uneasy under the operation of conscientious scruples, and is desirous of releasing himself from the relation of master, in which he stands to the slaves. If he act in obedience to moral or religious obligation, he should remember, that the happiness of the slaves, whose lot Providence seems to have connected, in some measure with his own, as well as justice to the community among whom he has been brought into being and educated, must enter into the account; and that, whilst he is seeking his own accommodation, he must answer all the claims which, with a good conscience, he is bound to respect.

The first suggestion that offers itself is, to sell his property, and remove to a country where the evil of slavery does not exist. But would not this be an abandonment of principle? Would he not, whilst carefully providing for his own repose, in all probability, be committing the happiness of his slaves to others, who would entertain no conscientious scruples in their treatment of them? And would he not—admitting slavery to be a vice in the social organization—

be doing something bordering upon injustice to the community he has left? For the quantum of evil which he found, remains undiminished by this procedure, whilst the amount of good feeling to mitigate it, and of ability to aid in its final removal, is lessened by the abstraction of himself from the country.

There is, however, another expedient, he will abandon the country where slavery is tolerated, leaving his slaves behind him to shift for themselves. Here he is met by many difficulties. 1st. In some of the slaveholding States, emancipation cannot be effected without special legislative permission. Although his slaves might be thus left, they would not be free. They would be liable to be taken up, imprisoned as vagrants or runaways, sold for the prison fees, and again consigned to full and complete slavery. 2dly. Even if they should be nominally free, they would not be free in fact. They would be exposed to every imposition and abuse from unfeeling whites, without any person to protect them. 3d. He is imposing upon society an evil, in the tolerance of which he himself is unwilling to participate. It is evident, by this course of conduct, that he is acting with a sole view to his own ease and convenience, whilst he is effecting nothing substantial for the removal or mitigation of slavery.

But it may be said, why not take his slaves with him to a free state? To this it may be replied, they are now, generally, excluded from the free states—especially those of the north-west—by laws enacted to prevent their introduction—or their settlement, and residence in them are clogged with conditions and liabilities, to which but few, even the most charitable owners, would be willing to subject themselves.

What then is to be done for one thus situated? Formerly, before the opening of the outlet to Liberia, nothing could well be done, but to treat them with kindness, as fellow creatures, upon the principles of the gospel, and make them as happy as a servile condition would warrant. Many, before this, were sent to the free states, to be tantalized with a nominal freedom—to undergo the contumely of a degraded caste, and the pinching severities of a northern climate. That this is the condition of slaves who have been manumitted, upon being transferred to the free States, is sufficiently well attested by that class in Ohio, and their colony in Canada.

But now, since the settlement of Liberia, the situation of him whose lot is cast as a slaveholder in the South, is greatly altered. If he desire to release himself from a relation which is continually arousing conscientious scruples; to silence that monitor whose searching and ceaseless whisper is "of one blood are all nations of men"—"whatsoever you would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them"—he may do so, without having to encounter any of the difficulties which heretofore lay in his way. In sending his slaves to Liberia, the laws of his own country are not weakened by evasion; there is, instead of injury done to the slaveholding community, by adding to the evil of a free black population, already great amongst them, a benefit conferred in the diminution of the number of slaves amongst us; and the subjects of his benevolence are placed in circumstances where there is no obstacle to the enjoyment by themselves and their descendants, of all that happiness which springs from industry, intelligence and virtue.

We have thus endeavoured, in our last four numbers, fairly to meet the objection made by many of our fellow-citizens of the South, who have not taken the trouble to make themselves acquainted with the origin and progress of the colonization cause, as well as that urged by the abolitionist of the North. We feel,—however unsuccessful may have been the attempt—that it has been made candidly and impartially; with an honest desire to do justice to both; to place the truth before this community; and thus to bring together the virtuous, the dispassionate, the intelligent, wherever they may be found, in aid of the cause of colonization, as one in which mind and heart, patriotism, philanthropy and religion may unite in magnificent and noble harmony; thus contributing some effort, humble though it be, in destroying the central head of that Hydra, which, with bloody crest, has been well nigh crushing to death, in its horrid folds, the ripening manhood of our country.

In the conclusion of this part of our subject, permit us to assure the abolitionist—and we do it in the spirit of friendship for him, and with a desire for the happiness of man, as zealous it may be, though not so furious as his; that here, on the theatre of that action which he would excite, he is doing his cause an injury whose extent he cannot measure. If he were here amongst us—possessing an identity of interest with those whom he addresses—whilst his intemperance might bring him into personal embarrassments, yet his arguments would be listened to with a more friendly feeling. But, as he is—in a distant part of our country—necessarily ignorant, in a great measure, of our condition—striving, not so much to convince the master of his duty, as stirring up the slave to discontent, and exciting him to a breach of that command which says "be obedient to him who is your master"—an awful responsibility to assume; whilst he is acting thus, he may rest assured that he is fastening upon himself, the accusation upon which he has so confidently arraigned the Society, "of rivetting the chains of slavery more firmly"—that he is widening the distance between the master and the slave, and creating a mutual distrust, the natural consequence of which must be, the greater oppression of the feeble.

I know there are among us a large number of high-minded men, who can be nothing moved by what the most intemperate abolitionist may say—who mind it no more than the cracking of the chestnut in the farmer's fire—whose kind treatment of their slaves cannot be affected by another's indiscretion, and whose patriotic regard for any part of the country cannot be lessened, because it is *there* he has chosen his position, from whence to discharge his impotent thunders; yet, may he be certain, that his influence as far as it is felt at all in the South, is adverse to the humane treatment of the slave, and to the progress of that benevolence and wisdom, which, if properly led on, will, at length, enable every part of this enlightened land, to see, that, to

her greatest strength and highest happiness, slavery must, in the nature of things, be ever opposed—and to throw off the foul clog by which she has been encumbered, as the leader of the nations in their march to freedom.

J. G. BIRNEY,

Agent of the American Colonization Society.

MISSIONS.

From the American Quarterly Register.

WESTERN AFRICA.

The principal missionary establishments on the western coast are within the territory of the British colony of Sierra Leone, and under the charge of the Church Missionary Society. They were commenced about sixteen years since. Freetown, the capital of the colony, on the south side of the river Sierra Leone, seven miles above its entrance into the Atlantic ocean, is the seat of the mission. Branches are established at Fourah bay, Kiney, four miles from Freetown, Wellington seven miles, Hastings thirteen, Gloucester four, Regent six, and Bathurst seven. The last three are in the mountain district, lying south and southeast of Freetown; the three preceding are in the river district, east of Freetown. On the first of January, 1833, the average attendance on public worship at all the stations was about 2,300 in the morning, and 1,600 in the evening, communicants 690, candidates for communion 332, day scholars 1,637, evening 282, Sabbath 1,080, total scholars 2,999. At Fourah bay is a seminary, called the Christian Institution, containing 14 scholars. Its design is to prepare native teachers and assistants. The conduct of most of the communicants is reported to be consistent with their profession. Some have been excluded for Sabbath breaking, adultery, and other sins. One of the missionaries has been separated from the society, in consequence of his openly falling into sin. It appears that the worship of idols is not yet entirely eradicated from among the liberated Africans. The want of laborers is a painful obstacle. The climate is such as frequently to prove fatal to a European constitution.

The Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society established a mission at Freetown in 1814. There are now five outstations. The meetings at the chapels are generally well attended. The same society have missions at Bathurst, a town on St. Mary's island, at the mouth of the Gambia, and at M'Carthy island, about 300 miles up the Gambia. The first was established in 1821, the last in 1832. M'Carthy island is considered as very well adapted for a missionary settlement. The Gambia is navigable about 400 miles, and enters the ocean in north latitude 14 deg. 23 min., about 6 deg. north of Sierra Leone.

Going down the coast about two degrees from Sierra Leone, we come to the American colony of Liberia. The Baptist mission at the colony has been relinquished. A free school for the benefit of recaptured Africans has been for several weeks in successful operation under the care of the Rev. James Eden. Mr. Savage is making arrangements to establish a manual labor school at Millsburg. There were previously five schools in operation. Sufficient attention has not, in our opinion, been paid to this point, by the managers of the Colonization Society. It is of fundamental importance. We are sorry to say, also, that a portion of the colonists, including some of the most respectable persons, are engaged in the traffic in ardent spirits. We are aware that it is said that no treaties could be made with the natives, and scarcely any intercourse carried on, without the assistance of ardent spirits. But has a full experiment been made? Is it perfectly clear, that it is *morally right* to make use of ardent spirits in any such way? Can the natives be induced to give up the expectation of receiving ardent spirits in barter, *gradually*? Ought not decisive and uncompromising ground to be taken at once? Would not really useful articles, if double or treble in value, be received in lieu of spirits?

Three American Missionary Societies, the Western Foreign Missionary, the Methodist Missionary, and the American Board, will establish missions on the western coast, probably in the vicinity of cape Montserado, or cape Palmas, in the course of two or three months.

The German Missionary Society established at Basle, in Switzerland, have an establishment at *Ussa*, a negro village, near the Danish fort Christianburg, on the Gold coast. This mission commenced in 1825, is about one degree south of Liberia. The Gold coast has long been visited for the gold dust and slaves, which it furnishes. The forts and counting houses belonging to Europeans in this quarter are about 40 in number.

The following are the names, stations, &c. of the different missionaries on the western coast. We do not give the assistants:—

John G. Wilhelm, Freetown,	Ch. Miss.	— Moister,	St. Mary's Isl.	Wes. Miss.
John Raban, do.	do	John B. Pinney, Not stationed,		West F. M.
G. W. E. Metzger, River Dist.	do.	John Cloud, do.		do.
John Gerber, do.	do.	— Laird, do.		do.
W. K. Betts, Mountain Dist.	do.	John L. Wilson, do.		A. B. C. F. M.
G. A. Kissling, Not stationed,	do.	S. O. Wright, do.		Meth. Miss.
J. F. Schon, do.	do.	— Spaulding, do.		do.

Considerable interest is now felt in the project in which the Landers are engaged, of establishing settlements, and promoting commercial intercourse in the interior of western Af-

rica. Mr. Lander left the steam-boats on the 14th of April last, about 400 miles up the Niger, opposite the lake Tschad, and proceeded to Fernando Po on the coast, to procure necessities, &c. During the first month after the expedition left the coast, not less than 20 deaths occurred, in consequence of the fever which was caught on the coast. In every other respect the expedition has been successful. Great confidence is expressed of the final accomplishment of the commercial objects of the expedition. The natives had received it in the most friendly manner. It is intended to form a settlement at Patashie, a large island in the Niger, one day's journey below Boosa.

"Africa," remarks Mr. Douglas of Cavers, "is still more helpless than Asia, and farther removed from all influences of good. Preparations, however, are already begun for a renovating change of that unhappy continent. The liberated blacks are beginning to return, with the seeds of knowledge, and the rudiments of the true religion; and America will soon send them forth in great numbers, and spread them over those shores which are opposite to the new world."

SOUTH AFRICA.

"If the sight of the wild boy in the wood learning his letters be, according to Dr. Chalmers, the most sublime spectacle on earth, what heart can be insensible to the grandeur of those effects, which are likely to arise from the introduction of a printing press, schools, the circulation of the Scriptures, literature, and science, among the hitherto barbarous tribes in the interior of South Africa?" The efforts for the benefit of South Africa may be considered under four divisions—Cape Town, the Hottentots, Caffres, and the more distant tribes.

Cape Town is a well built place; and is said to contain 22,000 white and colored inhabitants. The places of worship belong to the Calvinists, Lutherans, and Roman Catholics. A chapel is connected with the London Missionary Society. An English Episcopal church is building. The Mohammedan priests are said to be very zealous in making proselytes.—The inhabitants prefer servants of this religion on account of their sober habits, drunkenness being said to prevail greatly among other sects. A philanthropic society is established for the emancipation of deserving slaves. They have already emancipated 100 slave girls, and given them a good education. A Temperance Society has numerous members. New lending-libraries are forming, and others are enlarging. In two schools in Cape Town, and 24 elsewhere, belonging to the 'Bible and School Commission,' there are 1,267 scholars. In Cape Town, there are 12 private schools for boys and 10 for girls. Two schools of industry have 140 scholars, an infant school 60; a grammar school, begun in 1824, is supported by government. A college, commenced in 1829, supports itself, and is the first institution in the colony, which has rendered it unnecessary to send children to Europe for education, and will be the means of raising many competent teachers for the district schools. The Dutch inhabitants have a school preparatory for the college, with 180 scholars. Rev. John Philip, D. D. superintendent of the missions of the London society, has morning and evening service on the Sabbath, a Bible class, Sunday school, &c. The Wesleyans employ at the cape, and the surrounding districts, Messrs. Barnabas Shaw, James Cameron, and E. Cook. In Cape Town and the adjoining country, there are 50,000 Mohammedans and Pagans.

Hottentots. Among this people, the Brethren have five stations, Groenekloof, Gnadenthal, Hemel-en Aarde, Elim, and Enon. Groenekloof is 40 miles north of Cape Town, and has 563 inhabitants. The mission premises are surrounded by a wall, and the church and other buildings are stuccoed. Gnadenthal is 130 miles north-east of Cape Town. So abundant are the vegetable productions, that it is called 'a place of fruits.' The settlement contains 1,319 persons. The communicants are 605, baptized children 391. The day scholars are 300, and the infant school 120. "Nothing can exceed the delight of the Hottentots at the unexpected present of an organ for the church. Many of them melt into tears when it is played." Hemel-en Aarde is a hospital for the relief of lepers. The communicants are 38. As the malady is not contagious, the institution will probably be given up. Elim is 180 miles from the cape—it has 200 inhabitants. Enon is on the White river, near Algoa bay, about nine days' journey from Gnadenthal. The White river flows close to the settlement. Communicants 123, scholars 125.

The London Society has missions at Bosjesveld, 40 miles north of the cape, at Paarl, 35 miles north-east, at Tulbagh, 75 miles north-east, at Caledon, 120 miles east, at Pacaltsdorp, 145 miles east, at Hankey, not far distant from the last named town, at Bethelsdorp, 450 miles east of the cape, and Uitenhage an outstation, at Theopolis, 550 miles east, at Grahamstown, Graaf Reinet, and Cat river. The number of communicants at all these stations is about 500. Temperance societies are formed at most of them. "Intemperance has hitherto been one of the chief means, by which Satan has maintained his sway. No one can reflect on the almost universal custom in our villages, of paying for occasional services with nothing but brandy, without horror." The Wesleyans have stations in the Albany district, in the eastern part of the colony, comprehending Grahamstown, Salem, Somerset, and other stations. The congregations on the Sabbath are large and attentive. The French protestants have a mission at Wagenmaker valley, the resort of 600 or 700 slaves, 10 of whom have been baptized; and the Rhenish Society another station at New Wupperthal, near the Cedar mountains, five days' journey north of Cape Town. "In a little valley surrounded by huge rocks, which seem to shut it out from the whole world, the missionary Von Wurmb, and his wife, with his associate Leipoldt, fixed themselves at the beginning of 1830, having purchased the land for about 11,000 francs. The Rhenish Society have also a mission at Stellenbosch."

Caffres. Caffreland is a large tract of country, bounded on the south by the great Fish river, on the east by the ocean, on the north by the tribes called Tambookies and Mamboo-

kies, while its interior boundaries are less accurately known. It is about 250 miles in length, and perhaps nearly 200 in breadth. It is a land of hills and valleys much better watered than most countries of Southern Africa, and might be rendered very productive by agriculture. It is almost entirely pasturage, and cattle are the riches of the natives. The chief support of the people is milk. The mode of living and government are patriarchal. They are divided into tribes, and every tribe is divided into families, much after the manner of the Jews in the times of Joshua. They may be said to be without any religion, true or false. There is no idol, nor any worshipper of idols or of demons, throughout the whole country; no sacred rivers, nor venerated groves, nor consecrated stones. "The chiefs and influential men are foremost in every species of wickedness; they do not appear to possess anything like a moral sense. Wholly unrestrained by the influence of the Holy Spirit, they are left to the corruptions of their own hearts, unchecked by the thoughts of judgment to come, or even by the lowest standard of conventional morality. The land is literally held in bondage by a set of men and women, who are called *doctors*; but who may, with the greatest propriety, be called the children of the devil, and enemies of all righteousness. They live in the daily practice of the greatest sins. Lying and adultery fill the land. Murder is very common." Notwithstanding, the prospect of ultimate success in missionary labors among the Caffre nation generally, becomes every year more encouraging.

The London Society have one station at Buffalo river. The congregations are 200 in number. The Wesleyans have a number of stations, Wesleyville, in Pato's tribe, containing 7,000 or 8,000 population; Mount Coke, in Isimbie's tribe; Morley on the Umtata river, in Dapa's tribe; Butterworth in Hintza's tribe; a station in Vossanie's tribe, and another in Faku's tribe. The number of members in society, probably amounts to about 150 or 200, at all these stations. "The advance in civilization and the comforts of life, as well as in spiritual knowledge and happiness, which has been effected in the course of a few years among a previously neglected people, cannot be contemplated without delight by any Christian mind." The Glasgow missionaries, whose stations are at Chumie, Lovedale, and Balfour, are diligently employed in the translation of the Scriptures. There are British missionaries laboring among the Caffre tribes at eleven stations. At all these stations, schools have been established, and a number of adults and children are able to read. A considerable part of the Bible has been translated into the Caffre language.

Missions in other tribes.—These are the Bosjesmans, or Bushmen, Bechuanas, Griquas, Corannas, Namaquas, Baharootzees, Tambookies, Mambookies, &c. The station among the Bosjesmans, is east of Phillippolis, three miles from the Orange river and five from the Caledon river. The Bushmen are the descendants of the Hottentots, who escaped from British and Dutch tyranny. Lattakoo, the principal town of the Bechuanas, is 630 miles north-east of Cape Town. The London Society and the French protestants have ten or eleven missionaries in this quarter. A part of the French missionaries are about to commence a station among the Baharootzees, a tribe of Bechuanas, 200 miles north-east of Lattakoo. The London Society have missions at Griquatown, Campbell, and Phillippolis, among the Griquas, Corannas, &c. The communicants are 60 or 70. In Little Namaqualand, about 22 days' journey from the cape, near the Khamiesberg river, the London Society have missions at Komaggas, and the Wesleyans at Lily Fountain. The Brethren are evangelizing the Tambookies and Mambookies, tribes which reside on the Klipplaat river. The following is the general summary:—

<i>Missionaries.</i>	<i>Station.</i>	<i>Dist. from C. Town.</i>	<i>Society.</i>
John Philip, D. D.	Cape Town,		London.
B. Shaw,	do.		Wesleyan.
J. Cameron,	do.		do.
E. Cook,	do.		do.
— Clemens,	Groenekloof,	40	Brethren.
— Lehman,	do.		do.
— Meyer,	do.		do.
— Hallbeck,	do.		do.
— Luttring,	Groenekloof,		Brethren.
— Schopman,	do.		do.
— Stein,	do.		do.
— Sonderman,	do.		do.
C. Kramer,	Bosjesveld,	40	London.
W. Elliott,	Pearl,	35	do.
Arie Vos,	Talbagh,	75	do.
G. A. Zahn,	do.		Rhenish.
Henry Helm,	Caledon,	111	London.
J. Tietze,	Hemel-en Aarde,		Brethren.
W. Anderson,	Pacaltsdorp,	245	London.
J. Kitchingman,	Hankey,		do.
Adam Robson,	Bethelsdorp,	450	do.
J. G. Messer,	Uitenhage,	450	do.
G. Barker,	Theopolis,	550	do.
C. Sass,	do.		do.
John Monro,	Grahamstown,		do.
W. Shaw,	Albany District,		Wesleyan.
S. Palmer,	do.		do.

<i>Missionaries.</i>	<i>Station.</i>	<i>Dist. from C. Town.</i>	<i>Society.</i>
Samuel Young,	Wesleyville,		Wesleyan.
— Teutsch,	Elim,		Brethren.
— Nauhass,	do.		do.
— Lemertz,	Enon,		do.
— Hornig,	do.		do.
— Genth,	do.		do.
— Halter,	Shiloh,		do.
— Hoffman,	do.		do.
— Fritsch,	do.		do.
A. Van der Linge,	Graaf Reinet,		London.
John Read,	Cat River,		do.
John Brownlee,	Buffalo River,		do.
G. F. Kayser,	do.		do.
Peter Wright,	Griquatown,	580	do.
G. A. Kolbe,	Phillippolis,		do.
James Clark,	Bosjesmans,	125	do.
Robert Moffat,	Lattakoo,	630	do.
John Baillie,	do.		do.
Prosper Lemue,	do.		French Prot.
J. Rolland,	do.		do.
G. P. Pellissier,	do.		do.
Eugene Casalis,	Bechuanas,		do.
Theobald Von Wurmb,	New Wupperthal,	100	Rhenish.
John Leipoldt,	do.		do.
J. G. Knab,	do.		do.
Edward Edwards,	Lily Fountain,		Wesleyan.
W. Shepstone,	Morley,		do.
W. J. Shrewsbury,	Mount Coke,		do.
— Luckoff,	Stellenbosch,		Rhenish.
Gerard Terlinden,	do.		do.
John H. Schmelen,	Komaggas,		London.
— Thomson,	Chumie,		Glasgow.
— Weir,	do.		do.
— Ross,	Lovedale,		do.
— Bennie,	do.		do.

EASTERN AFRICA.

The American Board of Missions propose to establish a mission among the Zoolahs,— a populous tribe of Africans, on the eastern coast between Port Natal and De la Goa Bay.— This bay is in 25 deg. 58 min. south lat., about 4 deg. north of Port Natal, and 9 deg. north of the cape of Good Hope. The bay is large and beautiful, and its borders fertile. An establishment on this bay, might export great quantities of ivory. The rivers Mafumo and Maquinis, or St. Esprit, which there empty themselves, have not been explored by any modern traveller. The country immediately north of the bay is called Inhambane, which extends as far as cape Corrientes, where a fort, built by the Portuguese, points out the southern limits of the territories claimed by this nation. Dr. Philip represents the field as one of great promise, and states that the societies now in operation in South Africa cannot occupy it efficiently. American ships sometimes touch at Port Natal, and any ships passing to the eastward of Good Hope, might easily land missionaries.

AFRICAN ISLANDS.

Mauritius has 80,000 inhabitants, chiefly blacks. A mission was commenced in 1814, by the London Society. John Le Brun is the missionary. Considerable improvement has taken place in the mission. The Sunday school for slaves at Port Louis, has 70 children.

The inhabitants of Madagascar amount to 4,000,000. The principal station is Tananarivo. The London Society commenced a mission in 1818, and renewed it in 1820. The laborers are David Griffiths, David Johns, T. Atkinson, John Canham, and J. J. Freeman. Schools about 60, scholars 6,000. The queen, by an order of May 22, 1831, gave the missionaries liberty to preach, and her subjects permission to act according to their convictions. Two native churches have been formed, containing together 100 communicants. The press has issued in Mallagasse, 3,000 copies of the New Testament, 800 copies of the Old, as far as to the first book of Samuel, and about 9,000 copies of particular books. The demand for the Scriptures has been so great, that not more than one in twenty, who petitioned for a copy, has been supplied. The Testament has been read in nearly 100 schools. When the natives went to the wars, in 1830, 400 or 500 miles distant, not less than 50 *believers*, as they were scornfully termed, carried their Testaments, and by means of them were enabled to keep up prayer and other meetings, by which many were brought to the knowledge of the truth, and hundreds to a general knowledge of Christianity. All the scholars, who have been in the schools previous to August, 1832, have been dismissed, on proof being given of their knowledge of reading and writing. They, with others previously dismissed, amount to 10,000 or 15,000, and all are anxious to possess themselves of any thing printed. About 6,000 new scholars have been put into the schools. Many voluntary inquirers learn to read in their own houses. The mission on the whole appears to be in a prosperous state. It is not so warmly patronized by the queen as it was by the late king, Radama.

INTELLIGENCE.

LIBERIA.

By the return of Dr. Mechlin, whose health has suffered severely in consequence of his exertion and exposure in the discharge of his duties, but who, we are glad to learn, is better, the Managers have been put in possession of valuable facts in relation to Liberia.

We regret to say, that the health of the settlers, particularly those who have recently arrived there, has suffered much during the year, and that many deaths have occurred. The season has been peculiarly unhealthy; and it will be recollected that both Dr. Todsén and Dr. Hall were absent when their services were greatly needed.—All the medical duties were thus thrown upon Dr. Mechlin, whose health was feeble, and who, in consequence of the scattered condition of the settlers, would have found it impossible to discharge them, even had all his other arduous concerns been neglected. It seems desirable that the Society should endeavour to send future emigrants to some distance in the interior; and we learn that a road might be opened, for 50 or 100 miles, at a small expense. It is thought also that Bassa is more favorable to health than Monrovia; and it is the opinion of Dr. Mechlin, that emigrants should, in future, be sent to the flourishing settlement commenced there, called Edina, in honor of the liberality of the citizens of Edinburgh.

The approaching Anniversary of the Society is looked to with much interest, and we are happy to know that many friends of the cause from a distance are expected to be present. Many great and important questions will doubtless be considered.

The following is an extract from a letter just received from one of the most influential and liberal friends of the Society in the State of New York.

"It has within a day or two occurred to me how we can make our next meeting worth more to us than all our previous anniversaries. We must pass a resolution at our next meeting, to subscribe \$50,000 to the funds of the Society, payable in five equal annual payments, and we must subscribe the sum *on the spot*. I will subscribe my share of it, or, if need be, double my share of it."

SOUTHERN LIBERALITY.

A gentleman of New Orleans has enclosed to us the following memorial, addressed to the Legislature of Louisiana, by one of the most wealthy and influential citizens of that State. The individual to whom we are indebted for this memorial, observes, "The slaves which he intends sending to Liberia, and of which the fifty children spoken of in the memorial are the offspring, are, I am told, the most valuable, for their number, in the State, being all mechanics and Creoles of the country; and would bring here, if sold, \$150,000."

To the Honorable the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana, in General Assembly convened:

The memorial of John McDonough, a citizen of the State, respectfully represents—That being the owner of some forty to fifty black children, male and female, of various ages, (the offspring of old and faithful servants) the greater part of whom have been born under his roof, and whom he intends sending with their parents in the course of a few years to Liberia, on the coast of Africa, as a reward for the meritorious conduct and faithful services of their fathers and mothers. But whereas, said children are now uneducated, and in a state of ignorance, (the laws of the State prohibiting owners of slaves from educating of them) your memorialist is therefore desirous, previous to his sending them to Africa, to have them instructed in the rudiments of an English education, that when, in the land of their fathers, they may be enabled to instruct their posterity in the knowledge of civilization and the arts of life, to make known to the heathen the gospel of Christ, and to say, for these, the greatest of earthly blessings, "we are indebted to the white man." He therefore prays, that an act may be passed by your honorable body, permitting him to educate such of his slaves as he may think proper, on his giving bond and security to the satisfaction of the Governor of the State, to send all such as he may so educate out of the State, within the period of three years from this date. Your memorialist trusts that your honorable body will see nothing objectionable in the passation of this law, but on the contrary, a strong and powerful inducement thereto, as it would no doubt be the means of showing to the slaves of the State in general, wherever it would become known to them, what they may expect from true and faithful services to their masters, and the reward that meritorious conduct always ensures. A law, therefore, in his favor, as above prayed for, could not, in the opinion of your memorialist, fail to produce a most excellent and salutary effect. And your memorialist will ever pray.

New Orleans, Dec. 9th, 1833.

AUXILIARY SOCIETIES.

A very respectable meeting of the citizens of Pittsburgh, (Penn.) was held on the 29th of December; at which Benjamin Bakewell presided, and Matthew B. Lowrie was Secretary. The Auxiliary Colonization Society, which had previously existed, but in a feeble state, was re-organized, and the following gentlemen chosen officers for the ensuing year:

President—Walter Forward, Esq.

Vice Presidents—Rev. Dr. Herron, Hon. Charles Shaler, Rev. Charles Avery, Hon. Judge Greer, Benjamin Bakewell, Esq.

Managers—William Graham, jr., R. Burke, Esq., John M'Kee, Stephen Colwell, Esq., M. Allen, Rev. J. W. Blythe, Samuel P. Darling-ton.

Treasurer—James Wilson.

Secretary—Matthew B. Lowrie.

The meeting then adjourned *sine die*.

B. BAKEWELL, *President*.

M. B. LOWRIE, *Secretary*.

An able and interesting discussion took place on this occasion, in which Walter Forward, Esq., Hon. Judge Shaler, Hon. Judge Wilkeson, of Buffalo, N. Y. took a distinguished part.

The Rev. Isaac S. House, Agent of the St. Louis Colonization Society, Missouri, writes that he has been engaged since August last in promoting the interests of colonization in the State of Missouri. He says the good cause is gaining ground in the far west; and information is only needed to rouse into action the liberality of the whole valley. From his letter, we extract the following notice of Societies auxiliary to the Parent Institution:

Washington County Colonization Society.

James M. White, Esq., *President*; Rev. C. W. Allen, and Rev. P. Snedeker, *Vice Presidents*; Mason Frizelle, *Secretary*; John S. Brick, *Treasurer*; Henry Pease, John Brick, Israel McGrady, George Edgar, and James Glenn, *Managers*.

The New Madrid Colonization Society.

John Dunklin, *President*; Robert G. Watson, George G. Alford, *Vice Presidents*; Al'd. Detarodein, *Secretary*; Robert D. Dawson, *Treasurer*; Thos. Mosely, jr., Asahel Smith, H. P. Maulsby, Richard J. Waters, Richard Philips, *Managers*.

Amount received, \$50.

Benton, (Scott co.) Colonization Society.

Christopher G. Houts, *President*; Washington Orr, John Hall, *Vice Presidents*; Joseph Hunter, *Treasurer*; George C. Harbisan, *Secretary*; L. B. Lavalle, Thomas Houts, William Howell, R. J. Glascock, William Myers, *Managers*.

Caledonia Colonization Society, Washington co.

Rev. Thomas Donnell, *President*; Dr. Jas.

H. Relfe, Alexander S. Alexander, *Vice Presidents*; Thomas Bird, *Secretary*; T. R. Harris, *Treasurer*; Joseph McCormack, J. P. Alexander, George Masters, Alonzo P. Smith, J. C. Johnson, *Managers*.

Forty-eight members. Collected, \$31 98.

Cape Girardeau Colonization Society.

Hon. John D. Cooke, *President*; Rev. T. P. Green, Rev. Uriel Howe, Rev. John S. Cowan, Rev. James Hendricks, Benjamin Howell, Esq., *Vice Presidents*; G. W. Davis, *Secretary*; Gen. N. W. Watkins, *Treasurer*; Andrew Martin, Moses Block, Samuel B. M. Knight, Benjamin Baron, Ebenezer Sleun, Joseph R. McClain, Thomas Neale, George H. Scripps, John Judrun, Esq., Frank J. Allen, jr., Nathan Van Horn, *Managers*.

Amount subscribed, \$126 62. Collected, \$105 75.

EDITOR'S CORRESPONDENCE.

Extract from a letter from a distinguished Baptist clergyman in Illinois.

It is much to be regretted that our northern and eastern folks (in a few instances only, I hope) are getting so wild and crazy. They certainly know not what they are about. One thing is certain: whether the colonization scheme ever results in the removal of the blacks or not, it will effect an entire revolution in Kentucky, Tennessee and Missouri.—An acquaintance, pretty extensive, in these western regions for sixteen years, and of the movements and changes in the views and feelings of slave-holders, are more substantial arguments to me than all the declamation of a million of Garrisons and Denisons. Should I ever get a little "breathing place" from the pressure of various and onerous duties, I may give some sketches of the progress of correct and liberal views amongst the slave-holders within my observation; and to my certain knowledge, these changes have been produced by taking the colonization ground. The ultras of the South are right when they deprecate the Colonization project as far more mischievous to the perpetuation of slavery in the South, than that of the fiery abolitionists.

WESTERN RESERVE COLLEGE.

For what we said on this subject in our October number, we had the best authority. We are willing, however, to allow Mr. Green to give his own opinion in the case.

REV. MR. GURLEY—I wish to say, that the statements in the African Repository for Oct. 1833, with regard to the course pursued by the Faculty of the W. R. College, are adapted generally to make a wrong impression, and that the assertion, that a part of the Faculty were induced to ask for a dismissal from their place at the suggestion of the Trustees, that if they did not return to their appropriate duties, the Trustees must employ for their reformation or removal harsher measures, than they had already taken, is so far as I am concerned, utterly false.

BERIAH GREEN,
Pres. of the On. Ins.

Philadelphia, Dec. 6, 1833.

Amount forwarded by R. Voorhes, Esq. viz:—

Coll. by Rev. Geo. S. Woodhull, Middletown Point,	-	-	3	
"A friend," through J. C. Thompson,	-	-	3	
Inhabitants of Princeton, viz:—				
Capt. R. H. Stockton, \$50—J. Potter \$10,				
Dr. Miller \$10—J. VanDorin \$10—R. Voorhes \$10,				
Samuel Bazard \$10,			100	
Sundry others, \$5 each,			50	
Other sums,			27 75	
Fourth of July collection Princeton, N. J.,			22 34	206 09
Fourth of July collection at White House, N. J. Rev. Jacob J. Schultz,				4 00
Donations through Mrs. Page, viz:—				
Mrs. Page's deceased child,			81	
Miss Mary Marshall, Haphey Creek,			5	
Miss Susan do do			5	
Sunday school, Middletown,			7 25	18 06
Collection in Wickliffe ch. \$13 78—Berryville \$30—Others subscriptions \$8 82				52 60
Gerrit Smith, Esq. to defray expenses of Ephraim Tiller and wife, in settling in Liberia,				50 00
Donation from a lady in the District of Columbia,				10 00
Collections by Rev. Cyril Pearl, Agent, as follows, viz:				
A few individuals in Exeter, Maine,				5 38
Individuals in Frankfort, Maine,				4 95
A few individuals in Camden, Maine,				3 24
" " in East Thomaston, Maine,				3 77
Contribution at an evening lecture, Warren, Maine,				5 12
Contribution at a lecture in Union,				3 05
Contribution in Unitarian Society, Belfast, Rev. M. Trottingham,				11 34
" in Congregational Society, Belfast,				7 88
" in Methodist Society, do.				2 62
" in Baptist Society, do.				1 55
From David Blood, Jr. in Bucksport, Me.,				1 00
Two men in Thorndike, Me.,				50
Contribution in Dixmont, Me.,				6 45
" in Dixmont Mills, Me.,				2 68
" in China, Me.,				1 54
" in Methodist Society in Winthrop, Me.,				3 84
From three men in Bangor, per hands of Rev. Geo. E. Adams,				6 00
Contribution in Bapt. Society, Pittsfield, Mass., per hands of Rev. Mr. Beach,				10 50
Contribution in Congl. Soc'y, North Newton, Mass., Rev. Mr. Gilbert, Pastor,				20 30
Contribution in Unitarian Meeting-house, Hingham, Mass.,				21 37
Contribution in Bapt. Meeting-house, Hingham, Mass.,				3 82
A few persons in Quincy, Mass.,				2 41
" in Lynn, Mass.,				2 53
Contribution in Congl. Society, Stoneham, Mass., Rev. Mr. Colburn,				4 32
" in Bapt. Meeting-house, South Reading, a union meeting,				8 92
" in Congl. Meeting-house, Woburn, Mass.,				14 00
" at an evening lecture in the Town Hall, Concord, N. H.,				7 98
" in Conl. Soc. Canterbury, N. H. per hands of Rev. Wm. Patrick,				6 70
Rev. Amasa Jones in Shoreham, Vt.—Pay for African Repository,				2 00
Congl. Soc. Benson, Vt. to constitute Rev. Daniel D. Francis a life member,				30 50
From Gen. John Kellogg, Benson, Vt. to constitute himself a life member,				30 00
Dea. Fred'k. Button, Clarendon, Vt. for Repository, per hands of Rev. C. W.				2 00
From Joseph Anthony, Sherburn, Vt.,				50
Contribution in Congl. Soc. Agawam, Conn. Rev. R. Hase,				7 47
Cyril Pearl to constitute himself a life member,				30 00
Contribution in Congl. Soc., Braintree, Mass., Rev. Jonas Perkins, Pastor,				31 41
" at an evening lecture, Quincy, Mass.,				7 44
Supplying desk of Rev. F. S. Barstow, Keene, N. H. half a day,				5 00
Received for pamphlets sold—remarks on Colonization, &c.,				2 39
Contribution in Congl. Soc., Medford, Mass.,				28 78
For supplying the desk of Congl. Soc. in Medford one and a half days,				15 00
Contribution in First ch. Medford, Mass., Rev. M. Harlow, Unitarian,				14 30
Contribution in Conl. Soc. Hampton, N. H. per hands of Rev. Josiah Webster,				7 00
Contribution in Bapt. Meeting-house, Warren, Maine,				5 25
From a friend \$3 50; R. S. Prescott, Exeter, Me., \$1; J. Burke do \$1 50,				6 00
Two females of Exeter, Me. 37 cents—Lewis Everett, No. 4, Me. \$2,				2 37
Rev Thomas C. Upham, Brunswick, Me., third payt. on plan of G. Smith,				100 00
M. Greenwood, Portland, Me. towards life membership Rev. G. C. Beckwith,				5 00
Charles P. Ilsley, do do do				5 00
Eliphalet Greiley, Portland, Me., towards life membership of Rev. B. Tyler,				3 00
Levi Cutter, do do do				3 00
Eben. Steele, Portland, for African Repository, two years,				4 00

Contribution in Congl. Soc. Standish, Me. Rev. Thos. Tenney, Pastor,	5 55
in Congl. Soc. Gorham, Me. to make the Rev. Thad. Pomroy a life member,	30 80
Contribution at an evening lecture in Westbrook, Con. Soc. Rev. Mr. Jewett,	4 65
Contribution in 2d Congl. Soc. in Falmouth, Me.,	5 73
Contribution in Bapt. Soc. N. Yarmouth, Me. Rev. Jno. Butler, Pastor,	13 12
Contribution in 1st Congl. Soc. N. Yarmouth, Me. Rev. David Shepley, Pr.	18 53
Contribution in 2d Congl. Soc. N. Yarmouth, Me. Rev. Caleb Hobart, Pr.	10 71
Phineas Barnes, Portland, Me. for African Repository 3 years,	6 00
Con. in 2d ch. Biddeford, Me.	3 45
Con. in Congl. Soc. Cumberland, Me. Rev. Isaac Weston, Pastor,	9 16
Con. in Congl. Soc. Cape Elizabeth, Me. Rev. J. G. Merrill,	3 33
Third Parish, Portland, Me. towards life membership of Rev. Wm. T. Dwight,	10 00
Third Parish, Portland, contribution—ten dollars of it towards life membership of Rev. Wm. T. Dwight,	12 02
Con. High St. ch. Portland; \$20 of it to complete life membership of Rev. Geo. C. Beckwith,	22 46
Con. 2d Parish, Portland; \$24 of it to complete life membership of Rev. Ben-net Tyler,	37 12
From individuals to complete life membership of Rev. Wm. T. Dwight, per hand of Erastus Hayes,	10 00
Contribution in Congl. Soc. Turner, Me. Rev. Mr. Greeley, Pastor,	2 10
Congl. Soc. in New Gloucester, Rev. Benjamin Rice, Pastor,	5 85
Con. in Congl. Soc. North Edgecomb, Rev. D. Kendrick, Pastor,	7 00
Con. in Congl. Soc. Brunswick, Me. Rev. Geo. E. Adams, Pastor,	25 00
Con. in Bapt. Meeting-house, Hallowell, Me. union meeting,	11 18
Con. in Old Court House, Augusta, Me. do	12 10
Con. in Trinitarian Soc. Castine, Me. Rev. Wooster Parke, Pastor,	34 65
Con. in Congl. Soc. Bucksport, Me. Rev. Mighill Blood, Pastor,	15 65
Con. in Congl. Soc. Thomaston, Me. Rev. Richard Woodhull,	4 75
From Congl. Soc. Bangor, Me. Rev. S. L. Pomroy, Pastor, as follows: contrn.	27 00
Dr. Joshua P. Dunkinson \$5; Mrs. Abbey \$1; Geo. A. Thatcher \$5; total	11 00
Rich'd. Thruston \$2; Thos. A. Hill, Esq. \$5; Jas. Crosby \$5; total	12 00
Levi Cram \$3; do for Af. Rep'y. \$2; Dr. Josiah Deane, \$5; total	10 00
P. H. Coombs \$5; Samuel P. Dutton \$5; Samuel Smith \$5; total	15 00
John Pearson \$2; also for Af. Rep'y. \$2; Philip Coombs \$5; total	9 00
Edmund Dole \$3; Geo. W. Pickering in pay for Af. Rep'y. \$5; total	8 00
Asa Davis \$3; a Friend \$5,	8 00
Mrs. Morton, Lubec, Me. avails of gold beads,	2 92
Con. in Congl. Soc. Orono, Me. Rev. Josiah Fisher, Pastor,	5 88

Total of receipts by Rev. Mr. Pearl, \$945 83

Total amt. 19,439 42

Contributions for the A. C. S. acknowledged by R. S. Finley, Agent of the New York City Colonization Society.

Fourth of July collection by Rev. Jas. Bookstoner, Montgomery, Orange co. per V. Van Dewater,	7 00
Received by Messrs. B. Waugh and E. Mason, the sum of \$84 40, from the following sources, viz:—Rev. A. Goff, Ohio,	1 00
Fourth of July collection, Rev. John R. Laurens, Otsego co. N. Y.	12 21
Bridgeport, Conn.	25 00
Thatford, do	8 50
Fourth July coll. Rev. D. Stevens, Swanton, Vt.	4 50
A lady in Bladensburg, Md. by Rev. R. Brown,	2 00
A friend of Amherst co. Va. by Rev. J. Soule,	5 00
Mr. Cross Scouger, by Rev. S. Gilleland,	5 00
A youth in the country,	5 00
A female friend, Amherst Circuit, by Rev. J. Soule,	5 08
Rev. B. J. Mathias, Courtlandt, Conn.	5 02
Rev. H. Hatfield, Bedford, Connecticut,	3 18
Rev. H. O. Sheldon of Pittsburg Conf.	3 96

deduct postage 97

\$84 40

Mr. Barnard, Chautauque county, New York,	5 75
Rev. Dr. Proudfit, Salem, New York,	35 00
Rev. Alexander Scott, Chazy, Clinton county, New York,	8 00
H. N. Peck, 128 Front street, New York, Sabb. school collection,	4 00

THE
AFRICAN REPOSITORY,
AND
COLONIAL JOURNAL.

VOL. IX. FEBRUARY, 1834. No. 12.

PROCEEDINGS AT THE SEVENTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

THE Seventeenth Annual Meeting of this Institution was held in the Hall of the House of Representatives, on Monday, the 20th of January, at 7 o'clock, P. M. in the presence of a large assembly of visitors.

The Hon. JOHN CARLISLE HERBERT, one of the Vice-Presidents, took the Chair.

The Rev. R. R. GURLEY, Secretary of the Society, read the names of the following gentlemen, as Delegates from the various Auxiliary Societies throughout the Union:—

From the State Society of New Hampshire.—HON. SAMUEL BELL.

From the Vermont State Society.—HON. BENJAMIN SWIFT, HON. WILLIAM SLADE.

From the Franklin County Society of Massachusetts.—HON. GEO. GRENNELL.

From the Connecticut State Society.—HON. GIDEON TOMLINSON, HON. NATHAN SMITH, HON. NOYES BARBER, HON. WM. W. ELLSWORTH, HON. SAMUEL A. FOOT, HON. JABEZ W. HUNTINGTON, HON. SAMUEL TWEEDY, HON. EBENEZER YOUNG, REV. LEONARD BACON, SETH TERRY, Esq. H. WHITE, Esq.

From the New York State Society.—HON. BENJAMIN F. BUTLER, HON. N. P. TALLMADGE, HON. CH. McVEAN, HON. DANIEL WARDWELL, GERRIT SMITH, Esq. DAVID BUSH, Esq. REV. CORTLANDT VAN RENSSELAER, PHILIP VAN RENSSELAER, Esq. SAMUEL WARD, Esq. E. JENKINS, Esq. JOHN T. NOBTON, Esq.

From the New York City Society.—REV. GARDINER SPRING, D. D. JAMES STRONG, Esq. C. W. LAWRENCE, Esq. SILAS BROWN, Esq. G. P. DISOSWAY, Esq. ROBERT S. FINLEY, Esq. JOHN DUER, Esq.

From the New Jersey Colonization Society.—HON. SAMUEL L. SOUTHARD.

From the Newark (N. J.) Colonization Society.—HON. THEODORE FRELINGHUYSEN.

From the Pennsylvania State Society.—ELLIOTT CRESSON, Esq. GEORGE W. BLIGHT, Esq. JAMES BAYARD, Esq. WILLIAM H. DILLINGHAM, Esq.

HON. HENRY KING, HON. HARMAR DENNY, HON. T. M. MCKENNAN, HON. SAMUEL MCKEAN.

From the Wilmington (Del.) Union Society.—HON. ARNOLD NAUDAIN.

From the Virginia State Society.—Chief Justice MARSHALL.

From the Society of Canfield, Trumbull County, Ohio.—HON. ELISHA WHITTLESEY.

From the Columbiana Society, New Lisbon, Ohio.—HON. JOHN THOMSON, A. LOOMES, Esq.

From the Washington City (D. C.) Society.—MATTHEW B. CLARK, CLARKE, Esq. DR. THOMAS SEWALL, DR. THOMAS P. JONES, ZACCHEUS C. LEE, Esq. JOSIAH F. POLK, Esq.

From the Georgetown (D. C.) Society.—DR. JOHN LITTLE, ALBERT JONES, Esq. ROBERT P. DUNLOP, Esq.

From the Alexandria (D. C.) Society.—ROBERT JAMIESON, Esq. REV. ELIAS HARRISON, WILLIAM GREGORY, Esq. HUGH C. SMITH, Esq.

The Right Reverend WM. MEADE, D. D. Assistant Bishop of Va., the Rev. W. ATKINSON, of Petersburg, Va. and many other Life Members of the Society, from various parts of the Union, attended.

The Secretary stated, that, in consequence of suggestions from some distinguished members of the Society, and in order to leave as much time as could be left for the addresses which were expected, he should, in reading the Report of the Board of Managers for the last year, omit some of the least material portions of it. No objection being made to this course, the Secretary read the Report, with the exception of those portions.

On motion of the Hon. Mr. WHITTLESEY, from Ohio, it was unanimously

Resolved, That the Report be accepted, and be printed for the use of the Society.

MR. FINLEY of New York, then addressed the Society as follows:—

He said, the colony has already done much to arrest the tide of intemperance, which for 200 years has been rolling over Africa like a flood. The traffic in ardent spirit is a greater crime than the slave trade, because it supports the slave trade. He had seen the instructions of a slave trader to his agent, who was going to Africa. They were concise but efficacious for his purpose. He was to distribute freely, brandy, gunpowder, and fire arms.—This system the colony had done much to break up. Twelve years ago, not less than 5000 slaves were annually carried from what is now the territory of the colony. Now for 100 miles along the coast, a slaver dare not unfold his canvass. In the colony itself, the people have outstripped the most moral portions of this country, in the progress of temperance.

Still, the Board are not satisfied, but propose to make the reform complete. They have instructed their agents, in collecting emigrants, to form them into temperance societies. The New York Colonization Society propose to form a settlement on temperance principles, where they will permit none to go, who are not pledged to total abstinence, and whose moral character does not furnish a security that their pledge will be kept. A resolution is also under consideration in the Board, to prohibit the sale entirely in the colony, after the first of July next. And the only reason why they delay to pass it is, that they are not fully satisfied whether it will be effectual, for laws are of no avail unless sustained by public opinion. But they believe the temperance cause has made such progress, that the time is not far distant when such a resolution will be effectual. There are but three intemperate men in Liberia; and they are not intemperate to such a degree as to disqualify them for business. And it is the determination of the Board to press this subject, until not a single barrel of liquid damnation shall pollute the soil, sacred to liberty, to temperance, and to religion.

Mr. Finley, on concluding his speech, moved the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted:—

Resolved, That this meeting considers the use of ardent spirits, and traffic therein, as exceedingly injurious to the interests and influence of the Colony of Liberia; and that the Managers be instructed to form, as far as practicable, all future emigrants into Temperance Societies, and to found all future settlements on temperance principles; and to do all in their power to promote entire abstinence from ardent spirits, as an article of use and trade, among the present settlers.

The Right Reverend Bishop MEADE offered the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted:—

Resolved, As the sense of this meeting, that the character of this Institution, as decidedly benevolent towards the People of Color in this country as well as in Africa, should never be forgotten; and that the principles of the Christian religion should ever be (as it is believed they have been) deemed essential to a successful administration of its concerns.

Bishop MEADE's remarks in support of his resolution were as follows:—

The resolution which I hold in my hand refers to that holy and benevolent spirit in which this Institution originated, and by which only it can be sustained and enabled to accomplish the noble object for which it was founded.—My remarks will be brief, as I would not interfere with those who are now prepared to address, I doubt not eloquently, this large and enlightened meeting.

Surely if ever there was an occasion, in the history of this or any country, where remarks on the subject of benevolence were reasonable, this is the time—this the place. I know there are some who wear the human form, that form in which perfect benevolence once instructed us, who sicken at the mere name of benevolence and philanthropy: but such cannot have assembled here this evening. There is here nothing attractive to them. But shall we not deem this one of the proudest days, when the Representatives of the American people grant their hall to those convened here from every part of the Union, to consider an object upon which the Supreme Being smiles—for a purpose so noble as that aimed at by the American Colonization Society? The object of this Society is to meliorate the condition of a portion of our fellow-beings, bearing the image of the Creator—afflicted, degenerate, it is true; but highly gifted, capable of improvement, capable of intense suffering or highest joy.

One reason why benevolence is a virtue, why Benefactor is the highest title of honour, is that there exists such reason for benevolence. Man, who so suffers for his sins, most contributes to the misery of his fellow-man.—To no being is man so unkind as to his brethren. "Man's inhumanity to man makes countless thousands mourn." True there are hundreds of thousands who are glorious exceptions, who have hearts of love, who exercise themselves in schemes of beneficence. Does not this Society present a scheme of beneficence? Let us remember those who stand in near and dependant relations to us, and who have claims upon the best feelings of our hearts. We are conscious that we have not hearts of stone: yet many seem appalled by the great difficulties and embarrassments of this cause—they shrink from it as wild and fraught with danger. We attempt not to prove its practicability, as politicians are bound to do; we only advocate it as one to which benevolence owes much: and we ask, if the spirit of ambition, war and covetousness, has done so much, if desolation has overspread the fairest countries where the spirit of evil has walked abroad, cannot, shall not, the earnest spirit of benevolence, directed by holy religion, whose very soul is love, accomplish something in the cause of poor, suffering humanity? It has been said by some who think themselves wise, that as thunder, volcanoes, earthquakes, are necessary to purify the air, so wars and revolutions are necessary to rouse man, to call forth his energies and talents, or to sweep away a redundant population. The disasters and perplexities may be great, yet great nations survive the shocks. May we not ask, if the human race has sustained such calamities, if nations have not become

bankrupt by taxation for wars, may we not be permitted to hope that hereafter, in better times, the passions and energies of man may be roused in a nobler cause? And why should not the millions expended in wars be expended in a better cause, and all the feelings of our nature be directed to some nobler object? It is not for me to say how the great object of this Society is to be finally managed, whether by the General Government or by the State Governments. But, I ask, is it too much to hope, that, in better days, this great and wealthy nation of Christians will do something great in such a noble cause? If individuals of wealth and talents are responsible to God for a right use of them, must not nations be responsible also? Is not this nation, so rich in lands and men and money, deeply indebted to the Great King of Kings? Is it not indebted to the unhappy race, not amounting at present to hundreds, but millions, and indebted also to that unhappy country from which they or their ancestors were torn, and which now lies lacerated and bleeding at every pore? We are spending large sums for the benefit of the aborigines, and is it too much to hope that not only good policy, but national justice and humanity will urge forward the work which the Colonization Society proposes to the American people. I add but a single remark more, in which, I doubt not, all will concur! It is, that this is one of those excellent enterprises in which it is ten thousand times better, when undertaken, to fail, than to fail to undertake it. We owe it to conscience, to God, and to man, to go forward. We owe it to our children, our domestics, and posterity, to do all in our power for this cause, and to leave the result to an all-gracious Providence. But fail we cannot. We shall build Institutions of Freedom and Religion on the most abused coast on earth, and dispel all the darkness of Africa.

The Rev. ROBERT J. BRECKENRIDGE seconded the preceding resolution, and sustained it by an eloquent address, in which he maintained that the christian religion ought to govern the Society; that it was as proper that the Society should exert a moral influence to promote voluntary emancipation, as to induce free people of colour to emigrate; that the Society was most friendly to the slave-holding States, because it held in check the rash and dangerous schemes of immediate and unconditional abolition; that it was most benevolent to the free blacks, who must leave this country, or gradually perish from the land; and that the Colony itself stood an evidence that our conduct in their behalf, had been governed by the principles of Jesus Christ our Lord.—Several other topics were urged by this gentleman with his usual genius and ability.

GERRIT SMITH, Esq. of New York, observed—

He could not say how the Colonization Society stood at the South; but the fact is not to be concealed, that at the North, there has been, within the last year, some falling off in aution for it, and in contributing to its funds; unless indeed in those places where especial efforts have been made in its behalf.—The Society has been made, either by its own fault, or the fault of others, or partly by both, to appear to be friendly to slavery; or to say the least, the belief has of late obtained pretty rapidly at the North, that our Society is an obstacle in the way of emancipation, in the way of the precious cause of universal freedom. Now, to those who are acquainted with public sentiment at the North, it will be no news, that a Society cannot be popular there, which is suspected of keeping terms with slavery.

Whence, Sir, has this injury to the character of our Society come? Is the Anti-Slavery Society alone to be blamed for it? That Society has wronged us greatly, I admit? It has, unhappily, thought the destruction of our Society indispensable to the establishment of its own. The honesty with which it has thought so, I do not call in question. I believe that Society to be as honest as our own—as benevolent and as patriotic as our own. Its members love their fellow-men, and love their country, and love the union of the States, as sincerely

and as strongly as we do; and, much as is said to the contrary on this point, I have never seen a particle of evidence, that the Anti-Slavery Society meditates any interference with the provisions of the laws of the slave States on the subject of slavery. It alleges, and I have no doubt sincerely, that it is by moral influence alone, and mainly by the changes wrought by the application of truth to the conscience, that it seeks to compass its object. I wish I could commend its publications, as I can the motives of its members. Among its publications, are some admirable vindications of the rights of man, which cannot be scattered too widely and thickly, but no small proportion of them are ill-judged, rash, uncharitable and slanderous; and some of them cannot, in truth, be called less than incendiary.

I said that the Anti-Slavery Society had greatly wronged us. I believe that the wise and good among its members (and it comprises many such) are sensible of it. They have, to an undue extent, held our Society responsible for the speeches and acts of its individual members. They have, as it seems to me, with great unfairness, created a strong prejudice against our Society, by harping on the fact, that ardent spirit is sold in Liberia. My neighbours know that I am no friend to the rum traffic; and they, if no others, will attach some value to my declaration, that I have formerly, and now again since coming to the city, inquired into the measures adopted by our Board to promote temperance in Liberia, and can cheerfully say, that I approve of them. As to the attempt to suppress the traffic in ardent spirit in Liberia by law; this might, perhaps, be an expedient measure: but, surely, our countrymen should not denounce us for omitting this measure, until, at least some one of their own civil governments has set the example—the much needed example, I confess—of shutting up, by the strong arm of the law, the rum shops within its jurisdiction.

Some of the charges brought against us by members of the Anti-Slavery Society, and by the Society itself, make so ludicrously large draughts on the public credulity, that one can hardly notice them seriously. Such is the character of the charge, that 265,000 of those who are now slaves in this country, would have been free ere this time, had it not been for the influence which the Colonization Society exerts in favour of slavery. I need not detain you with the reasoning employed to substantiate this charge; for the reasoning which results in such a conclusion, cannot be very edifying. Another of their charges, that it requires the credulity of the Jew Apella to swallow, is, (I will repeat the precise language of the charge) that “all colonies on the African coast, of whatsoever description, must tend to support the slave trade.” Even Liberia, Sir, that we so fondly hoped was doing something towards abolishing this most nefarious of all traffics—yes, Sir, the most nefarious, whether it be carried on upon the benighted coast of Africa, or, with still deeper criminality, within our own enlightened and gospelized land—yes, even Liberia is, under the new light, which the Anti-Slavery Society sheds upon this subject, a mere convenience to the slave-trader, and but tends to support his horrid business. The erroneous reasoning by which our opponents arrive at this conclusion, if we throw it into a logical form, is this: “the slave dealer, in prosecuting his traffic, makes use of such articles as are found in shops in civilized towns. But there are such shops in Liberia; therefore Liberia tends to support the slave trade.” I have adverted to these charges, not to cast ridicule on the Anti-Slavery Society—for it is foreign from my disposition to do that—but to show that there is a spirit of defamation abroad against our Society, and that the public should therefore be slow to entertain accusations against it. It is evident, beyond dispute, that our opponents, in their eagerness to make out their case against us, and to make that case a strong one, suffer themselves to contrive, or at least to admit charges, which, as men of sense and candour they should be ashamed of and sorry for. But, Sir, this is not the character of all the charges preferred against us. I could wish, for our own sake, that it were. There are others, which we should make haste to plead guilty to, and to profit by, “*Fas est ab hoste doceri.*” The Anti-Slavery Society has told us some wholesome truths about ourselves; and I thank them for having done so.

I said in my opening remarks, that the belief is prevailing pretty rapidly at

the North, that our Society obstructs the dearly cherished cause of emancipation. I would that we had not given so much cause for the propagation of this belief. It is true that our Society is not an Anti-Slavery Society. Its Constitution, whatever some of its members may, in the capacity of its members, have unauthorisedly said or done, does not set up the slightest pretension to this character. It confines its regards to another class of persons than slaves: and they who denounce us for not favoring and promoting the emancipation of slaves, might just as well denounce the Bible or the Temperance Society, because they do not step out of their respective spheres of duty, to favor and promote the emancipation of slaves. But, on the other hand, we are not a Pro-Slavery Society; and we are not at liberty to give our countenance to the institution of slavery. If there are apologies for slavery, it is not for our Society to hunt them up. If there are efforts made for the abolition of slavery, it does not belong to our Society to oppose them. Our Society, by offering such apologies, and by opposing such efforts, has already cooled the ardor of many of its friends, and greatly multiplied its opponents. The objection to our Society is well taken, that, in some of its publications, it assumes the position that slavery in this country is to be opposed by indirect means only; and that in the Society—in itself alone, are these means to be found. This is no place for discussing the question, whether slavery is to be opposed in this manner only, or whether indeed it is to be opposed at all. But this is the proper place for saying, that our Society might as well abandon at once its expectation of continued support from the North, as to entertain the purpose of engrossing upon its own scheme, the whole sympathy of the country in behalf of slaves, and of making that scheme the substitute for every other movement respecting slavery. The North will no more bear to have this Society dictate the channel in which, and in which alone the compassion of its citizens for their colored brethren shall flow, than the South will bear to have the Society oppose the institution of slavery. We ask that the Society may adhere to its professed, its constitutional neutrality on this subject; and that, on the one hand, whilst it shall not denounce slavery, so, on the other, it shall not denounce any—not even the mildest forms of opposition to it. Such is, or rather such should be, the neutrality of our Society on the subject of slavery; that its members may be free, on the one hand, to be slaveholders; and on the other to join the Anti-Slavery Society without doing violence to their connexion with the Colonization Society.

But, Sir, I have another fault to find with our Society, and it is a just one. Our Society is extensively, lamentably deficient in love to that class of our coloured brethren whose condition it seeks to meliorate. These brethren number some four hundred thousand. They are scattered over our whole country. Every where the laws, the customs of society, the most unreasonable and guilty prejudices are arrayed against them. Every where they are persecuted and oppressed—as well at the North as at the South. It is the policy of my own State, as well as of other States, and its laws attest it, to keep this people vile; to withhold from them every inducement to well-doing; and, in short, to make their nominal freedom the most debasing and cruel mockery of real freedom. This is their present condition; and in this condition the American Colonization Society found them, when it was organized. It was in the pity, which this condition inspired, that I supposed the Society was formed. Surely such men, as Finley and Ashmun and Caldwell felt this pity—for nothing short of it could have moved them to give their names and their self-denying efforts to our cause. Now, Sir, what I complain of is, that we have not, as a Society, felt habitually and to the degree that we should have done, this pity for these unhappy fellow-creatures—these hundreds of thousands of free people of colour, who constitute the objects of the Society's regard. We have done something for them. Whilst I would be careful not to exaggerate the merit of our services for this people, I would be as careful not to say aught in derogation of that merit. Yes, we have done something for this wretched people, that will be remembered to our credit, when we and our traducers are in the grave. Liberia shall stand an enduring monument of the kindness of this Society to the man of colour, so long as the sun shall shine

on that endeared spot of earth—on that fountain, whence gladdening streams of intelligence and civilization and christianity are already beginning to flow out over unhappy Africa. But, Sir, we must greatly increase our love to the people for whom we have undertaken to provide a home: a home to which, I wish, from the bottom of my heart, they would all consent to go; but to which, the Constitution of our Society would not, nor would our interest nor our desires have them go, without their full and free consent. I am not amongst those who deny to our coloured brethren a perfect right to a home here; and I deeply regret that this right should ever have been questioned by any member of our Society. If suffering, and sorrow, and cruelly unrequited toil, can earn them a home in the country where they have endured that suffering and sorrow and toil; then is their title to a home here beyond dispute. Still, however, we think ourselves justified in entreating them, for the sake of their greater usefulness, and their own and our greater happiness, to separate from us. But let the separation take place in such a temper—with such forgiveness on their part, and such repentance and good works on ours, that our blessing can be on them, and their's on us, and the blessing of God Almighty on us both, in that separation. I said that we must greatly increase our love to this outcast people. Yes; we must convince them, as this greatly increased love would convince them, that our Society is maintained principally out of compassionate motives towards them. Let the members of our Society be prompted by a strong and engrossing desire to relieve their necessities and wretched condition, and their jealousy of us will cease, and we shall have their confidence; and then the free people of colour, instead of being, as they now are, almost unanimously against colonization, will be as unanimously for it. No wonder that this jealousy now exists, and their want of confidence in us. Our publications have given too much occasion for them. We have dwelt too much on the political and other advantages, that would accrue to our country—to the whites—from the removal of the free people of colour out of it. We have looked too much on this people as a "nuisance"; and we have been patient even with that most offensive view of our Society, which degrades it from its elevated and sacred objects into a mere "drain" for the escape of that "nuisance." We have, in short, suffered ourselves to be too much influenced by a selfish and calculating spirit: and the best feelings of our hearts have not been as steadily and as strongly exercised in this enterprise, as is consistent with and demanded by its benevolent and holy character.

Another fault I have to find with our Society, and when I have mentioned that, I will have done with this ungracious fault finding, and will take my seat.—The friends of this Society do not give money enough. There is a great deal of talking for our Society—but that is a cheap commodity. There is some praying for it—and that does not always cost much faith and fervour; but there is very little giving to it. The friends of this Society profess to believe, that it is to be the chief instrument under Providence for abolishing the slave trade; for raising up Africa from her moral death; for ridding the precious institutions of our country of the greatest dangers that threaten them; and for hastening on that happy, glorious day, when, within the borders of our whole beloved land, no chain shall be worn, but for crime only. Now, Sir, do we believe, that these priceless blessings will flow from the operations of our Society?—and can we leave these operations to a stinted measure, for lack of the money, which, even as calculators, we can so well afford to give, and which the strongest motives that patriotism and philanthropy and piety can inspire, urge us to give? If we give to the Society one-half of our estates, and its great object is thereby accomplished, the remaining half will be worth unspeakably more than would the whole of our treasure, with that great object left unaccomplished. Our Society is now languishing for want of means to execute its noble design of establishing those institutions in Liberia, which are necessary for the physical comfort and security, and for the intellectual and moral culture of its population. We want that the coloured man should be attracted to Liberia by advantages for his elevation there, equal to those enjoyed by the white man here;—create those advantages in Liberia (and money, under the common blessing of heaven, can create them) and the work of emigration thither will go on of itself, and our Society may then cease from its direct agency in promoting emigration. Sir,

we must give to our Society double, treble, quadruple what we have been accustomed to give to it: and now let us signalize our present meeting by an act which will testify more unequivocally than any words we can utter, to the strong sympathy of our Society, with the free people of colour; by an act that will do more than any of our words, to put our enemies to confusion, and to establish our Society more deeply and widely than ever in the public esteem. Let us, Sir, not only pass the resolution which I hold in my hand for raising \$50,000 for the Society; but let us before the present week is closed, or, better still, before we leave this room, subscribe that sum; and when we shall have done so, we shall have given to our great and good cause an impulse which it will continue to feel for many generations after we shall have been gathered to our fathers.

Mr. G. SMITH concluded his speech, by offering the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That this Society do forthwith proceed to ask for a subscription of \$50,000 to its funds, payable in five equal annual instalments: and that this subscription shall be obligatory on those who make it, provided the Board of Managers shall, within sixty days, announce to the public that the amount is subscribed by responsible persons.

Mr. TERRY of Connecticut, moved the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted:—

Resolved, That this Society is cheered in its enterprise by the beneficent effects which its operations have upon the natives of Africa itself; and the Society hopes to be the instrument of sending the Gospel and diffusing its light further and further into the interior, until Africa shall rank among the christian nations of the earth.

Mr. TERRY introduced his resolution with the following remarks:—

The design of the Society was well expressed in its Constitution. It was a Colonization Society, and such let it remain. It is friendly to all those institutions which adorn our galaxy, and dispense blessings, not only direct, but collateral. It stands on broad common ground. On this ground the North, South, East and West meet; operate on one common cause. But while as patriots and philanthropists we rejoice, we may be permitted to allude to another class, from which a large portion of our funds is derived; I mean the Christians of our country. I hope they will long unite with us in this goodly enterprise, so well adapted to extend the influence and the dominion of the Law and Gospel of our God.

Mr. CRESSON of Pennsylvania addressed the Society as follows:

He regretted that any thing had been expected from so humble an individual as himself, on an occasion which had induced so many of the distinguished friends of this glorious cause to assemble to give to it their counsels and their aid. But he could not hesitate to give to the resolution which he was about to submit, his humble approval. This Society proposes to add another regenerated continent to our globe, and 150 millions to the family of civilized men. Its objects are not confined to the free people of colour.—It stands on a noble platform. He did not doubt that its base would be broad enough to cover three continents, and that its pinnacle would pierce the heavens. It was an Institution founded not merely to transfer to Africa the free people of colour, but to extend peace and good will to men, and strengthen the ties which bind together the great family of mankind. This has been the effect of its influence in our own happy country. As in the Bible Society, so in this, we see the North and the South standing in kind fellowship on one high common ground. And its sacred influence has crossed and excited deep sympathy in the mother country, to which the resolution refers which I now ask permission to read to the meeting. (Mr. C. here read the following resolution:)

Resolved, That the establishment of the British African Colonization Society affords the highest gratification to this meeting; and that this Society will co-operate with the philanthropic in England, in measures designated to abolish the African slave trade, and introduce civilization and christianity among the natives of Africa.

He rejoiced that he had been favoured with the opportunity of contributing in some humble degree, to call forth the benevolence of Britain towards the children of Africa, and to strengthen the bands of love which should ever unite the mother and daughter. While he had sufered much in England by a fierce and well-organized opposition, yet, as an American Christian and patriot, he could only feel pain, that an American citizen should have dared, in London, to pronounce the Constitution of the United States the greatest outrage, the most high-handed villainy ever perpetrated. He was gratified to be able to state, that this Society received the approbation of the venerable Clarkson and the sainted Wilberforce. He said this, because pains had been taken to convince the American people that Wilberforce went down to his grave hostile to the American Colonization Society. I say (remarked Mr. Cresson) it is untrue. Three years ago, when in the full vigor of his faculties, he expressed his ardent love for this Society. Be it remembered, when his signature to the protest was obtained, he was on his death-bed, within a week of the closing scene of life.—And let it be known, that several who had affixed their names, struck them off from the offensive protest.

I trust that while this Society is actuated by love to Africa and to the free blacks, it will go on and confer greater blessings on Africa. We have already done much for Africa. The founders of this Society did not limit their benevolence to the free blacks, they embraced our whole country and all Africa in their Christian sympathies. I was happy to hear from a British officer, that not less than 6000 had been freed from slavery through the influence of our Colony. He had known 56 slavers at Cape Montserado. Ten thousand have probably been saved by our settlements, from hopeless bondage. There are many warm and noble hearts in England, that will co-operate in our enterprise. I trust that our success will add more largely to the interest now felt there, in our cause. Blessed day when our Institution was founded—not less that day when Britain followed our example.

On motion of the Rev. Mr. BACON, of Connecticut, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:—

Resolved, That this Society considers education to be essential to the prosperity of Liberia, and that the Board of Managers be authorized and instructed to adopt all necessary measures to secure its benefits to the whole colonial population.

Mr. BACON's speech in support of his resolution was as follows:

This resolution (he observed) sets forth the true policy of the Society. All objections of any force, were concentrated in this, that we had never done enough to make Africa an attractive home for free men of colour, such as our own country is to the oppressed and degraded of other climes. Long meditation has convinced me, more and more, that emigrants should not be carried or sent, but drawn thither by cords of love, by the golden chain of hope. Nothing is clearer to my mind, than that \$30 expended in the improvement of the Colony, in supporting schools, opening roads, subduing the forest, surveying the lands, reclaiming its savage coast and making it like ours, will tell incalculably more upon our enterprise, than to transport free men of colour thither. We are represented by our enemies as carrying persons of colour to Africa, to drop them down there and leave them to perish, through ignorance and vice and the climate. We, who defend the cause, say, that it is not so; that our business is not transportation, but colonization; not to crowd an ignorant people on board of our ships, and throw them on the shore of Africa as a carman throws down a load of coal. I hope we shall more steadily hereafter aim at every kind of improvement in our Colony. Our disasters, I fear, have resulted from a departure from this as one great object. I cannot but think it a mistaken kindness to send 700 emigrants to Africa with our means in a single year. Had half the sum thus expended, been applied to the improvement of the Colony, our prosperity had been greater, our difficulties and disasters greatly diminished. I hope the contents of this resolution will influence all our proceedings in time to come.

The Rev. Dr. SPRING of New York addressed the Society to the following effect:—

Few considerations (said Dr. Spring) could induce me at this late hour, to trespass on the patience of the audience. But not a few of us clothed with the sacred office at the North, have felt it incumbent on us to stand by the cause of this Society at this crisis. It has been said, that the great body of our Ministers are opposed to the Society, and enlisted in the cause of abolition. I say the fact is not so. True, some beloved and respected brethren have so enlisted; but they are comparatively few. Our brethren at the South, may confide in the persevering co-operation of Christians at the North, in this enterprise. One fact, the overwhelming majority with which resolutions have been passed (recommending this Society as worthy to receive the charities of the churches on our national anniversary) in the highest ecclesiastical body of the church to which I belong, shows the position of our churches. There they stand, and there I believe they will stand. This Society is engaged in a grand effort to elevate the African race. The frowns of God, which have so long rested upon this people, will soon be converted into smiles. The great question is, how this object is to be accomplished? Not by giving the negro freedom on the American shore. Look at Massachusetts, Connecticut, or any of the New England States. The people of colour are there free; but more degraded than the slaves of the South. Freedom will not elevate the man of colour in our country. He must be a freeman under his own skies—must have something to do—to develop his powers—something to hope and to fear—or he will attain to no elevation of character. In the early progress of this enterprise, not a few had some hesitation on one point. They hesitated lest your Colony would be left without adequate Christian instruction. On this subject, I know you have done directly nothing; but collaterally, much. It is a delightful feature in your scheme, that you invite all Christian denominations to cultivate the field—the wide and promising field that you are opening before them. The Society gives the strongest encouragements to all Christian sects. I doubt whether the time has not come when more should be done to christianize the Colony. If this be done, the enterprise is in no danger. Every Christian heart here will say, let the spirit of the Gospel pervade all your African institutions. This is a vast enterprise. Patience and perseverance are demanded. Your object is to christianize the whole African world. Difficulties and sufferings are to be expected, endured, and conquered. Let the minds of Christians, of Statesmen, be kindled by the subject; and I repeat, that the friends of this cause at the North, will not fail to bear their part in sustaining it.

Dr. SPRING concluded by offering the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That the thanks of this Society be presented to the British and Foreign Bible Society, for a liberal donation of Arabic Testaments and Psalters for distribution in Liberia and its vicinity; and also to the American Bible Society, for the donation of one thousand English Bibles, for the use of the Colony.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN addressed the meeting as follows:—

Mr. President,—We meet under peculiarly interesting circumstances. The Society had almost struggled through the early prejudices that assailed it; and the public mind had become, not only reconciled, but enlisted in its purposes and plans, when new and unexpected opposition arises—much of it from its former friends and patrons. It is a striking illustration of the moral paradox, that extremes are often so near, as to approach almost to fellowship. While prosperity was crowning the labors of the Society—when the Colony was coming up, to a conspicuous rank among kindred settlements, and far in advance of most of them—when science, civilization and religion were setting a seal to this benignant scheme—when Heaven smiled upon it—and the good of the earth rejoiced in its success—of a sudden, the harsh sounds of hostility break upon us, and the Colony with its friends, its objects and all that pertain to it, is denounced as a heartless design to perpetuate slavery. Now, Sir, I propose to treat these adversaries, kindly and respectfully; we do not wish to disturb their opinions, nor, where they strive lawfully, to interrupt their operations. But when they, so far forget the law of Christian courtesy, as to impeach the motives of the Colonization Society, we must exercise the right of self-defence. To repel

injurious charges—to vindicate insulted purity of purpose, and re-affirm the beneficent tendencies of our enterprise, become high and cogent duties.

The friends of Colonization, in very faithfulness, cannot remain silent, and suffer this strange wildfire to run along the ground and consume and destroy the fairest fruits of a most blessed scheme of mercy. Sir, we owe it to these misguided men themselves, to interpose between them and their measures and save the country from their disastrous consequences.

Two objections have been, with many more, clamorously urged against the Society:—That it obstructs the progress of emancipation, and is cruel and oppressive towards the bond and the free. It is really difficult to treat with any gravity, so absurd a proposition, as the first of these objections. So far is it from any shadow of reality, that it is emancipation which chiefly supplies materials for the Colony—its best aliment is furnished here. The great majority of the colonists is composed of men, lately slaves, who have been liberated by southern proprietors, that they might enjoy the blessings promised to them at Liberia.

An obstruction to emancipation! What, Sir, to congregate three thousand colored freemen on the coast of Africa—to gather around them the lights of science and religion—to start them on the career of virtuous and useful enterprise, and open to their aspirations, all the avenues of honorable ambition. This, I should deem, Sir, would be the last spot on earth, towards which oppression would turn its concern, unless it might be, indeed, to blot it from existence.—Equally fanciful, is the charge of cruelty, towards the emigrants. The essence of the complaint is, that any should be persuaded to encounter the perils of seeking a new home in Africa. It is a sickly sensibility! *Seeking a new home.* Why, the whole earth is, at this moment, moved by just such a purpose—and has been from the beginning. Ever since the Father of the faithful left his own Ur of the Chaldees, man has been literally a pilgrim on the face of the earth. All the wanderings of his descendants prove it. How inconstant and unstable their abode!—and now how scattered among the nations! Sir, where would have been the triumphs of learning and genius in Greece and Rome, but for Colonization? The light of science owes most of its expansion to this *oppressive* emigration.

And when Roman glory declined, the Scandinavian birth place of nations, poured forth unnumbered hosts upon the south of Europe—while English history and the English language are full of the memorials of Danish, Saxon and Norman irruptions. And, Mr. President, who and what are we, but children of *Colonists*? Where, but for this, would now be, these broad foundations of national liberty and human happiness—these splendid creations of genius and science—where, the high hopes of fifteen millions of freemen? And as I look around me, I behold many distinguished Colonists—who, ten, twenty and thirty years ago, struck their adventurous footsteps into the rich forests of the west, and there planted the germs of liberty; and after training up other noble sisters to become members of our great confederacy, have come up, hither, to mingle their counsels and cares for the general welfare. Sir, if the eye could sweep the whole Atlantic board, from the ocean to the mountains, we should behold it alive with emigration,—multitudes urging their way towards the abundant rewards held out, to encourage and animate the enterprises of industry and virtue. Why, Mr. President, it is man's delight—his restless spirit loves it: and he would scale any barrier, at the promptings of curiosity, science or pleasure, that he might freely indulge this cherished propensity.

And to encourage our zeal and patience, we have the animating assurance, that the Colony, planted by this Society, has prospered beyond all example.—As one illustration, I have collated the prominent incidents connected with the Colony planted at Jamestown, Virginia, in May, 1607. It then consisted of one hundred persons—which number, before September of that year, was reduced to fifty—and soon after to thirty-eight, when a reinforcement of one hundred and twenty arrived. In 1609, a further addition of one hundred and fifty persons was made, and the Colony then amounted to five hundred souls. But by imprudence, extravagance and dissipation, they were reduced in six months to sixty persons: in 1611, the Colony had increased to two hundred: in 1622, it had become still more populous, when it was attacked by the Indians and three

hundred and forty-seven men, women, and children were destroyed. The company which had been chartered, was dissolved, and the Colony taken into the hands of the King—and enjoyed the care and protection of the crown. The venerable historian of those times, (Chief Justice Marshall) gives the conclusion of the matter, as it stood in 1624: "About £150,000 sterling had been expended in planting the Colony, and more than 9,000 persons had been sent from Europe to people it, and yet at the end of seventeen years, the population was reduced to 1800 persons!" While Liberia, with no governmental patronage, and without royal smiles or favor, against wind and tide, against scorn and prejudice, in twelve brief years, enrolls about three thousand souls.

Still, we hear, that Liberia is an hindrance to freedom. Sir, the cause of human liberty has never been more effectually plead. She stands, as its beacon light, for the whole earth. The wondering nations are turning their eyes towards the illuminated spot; and as they gaze upon its moral beauties, bright hopes unfelt before, spring up in the heart, that man's universal redemption is sure. Like the star in the East, which announced the Saviour to the astonished magi, it points to the advent of the same Redeemer, coming in the power of His spirit, to roll away the darkness of a thousand generations. Yes, Sir, there is hope for Africa. God, I believe, is preparing his way before Him. The harvest begins to ripen and the slumber of ages will soon be broken and those beams of light that now refresh our hopes, will expand and spread through the Heavens, until they shall be lost in the splendors of an eternal day.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN concluded by moving the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted:—

Resolved, That while this Society gratefully acknowledges the aid derived during the year, from various Auxiliary Institutions and friends of the cause, it is imperatively required by the present state of its finances, to urge upon them the necessity of renewed and still more efficient efforts to increase its resources.

Subscriptions were taken under Mr. GERRIT SMITH'S Resolution, and the following persons subscribed the amounts affixed to their respective names:—

Gerrit Smith, of New York,	\$5,000
Elliott Cresson, of Pennsylvania,	1,000
• Matthias Bruen, of New Jersey,	500
• Richard H. Henderson, of Virginia,	100
• Inman Horner, of Virginia,	100
• Seth Terry, of Connecticut,	50
• John T. Norton, of New York,	500
• Benjamin F. Butler, of Washington, District of Columbia,	250
Mrs. Lee, of Washington, District of Columbia,	10
• J. B. Bispham, of Pennsylvania,	100
• M. St. C. Clarke, of Washington, District of Columbia,	250
Chief Justice Marshall,	500
• E. Jenkins, of New York,	50
R. S. Finley, of New York,	500
Leonard Bacon, of Connecticut,	50
• Z. C. Lee, of Washington, District of Columbia,	10
• Walter Lowrie, of Washington District of Columbia,	500

On motion of Mr. GURLEY, it was unanimously

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be presented to GERRIT SMITH, Esq. for his very liberal subscription made this evening, and to the other subscribers, under his resolution.

After some discussion, the Society then adjourned, to meet at the Rev. Mr. Post's lecture room, at 7 o'clock to-morrow evening.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 21st.

The Society met pursuant to adjournment, at 7 o'clock, P. M., at the lecture room attached to the Rev. Mr. Post's church.

The Hon. JOHN CARLISLE HERBERT, one of the Vice-Presidents of the Society, took the Chair.

The list of Delegates from Auxiliary Societies was called over by the Secretary, and the following gentlemen answered to their names, viz:—

From the Franklin County (Mass.) Society.—HON. GEORGE GREENELL.

From the Vermont State Society.—HON. BENJAMIN SWIFT, HON. WM. SLADE.

From the Connecticut State Society.—HON. WM. W. ELLSWORTH, REV. LEONARD BACON, SETH TERRY, Esq. H. WHITE, Esq.

From the New York State Society.—HON. CHARLES McVEAN, HON. DANIEL WARDWELL, GERRIT SMITH, Esq., E. JENKINS, Esq., JOHN T. NORTON, Esq.

From the New York City Society.—SILAS BROWN, Esq., ROBERT S. FINLEY, Esq.

From the New Jersey Colonization Society.—HON. SAMUEL L. SOUTHARD.

From the Newark Society, N. J.—HON. THEODORE FRELINGHUYSEN.

From the Pennsylvania State Society.—ELLIOTT CRESSON, Esq., JAMES BAYARD, Esq., HON. HENRY KING, HON. THOMAS M. T. McKENNAN, HON. SAMUEL MCKEAN.

From the Washington, D. C. Auxiliary Society.—MATTHEW ST. C. CLARKE, Esq., JOSIAH F. POLK, Esq.

From the Alexandria, D. C. Society.—REV. ELIAS HARRISON, HUGH C. SMITH, Esq.

The Rev. JAMES LAURIE, D. D., Treasurer of the Society, made a general statement concerning the finances of the Society, the detailed exposition not being entirely ready.

On motion of the Rev. Mr. BACON from Connecticut, the statement was referred to a Committee, with directions to report to the meeting, to-morrow evening, on the state of the Treasury.

The Chair appointed Mr. BACON, Mr. GERRIT SMITH, and Mr. ATKINSON, to constitute the Committee. Mr. POLK of Washington, D. C. moved to proceed to the consideration of the unfinished business of the last annual meeting, and called up the project of a new Constitution which had been presented to it.

At the suggestion of Mr. TERRY of Connecticut, Mr. POLK withdrew his motion, in order to enable Mr. TERRY to propose a reconsideration of the resolution passed last evening, accepting the Report of the Board of Managers, when, on his motion, said resolution was reconsidered.

On motion of Mr. TERRY,

Resolved, That those parts of the Report of the Managers, which refer to the administration and condition of the affairs of the Colony, be referred to a Committee.

Messrs. TERRY of Connecticut, McVEAN of New York, CRESSON of Pennsylvania, WILLIAMS of N. C., and CORWIN of Ohio, were appointed the Committee.

On motion of Mr. TERRY,

Resolved, That those parts of the Report of the Managers, which refer to agencies in this country, and to the transportation of emigrants, be referred to a Committee.

Messrs. WHITTLESEY of Ohio, BAYARD of Pennsylvania, ELLSWORTH of Connecticut, BROWN of New York, and FINLEY of New York, were appointed the Committee.

Mr. CLARKE of Washington, called for the reading of that part of the Report which relates to Auxiliary Societies, and said part was accordingly read.

On motion of Mr. GURLEY,
Resolved, That that part of the Report of the Managers, which refers to the Auxiliary or other Colonization Societies, be referred to a Committee.

Mr. CLARKE, Mr. BRECKENRIDGE, Mr. GRENNELL, Mr. HARRISON, and Mr. KING, of Pennsylvania, were appointed the Committee.

Mr. POLK then renewed his proposition, which was agreed to. Mr. S. H. SMITH, of Washington, D. C., then addressed the meeting on the condition of the Society and the Colony, and concluded by moving, as a substitute for Mr. Polk's resolution, that the consideration of unfinished business be postponed, and also the following resolution, viz:—

Resolved, That a Committee of five members be appointed, to whom shall be referred the subject of the reorganization of the Society, and that such Committee be instructed particularly to inquire into the expediency of constituting an efficient Executive head for the management of the affairs of the Society.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN then addressed the meeting, and moved, as an amendment to Mr. SMITH's and Mr. POLK's Resolutions, that the whole subject of those Resolutions be referred to a Committee.

Mr. BACON, BISHOP MEADE, Mr. COXE, Mr. JONES, Mr. GURLEY, and Mr. KEY, then successively addressed the meeting, after which the question on Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN's amendment was put, and the amendment carried *nem. con.*

The Committee ordered to consist of Mr. S. H. SMITH, Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN, BISHOP MEADE, Mr. BACON, and Mr. WILLIAMS, of N. C.

The Rev. ISAAC ORR intimated his intention of bringing up on some future occasion, the subject of the relations of the African Education Society to this Society.

On motion adjourned till to-morrow at 5 o'clock, P. M.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 22d.

The Society met pursuant to adjournment, at the lecture room attached to the Rev. Mr. Post's Church. Mr. JOHN CARLISLE HERBERT in the chair.

The minutes of the proceedings of the last meeting having been read, Mr. GERRIT SMITH, from the Committee on the state of the Treasury, made the following Report:

The Committee, appointed to inquire into the state of the Financial concerns of the Society, report as follows:

That the debts owing by the Society, now due, and that will fall due by the 1st of May next, amount to a sum varying from \$40 to 41,000.

This unprecedented and alarming amount of debt against the Society is accounted for, by the following reasons:—

1st. The rice crop in the Colony and on the coast generally. the last year, failed almost entirely; and by this Providence a considerable share of the Colonists, who otherwise would have been able to subsist upon their own means, were thrown upon the bounty and humanity of the Government of the Colony.

2d. The Ajax, which sailed from New Orleans with 150 emigrants, lost 29 of them by the cholera; was double the usual length of time in making the voyage; and arrived at the Colony with but two weeks' supply of provisions, instead of the usual supply for six months.

3d. An unusually large proportion of the late emigrants are improvident and reluctant to betake themselves to agriculture.

4th. In some instances, among the late emigrations, families without male heads have been sent to the Colony—and, in many instances, the great mortality in the Colony during the last year has deprived families of their male heads and left them to the humane and expensive provisions of the Government of the Colony.

5th. The supplies of the Colonial store have not been ample, as they ever should be. This deficiency, however, is not to be charged to improvidence in the Board of Managers; but to their pecuniary inability to do on this subject what they were very solicitous to do. This deficiency has made it necessary for the Government of the Colony to purchase at 1 to 200 per cent. profit, large amounts of supplies from merchants in the Colony and from vessels touching at the Colony.

In view of the existing pecuniary embarrassments of the Society, the Committee would advise, that the Society send out no emigrants the present year, unless under very especial circumstances, and where the Society would be put to comparatively small expense, in sending out and provisioning the emigrants.—To guard against such heavy embarrassments in future, the Committee advise, that the Society do never, except in the extraordinary cases above referred to, send out emigrants, whilst they are under a debt exceeding \$10,000.

The Committee hope that the Board of Managers, will, as soon as the means at their disposal will allow, so far furnish the Colonial store with goods and provisions, as to preclude the necessity of purchasing them on terms so disadvantageous as those above referred to. This necessity having existed for the last two years particularly, and which has been unavoidable on account of the large disbursements of the Society for the expenses of emigration, has swelled the debt of the Society to an amount many thousand dollars greater than it would have been, if this necessity had not existed.

The Committee are highly pleased to learn that the Board of Managers have adopted and are contemplating measures for bringing within ascertained and the narrowest limits the compensation made to the Officers of the Society residing in the Colony—and also for avoiding the surprise of large draughts upon its Treasury.

The reading of the foregoing Report led to a discussion, in which Mr. BRECKENRIDGE, Mr. GURLEY, Mr. FARLINGHUYSEN, BISHOP MEADE and Mr. POST participated.

Mr. BRECKENRIDGE moved that the Report be recommitted to the Committee which had made it, with instructions to prepare a more detailed report. After some remarks from Mr. GERRIT SMITH and Mr. COXE, Mr. CRESSON proposed, as an amendment to the motion, that the Report be accepted. Carried *nem. con.*

Mr. TERRY, from the Committee to whom had been referred the part of the Report of the Managers relating to the administration and affairs of the Colony, made the following Report, which on motion of Mr. BACON, was accepted:—

The Committee to whom was referred such part of the Annual Report as relates to the administration and condition of the affairs of the Colony respectfully Report:—

That they recommend the adoption of that part of the Report. The duties assigned to the Committee comprehend more than their limited time, and a single report of any reasonable length could digest and present. We are relieved, however, in this respect by the consideration that the whole is to occupy the attention, and will constitute the burden of the labors devolving upon the Board of Managers; and the Committee would have this Report so construed as not to bind that Board, although it should be accepted by the Society. Among other interesting topics the Committee recommend the following to the consideration of the Society:—

1. A frequent revision of the *Colonial Laws*. The wisest jurisprudence is always the result of experience, and must be founded on facts constantly developing themselves.

2. The introduction of new *Emigrants*. At present most of the new emigrants are placed together in considerable numbers in tenements, in the Colony, prepared for the purpose, called *Receptacles*, where they remain without regular employment during the six months, called the *seasoning*. During this period of anxious suspense it is important that their minds should be diverted, healthful exercise kept up, and that they be so separated as not to act upon each other by sympathy. These objects would be promoted by constructing and having ready for their reception cabins or small houses, built at a small expense and connected with small quantities of land for cultivation. Let them be formed into *Temperance Societies*, in this country, before embarkation, and made occupants of those houses, on their first arrival, and it is conceived that much human life would be saved. Further—each emigrant, thus located, should have a title, if, within a limited period, he should erect, on another lot, a similar house for the use of the Colony.—In this way a motive for industry would be presented to the settler, and new houses prepared for fresh emigrants, in perpetual succession, without charge to the Society.

3. A *House of Employment*, connected with a sufficient quantity of land for the occupation (under public supervision,) of the improvident and idle, may be maintained with great advantage to such persons, and promote the prosperity of the settlements.

4. An ample supply of merchandise and articles of trade for the public Factories so as to fill the market, would prevent the Colonists from becoming petty traders, and thereby promote agriculture.

5. The Committee are deeply impressed with the opinion, that the measures and expenditures of the Board ought to be directed to the improvement of the present settlements, in preference to enlarging them, until they shall present a desirable home for the man of colour, and draw him there at his own expense from a desire to become free and happy. Among other useful improvements may be named schools, a saw mill, and roads communicating with the interior.

Finally, the Committee would remark, that from the perusal of numerous and conflicting documents and communications, they have been led to the conclusion, that any Board, acting here, must, in order to well-directed effort, and economical expenditure, have a more minute and accurate knowledge of the state of the Colony than is now possessed. A commission of gentlemen, of business habits, sent out to make a survey and inspection, may bring back a report of invaluable use, unimpeachable credit, and that would form the basis of safe and efficient action.

Respectfully submitted by order of the Committee.

SETH TERRY, *Chairman*.

WASHINGTON, January 22d, 1834.

Mr. S. H. SMITH, from the Committee to whom had been referred the subject of a new Constitution for the Society, made the following Report, which was advocated by himself, Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN, BISHOP MEADE and Mr. BACON:—

The Committee, to whom was referred a resolution, expressive of the expediency of constituting an Executive Head of the Society, and a sketch of a new Constitution, submitted to the last annual meeting, recommend the adoption of the following, in lieu of the present Constitution:

CONSTITUTION OF THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

ART. I. This Society shall be called "The American Society for colonizing the Free People of Colour of the United States."

ART. II. The object to which its attention is to be exclusively directed, is to promote and execute a plan for colonizing (with their own consent) the Free People of Colour, residing in our country, in Africa, or such other place as Congress shall deem most expedient. And the Society shall act, to effect this object, in co-operation with the General Government, and such of the States as may adopt regulations upon the subject.

ART. III. Every Citizen of the United States, who shall have paid to the funds of the Society a sum of not less than thirty dollars, shall be a member for life.

ART. IV. The Officers of the Society shall be a President; Vice-Presidents, one or more Secretaries who shall devote their whole time to the service of the Society; a Treasurer, a Recorder, and a Board of Managers, composed of the Secretaries, the Treasurer, the Recorder and nine other members of the Society. They shall be annually elected by the Society, at their annual meeting, on the third Monday in January, and continue to discharge their respective duties till others are appointed.

ART. V. It shall be the duty of the President to preside at all meetings of the Society, and to call meetings when he thinks necessary.

ART. VI. The Vice-Presidents, according to seniority, shall discharge the duties in the absence of the President.

ART. VII. The Secretaries and Treasurer shall execute the business of the Society, under the direction of the Board of Managers, the Treasurer giving such security for the faithful discharge of his duties as the Board may require. The Recorder shall record the proceedings and names of the members, and discharge such other duties as may be required of him.

ART. VIII. The Board of Managers shall meet on the fourth Monday in January, every year; and at such other times as they may direct. They shall conduct the business of the Society, and take such measures for effecting its object as they shall think proper, or shall be directed at the meetings of the Society, and make an annual report of their proceedings. They shall also fill up all vacancies occurring during the year, and make such by-laws for their government as they may deem necessary, provided the same are not repugnant to this Constitution.

No officer shall vote on any question in which he is personally interested.

ART. IX. Every Society which shall be founded in the United States to aid in the object of this Association, and which shall co-operate with its funds for the purposes thereof, agreeably to the Rules and Regulations of this Society, shall be considered auxiliary thereto, and shall be entitled to be represented by its Delegates, not exceeding five, in all meetings of the Society.

The 1st article of the Constitution reported by the Committee was adopted *nem. con.*

Mr. GERRIT SMITH moved to expunge all the words in the second article following the word "Africa." After a discussion on this motion between Mr. BACON, Mr. BRECKENRIDGE, BISHOP MEADE, and Mr. LOWRIE, the motion was withdrawn by the mover.

The following resolution was moved by GEN. JONES:—

Resolved, That the Report be re-committed, with instructions to report such alterations only in the existing Constitution as the Committee may recommend; specifying what part of the existing Constitution is recommended to be struck out, and what new matter is added.

Decided in the negative.

The question was then taken on the 2d article as reported by the Committee, and that article was adopted.

The question was taken on the 3d article, and that article adopted *nem. con.*

The 4th article was read for the consideration of the Society.—Mr. GURLEY moved to strike out the word "nine" and insert the word "seven."

GEN. JONES concurred in the motion to strike out, and moved to insert the word "twelve."

Mr. LOWRIE moved that the question be divided, and the vote be first taken on striking out. Motions lost.

GEN. JONES moved to strike out so much of the fourth article as makes the Executive Officers of the Society members of the Board of Managers. Motion negatived.

GEN. JONES moved to amend the 4th article by adding to it the following words:—

"Except the Secretaries, Treasurer and Recorder, who shall be appointed from time to time at the pleasure of the Board of Managers; and have their powers as prescribed by the Board."

This motion was debated by the President, Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN, BISHOP MEADE, Mr. BRECKENRIDGE, Mr. COXE, Mr. GERRIT SMITH, Mr. S. H. SMITH, Mr. BACON and Mr. TERRY; and was finally decided in the negative.

The question was then taken on the 4th article, and that article as reported by the Committee, was adopted.

The remaining articles of the Constitution as reported were severally voted on, and adopted.

The question was then on motion of Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN, put on the whole Constitution as reported, and it was adopted.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN moved that a Committee be appointed to nominate a Board of Managers and the Executive officers of the Society.

On motion of Mr. CRESSON, it was resolved that the Committee which had reported the new Constitution be the nominating Committee.

Mr. S. H. SMITH was, at his own urgent request, excused from serving on said Committee.

Mr. CLARKE, from the Committee to whom had been referred that part of the Report of the Board of Managers relating to the Auxiliary and other Colonization Societies, made the following report, which, on motion of Mr. GURLEY, was ordered to lie on the table:—

The Committee on so much of the Annual Report of the Board of Managers as relates to Auxiliary and other Colonization Societies would respectfully Report:—

That nothing has occurred to make the settled policy of this Society in relation to the extensive formation of Auxiliary Societies appear at all doubtful: or to shake our confidence in the belief that such an organization might be effected as greatly to enlarge the Society's means of doing good. Nor is there reason to doubt, that whenever the Parent Society shall have corrected the admitted evils of its organization, and rectified the errors into which it has fallen, in the management of its affairs, the same vigour and skill which will make all its other interests work right, will restore confidence to the Auxiliary Societies, and impart new energy and regularity to their operations.

So again, it is not, we think to be denied, that in most cases it is best for the general interests of the whole cause, that Colonization Societies in this country should sustain an auxiliary relation to the National Society; as in this way, there can be more certainly secured, unity of design and cheapness and certainty of execution. This, however, is a matter which cannot be enforced by this Society; but which must, from the nature of the case, be left to the decision of the other Societies. And we suppose, that whenever any other Society shall determine to act for itself, independently of us, but consistently with our principles of action in the great and common cause in which we are embarked, every motive of prudence, good feeling, and common effort, should impel this Society to aid all others, and especially all American Societies, to the utmost of its power, both here and in Africa, and to co-operate with them all in the most cordial and disinterested manner.

Indeed the greatness of the cause we are united to advance, might seem too

immense to risk before the world, on a single series of experiments; and the issues too momentous to stake upon one set of councils: nor would our past history be, perhaps entirely conclusive, to establish any claim for us, on either head. On the other hand, our object being single, and most explicit, we are forbidden from touching questions, which other and independent societies have made, and may continue to make as the local interests or opinions around them may from time to time direct. If any Society see fit to countenance the use of any constraint whatever, to effect the removal of free persons of colour to Africa or elsewhere, it is manifest that such Society ought not to sustain towards us an auxiliary relation. If any Colonization Society undertake to pursue as such a course, "looking forward to the extirpation of slavery," that Society ought not to be directly connected with us. For, however clearly we may assume slavery to be an evil, our action is only with the *free* man of colour, and with him only after he is willing to emigrate. While, therefore, the broad ground upon which we stand as a national Society, is ample enough to engage all our cares, it may not be an injury, indeed it may be of lasting advantage, to the cause and to mankind, that other Societies, occupying in some degree other grounds, should do it independently of us.

Nor does there seem much ground of apprehension in relation to this subject; for, in all cases, it is presumed that the agents of this Society will have as complete access to the people, for aid, in one case as the other; while the strong probability appears to be, that legislative patronage, if obtained at all, is likely to be based on the peculiar grounds assumed in each case, by the local Societies, who are presumed to act in accordance with the public sentiment of their relative locations, and who may and will doubtless take, as they have already taken, grounds which this Society will not be at liberty to occupy.

The committee therefore see no occasion to do more, than to express the confident hope, that a more full and energetic action through Auxiliary Societies, will be found to flow from the contemplated remodelling of the Society's affairs; and to utter the conviction, that with ordinary care and candor, no difficulty is likely to result out of the occasional independent action of other Colonization Societies. And, in this light, the subjects commended to the Board of Managers.

Mr. GERRIT SMITH moved the following Resolutions:—

Resolved, That it shall be the duty of the Managers of this Society to possess themselves of the fullest and most accurate information on the following subjects, and to embody the same in their next annual report:—

1st. What number of persons have emigrated to the Colony in each year since the Colony was founded? How many of them belonged to the class of free people of colour? How many of them were manumitted for the purpose of their emigration to the Colony; and how many of them were recaptured Africans?

2d. What number of the emigrants, and of their children, have died on their passage, and what number of them have died in the Colony? Also, what proportion of the emigrants who resided North of Maryland have died, and what proportion have died of those who resided South and West of Pennsylvania?

3d. What is the whole population of the Colony? What portion of this population consists of emigrants? What portion of native settlers, and what portion of persons born in the Colony? Also, what part of the population is male; also what portion of the population is under 5 years of age—what portion under 15 years—what portion under 30—what portion under 50—how many over 50—and how many over 70 years of age?

4th. How many persons in the Colony are lawfully married: how many instances are there of intermarriage between the emigrants and persons belonging to the native tribes?

5th. How many have been convicted of crimes of a high grade; and how many are paupers?

6th. What has been the value of the exports from the Colony during each year for the last five years—what the value of the imports; of what have the exports principally consisted, and of what the imports?

7th. What have been, and to what amount of each, the agricultural productions of the Colony, during each year, for the last five years?

8th. How many of the Colonists are now worth \$5000 each, and how many

\$10,000 each, and what were these individuals respectively worth when they emigrated to the Colony?

9th. How many of the Colonists are Professors of Religion, and how many of them are members of Temperance Societies? How many of them are in schools, and how many of them can read?

10th. How many of the Colonists are agriculturalists? How many of them mechanics?

Resolved, That all the Reports, after the next Report, contain statistics on the subjects enumerated in the foregoing Resolution; that these statistics be such only as the history of the Colony, during the previous year, furnishes—but that they be more minute, than it is required they shall be in the next Report; specifying, among other things, what disease was the cause of each death in the Colony during the said previous year; in what vessels, and from what ports, and at whose charge the emigrants during that year sailed.

On motion of Gen. JONES, the foregoing resolutions were referred to Mr. GURLEY, the Secretary, with a request that as to those parts of them on which immediate information could be given by the Board, it should be given to the Society before the final adjournment of the present annual meeting; and that as to the residue, the information required should be given at the next annual meeting.

On motion of Mr. BRECKENRIDGE,

Resolved, That the Board of Managers be directed to lay before the public, through the African Repository, a full and detailed statement of the origin, rise and present condition of the Society's debt, having particular reference to the causes and manner of its rise and increase—the times at which it has been increased, the individuals to whom it was originally, and is now due, and for what, in every case; together with every circumstance within the reach of their inquiries, here and in Africa, which can throw any light on this subject.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN, from the Committee on the subject of nominations, made a report nominating as President and Vice-Presidents, for the current year, the President and Vice-Presidents of the last year, and the following gentlemen to constitute the Board of Managers and Executive Officers:—

Managers.

REV. JAMES LAURIE, D. D.	RICHARD S. COXE,
Gen. WALTER JONES,	WALTER LOWRIE,
FRANCIS S. KEY,	Dr. PHINEAS BRADLEY,
Rev. WILLIAM HAWLEY,	Dr. THOMAS SEWALL,
WILLIAM W. SEATON,	

Officers.

Rev. RALPH R. GURLEY,	} <i>Secretaries.</i>
Wm. H. MACFARLAN,	

JOHN UNDERWOOD, *Treasurer.*

PHILIP R. FENDALL, *Recorder.*

Mr. POLK nominated the following gentlemen as *Managers*:—

REV. JAMES LAURIE, D. D.	REV. Wm. HAWLEY,
JOSEPH GALE, Senior,	Wm. W. SEATON,
WALTER LOWRIE,	Rev. J. T. BROOKE,
MATTHEW ST. C. CLARKE,	Dr. PHINEAS BRADLEY.
Dr. THOMAS SEWALL,	

Mr. CRESSON proposed to add the following names to the list of Vice-Presidents:—

JOHN McDONOUGH, of New Orleans.

Judge ALEXANDER PORTER, of New Orleans.

Bishop MEADE, of Virginia.

Adjourned till to-morrow at 5 o'clock, P. M.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 23d, 1834.

The Society met pursuant to adjournment, at the place of the last meeting.

The Vice-President who presided at the last meeting being absent, the Hon. ELISHA WHITTLESEY of Ohio, in compliance with a unanimous call from the members present, took the Chair.

The minutes of the proceedings of the last meeting having been read, Mr. SLADE of Vermont called for the reading of that part of the Report of the Committee on the state of the Treasury which relates to future expeditions to the Colony. The part required was read, and Mr. SLADE then moved for a reconsideration of the vote accepting the Report. A debate ensued, in which Mr. SKINNER, of Washington, D. C., Mr. LOWRIE, Mr. TERRY, Mr. WARDWELL, and Mr. BACON took part. The motion to reconsider was decided in the negative.

Mr. BAYARD, from the Committee on agencies and emigrants, made a Report, which was accepted. The Report is as follows:—

The Committee to whom it was referred to consider the subject of agencies of the American Colonization Society, and also the subject of the transportation of emigrants, ask leave to report:—

That they have examined a printed report on the subject of agencies, page 11, of the 7th volume of the African Repository, and approve of the same. They would recommend to the Board of Managers to carry the same into effect, as circumstances may require and warrant.

In regard to emigration, the Committee having considered what is said on that subject in the present Annual Report, and as the same relates principally to matters of fact, they see no objections thereto. The Committee have no doubt the Board have done the best they could, under all the circumstances. In the present state of the finances and other concerns of the Society, the Committee would recommend that great caution be used in sending out emigrants; but that the exertions of the Managers be directed principally to restore the credit of the Society and provide for the welfare of those already in Liberia; and also when hereafter the state of the funds shall justify the fitting out of expeditions with emigrants, that the greatest care should be taken that they be provided with all the necessaries required, to promote their comfort on the passage, and after their arrival in the Colony, and particularly in regard to the important subject of preserving their health.

The Committee also recommend, that measures be taken to induce the Auxiliary Societies of the cities from which emigrants or provisions are sent, to appoint commercial Committees, whose names shall be reported to the Board of Managers, and with whom the agent shall consult relative to all matters of transportation of emigrants and supplies.

Washington, 23d of January, 1834.

Mr. BACON addressed the meeting on the condition and prospects of the Society and of the Colony; moved to reconsider the proceedings of the last evening accepting the new Constitution, and stated his intention to be, should the motion prevail, to move that the old Constitution be reinstated, and that such survivors of the Board of Managers of 1832, as were, before the proceedings of the last meeting, members of the Board of Managers, be re-appointed, with the power of appointing their associates to make up the requisite number.

This motion gave rise to a discussion, in which Mr. HAWLEY, Mr. TERRY, Gen. JONES, Mr. BACON, and Dr. LAURIE took part; and in the course of which, Gen. JONES entered into a detailed

exposition of his views of the true objects and policy of the Society; and Mr. BACON, for himself and other Northern gentlemen, friends of the Society, expressed his entire concurrence in those views. The discussion resulted in the withdrawal, by Mr. BACON, of his motion to reconsider.

Mr. TERRY then moved to take up the report of the Committee on nominations.

Mr. POLK addressed the meeting on the subject of the nominations made by him.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN stated that Mr. UNDERWOOD, who had been nominated for the office of Treasurer, wished the nomination to be withdrawn, as he should decline accepting the office if elected.

Mr. TERRY moved that the question should be taken on the names *seriatim* of the individuals nominated. Motion carried.

Mr. POST, of Washington, D. C. moved to recommit the report to the Committee which had made it, with instructions to report again. The motion was lost.

On motion of Mr. CRESSON,

Ordered that the report of the nominating Committee be recommitted to a Committee of five, to consist of one individual from each of the five agency districts. Ayes 19, noes 8.

The Committee was ordered to consist of Mr. BACON, Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN, Mr. CRESSON, Mr. GERRIT SMITH, and Mr. POST.

On motion of Mr. GURLEY, the report of the Committee on Auxiliary Societies was taken up. Mr. GURLEY and Mr. HAWLEY addressed the Society on that subject, and Mr. HAWLEY moved to amend the report by expunging the third paragraph.

Mr. TERRY moved that the consideration of the report be indefinitely postponed; which motion he withdrew at the request of Mr. GREENELL of Massachusetts. After the latter gentleman had addressed the Society in vindication of the report, Mr. TERRY renewed his motion of indefinite postponement. Motion carried.

Mr. POLK moved that the Annual Report be accepted, but afterwards withdrew the motion.

The nominating Committee, who had retired for the purpose of preparing their report, now re-entered the Hall, and Mr. BACON, their Chairman, reported the following nominations:—

Presidents and Vice-Presidents.

The same as last year with the following additional Vice-Presidents:—

The RIGHT REVEREND WILLIAM MEADE, D. D. Assistant Bishop of Va.

The Hon. ALEXANDER PORTER, of Louisiana.

JOHN McDONOUGH, Esq. of Louisiana.

Managers.

Rev. JAMES LAURIE, D. D.

Gen. WALTER JONES,

FRANCIS S. KEY,

Rev. WILLIAM HAWLEY,

JOHN UNDERWOOD,

Rev. RALPH R. GURLEY,

WILLIAM H. MACFARLAN,

JOSEPH GALES, Senior, *Treasurer.*

WILLIAM W. SEATON,

WALTER LOWRIE,

Dr. PHINEAS BRADLEY,

Dr. THOMAS SEWALL.

} *Secretaries.*

PHILIP R. FENDALL, *Recorder.*

Mr. HAWLEY moved to amend the report by adding to the list of Vice Presidents the name of the Hon. SAMUEL L. SOUTHARD of New Jersey. Motion agreed to unanimously.

On motion of Mr. TERRY, the question was put on the several classes, *serialim*, of the nominations.

The report of the nominating Committee, as amended, was unanimously adopted, and the persons therein named, duly elected, according thereto.

Mr. GURLEY moved, but subsequently withdrew the following resolution:—

Resolved, That a Committee be appointed to prepare a code of laws to define the duties and govern the proceedings of the officers of this Society, and report the same to the next annual meeting.

Mr. POST moved that the Report of the Board of Managers be accepted with such modifications as the Board may approve, and that 10,000 copies be printed.

Mr. CRESSON moved an amendment, that the part of the Report which relates to Auxiliary Societies, be expunged.

Mr. BACON moved to strike out the passages from the words "while the Managers of the Parent Society" to the words "deserve the consideration of this meeting" all inclusive.

Motion carried. Ayes 12, noes 5.

On motion of Mr. GERRIT SMITH,

Resolved, That the Board of Managers be instructed to make arrangements, if they can be made on suitable terms, with the Secretary of this Society, to secure as soon as practicable, the publication of the Memoirs of the late lamented Mr. ASHMUN, in the preparation of which it is understood he is engaged, for the benefit of the cause of this Institution.

Mr. TERRY moved the following resolution:—

Resolved, That the Board of Managers be, and they hereby are, instructed and directed not to fit out any transport of new emigrants to Liberia, until houses shall be prepared for their reception, in which they shall be placed on their arrival at the Colony.

Motion not seconded.

Mr. ORR moved the following resolution:—

Resolved, That this Society now determine, whether they will occupy the whole ground of educating emigrants to Africa, either in this country or Africa, whichever can be most effectually done; or whether they will abandon the whole ground to the African Education Society, except so far as may be essential to the general regulation of the Colony.

The consideration of this resolution was postponed till the next annual meeting.

Mr. FINLEY moved an adjournment till 5 o'clock to-morrow evening. Motion lost.

Mr. POST moved to adjourn indefinitely. Motion lost.

Mr. HAWLEY moved a reconsideration of the vote on Mr. BACON's resolution, expunging certain passages from the last Annual Report.

This motion prevailing, Mr. HAWLEY then moved that the Report be referred to the Board of Managers, with authority to retain, expunge or modify, the passages referred to. This motion was carried.

Mr. CRESSON moved the following resolution:—

Resolved, That CORTLAND VAN RENSSELAER, JOHN T. NORTON and ROBERT S. FINLEY, be hereby appointed a Commission to proceed to Liberia and its vicinity, and to submit to the next annual meeting the result of their inquiry.

Referred to the Board of Managers.

On motion of Dr. LAURIE the Society adjourned to the next annual meeting.

A true copy from the minutes:

P. R. FENDALL, *Secretary to the Meeting.*

OFFICERS AND MANAGERS.

President.

JAMES MADISON, of Virginia.

Vice-Presidents.

1. Chief Justice MARSHALL.
2. General LAFAYETTE, of France.
3. Hon. WM. H. CRAWFORD, of Georgia.
4. Hon. HENRY CLAY, of Lexington, Kentucky.
5. Hon. JOHN C. HERBERT, of Maryland.
6. ROBERT RALSTON, Esq. of Philadelphia.
7. Gen. JOHN MASON, of Georgetown, D. C.
8. SAMUEL BAYARD, Esq. of New Jersey.
9. ISAAC MCKIM, Esq. of Maryland.
10. Gen. JOHN HARTWELL COCKE, of Virginia.
11. Rt. Rev. Bishop WHITE, of Pennsylvania.
12. Hon. DANIEL WEBSTER, of Boston.
13. Hon. CHARLES F. MERCER, of Virginia.
14. JEREMIAH DAY, D. D. of Yale College.
15. Hon. RICHARD RUSH, of Pennsylvania.
16. Bishop MCKENDREE.
17. PHILIP E. THOMAS, Esq. of Maryland.
18. Dr. THOMAS C. JAMES, of Philadelphia.
19. Hon. JOHN COTTON SMITH, of Connecticut.
20. Hon. THEODORE FRELINGHUYSEN, of New Jersey.
21. Hon. LOUIS McLANE, of Washington City.
22. GERRIT SMITH, Esq. of New York.
23. J. H. M'CLURE, Esq. of Kentucky.
24. Gen. ALEXANDER MACOMB, of Washington City.
25. MOSES ALLEN, Esq. of New York.
26. Gen. WALTER JONES, of Washington City.
27. FRANCIS S. KEY, Esq. of Georgetown, D. C.
28. SAMUEL H. SMITH, Esq. of Washington City.
29. JOSEPH GALES, Jr. Esq. of Washington City.
30. The Rt. Rev. WM. MEADE, D. D. Assistant Bishop of Virginia.
31. Hon. ALEXANDER PORTER, of Louisiana.
32. JOHN McDONOUGH, Esq. of Louisiana.
33. Hon. SAMUEL L. SOUTHARD, of New Jersey.

Managers.

- | | |
|---|-------------------------|
| 1. Rev. JAMES LAURIE, D. D. | 6. WILLIAM W. SEATON, |
| 2. Gen. WALTER JONES, | 7. WALTER LOWRIE, |
| 3. FRANCIS S. KEY, | 8. Dr. PHINEAS BRADLEY, |
| 4. Rev. WM. HAWLEY, | 9. Dr. THOMAS SEWALL. |
| 5. JOHN UNDERWOOD, | |
| 10. Rev. RALPH R. GURLEY, } | } <i>Secretaries.</i> |
| 11. WM. H. MACFARLAN, | |
| 12. JOSEPH GALES, Senior, <i>Treasurer.</i> | |
| 13. PHILIP R. FENDALL, <i>Recorder.</i> | |

REPORT.

IN commencing their Seventeenth Annual Report, it is the mournful duty of the Managers of the American Colonization Society, to notice that afflictive dispensation of Providence, which has removed from among them an aged and venerable Minister of Christ, who aided in the formation of the Society; and from that period until within a few days of his death, continued to share in the management of its concerns.

The name of the Rev. Stephen B. Balch, D. D., is deeply engraven on the hearts of the members of this Society, and of this community; and with it are associated recollections of a character in which were happily combined vigorous powers of intellect with all the christian virtues. In him, strict integrity and unbending firmness were softened and made attractive by candour, meekness, charity, and a simplicity that knew no guile. His consistency of conduct was remarkable; the feelings of childhood softened the rigors of age; and amid the trials to which he was occasionally exposed, his soul dwelt in serenity, and the light of an uninterrupted cheerfulness shed a charm over his protracted life.

In contributing to found this Institution, and from its origin to conduct its operations, Dr. Balch exhibited that enlarged benevolence towards men, and that confidence in God, by which alone individuals are prepared to engage successfully in enterprises difficult of accomplishment and promising their largest benefits to future generations of mankind. He hath entered into rest, having walked in his uprightness.

In the brief review which it is proposed to take of the events of the last year, the attention of the general meeting

is first invited to the expeditions which during this period have been sent to Liberia.

It was stated by the Managers in their last Report, that arrangements had been made to despatch an expedition from New Orleans; and on the 21st of April, sailed from that port the brig Ajax, (Capt. Wm. H. Taylor) with 150 emigrants; of which 102 were from Kentucky, 44 from Tennessee, and the remainder from New Orleans, St. Louis and Ohio. More than 90 of those from Kentucky, and several of those from Tennessee, were slaves manumitted, that they might proceed as freemen to Liberia. Of the whole number, only six were above fifty years of age, and but five between forty and fifty, and the entire company of the most respectable character. They enjoyed the best accommodations, and were accompanied by Mr. H. D. King, an Agent from Tennessee, who went out to ascertain for himself the condition and prospects of the Colony; and by Mr. A. H. Savage of Ohio, who has most benevolently devoted himself to the moral and intellectual improvement of the people of colour in Africa. Twenty-nine of the emigrants in this vessel fell victims to the cholera, (that had just commenced its ravages at New Orleans) in the early part of her voyage, which in consequence of delay, at one of the West India Islands, occasioned by the prevalence of this disease, was not completed until the 11th of July.

On the 10th of May, embarked at Philadelphia, for the Colony, in the brig American, Capt. Abels, a small company of emigrants mostly from the State of New York.— Among these was a venerable old man from Littleton, New Hampshire, who had for years been deeply affected by the condition of his African brethren, and anxious to visit them in the hope of imparting to them a knowledge of the true God.

The ship Jupiter, Capt. Knapp, sailed from Norfolk on the 5th of November, with 50 emigrants; 44 of whom were liberated slaves, most of them from Virginia. In this ves-

cel, went as passengers, Dr. Todeen, Colonial Physician, the Rev. John B. Finney, the Rev. Messrs. Clayd and Laird, with the lady of Mr. Laird, and Mr. John Temple, a man of colour, Missionaries of the Western Foreign Missionary Society of the Presbyterian Church; also the Rev. Messrs. Spalding and Wright, with their wives and a young lady as assistant, Missionaries of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

This vessel was followed on the 25th by the brig *Angus*, Capt. Peters, which, with ample supplies of goods and provisions, received on board at Norfolk 51 emigrants, 25 of whom were manumitted slaves, and nearly the whole number from Maryland, the District of Columbia and Virginia. The Board regret to state, that the health of the Colonists, particularly of those who arrived in the early part of the year, has suffered severely; and the mortality among the emigrants by the latest expeditions, has been unusually great. By the return of Dr. Mecklin to the United States, within a few days past, certain facts on this subject have come to the knowledge of the Board, which they deem it their duty to submit to the general meeting. From the *Lafayette*, *Roanoke*, *Jupiter*, *American*, *Ajax* and *Hercules*, were landed 649 emigrants, of whom 134 have died. Though emigrants of no particular class and from no particular section of the country have been exempt from the fatal effects of the fever, the greatest mortality has occurred among those who had resided farthest to the North, and in the most elevated portions of our own country. The Managers have sought to ascertain the true causes of this heavy and unexpected calamity, trusting that they would be found such, as should not be permitted to weaken the efforts or dim the hopes of the Society.

Dr. Todeen, a Physician of much experience in the diseases of the African climate, deemed it necessary in the spring, for the benefit of his health, to visit the United States; and in the course of the summer, Dr. Hall, his only associate in medical practice, returned to this country for a similar

purpose. The duties of Physician for the whole Colony were thus thrown upon the Colonial Agent, Dr. Mecklin, who, owing to toils and exposures during a visit to Grand Bassa, had suffered severely under repeated attacks of disease, and now while the sick were widely separated from each other, many of them at Caldwell, nine miles from Monrovia, found it impossible, even had all other concerns been neglected, to attend duly to their necessities. The emigrants from the most southern States felt confident that they would remain unharmed, and therefore unnecessarily exposed themselves to the various exciting causes of the fever, and when seized by it, relied for remedies rather upon the judgment of some of their own number, than upon the advice of those whose experience would have proved a far safer guide.

The loss of so many lives, is then, in the opinion of the Board, to be attributed rather to the extraordinary unhealthiness of the season, the want of medical aid, and the incautiousness and use of improper medicines on the part of the emigrants, than to the general and permanent character of the climate.

The Managers are confirmed in this opinion, by the colonial census, just received, which, though certainly unfavourable to the health of the Colony, will not induce those to despair of success, who are familiar with the history of Colonization. The number which had been sent to the Colony before the arrival of the expeditions above mentioned as so severely afflicted, was 1872 persons; and the actual population of the Colony (not including the recaptured Africans) in 1832, 1897. The whole number of emigrants, including the expeditions of last year, and the recaptured Africans, (a part of whom only were removed from this country) has been 3123, while the present population of the Colony is stated to be 2816. About fifty of the Colonists are believed to have been absent in the country, at the time this census was taken. Now it should not be forgotten, that the early emigrants were exposed to all

sel, went as passengers, Dr. Todsen, Colonial Physician, the Rev. John B. Pinney, the Rev. Messrs. Cloud and Laird, with the lady of Mr. Laird, and Mr. John Temple, a man of colour, Missionaries of the Western Foreign Missionary Society of the Presbyterian Church; also the Rev. Messrs. Spalding and Wright, with their wives and a young lady as assistant, Missionaries of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

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The Managers are confirmed in this opinion, by the colonial census, just received, which, though certainly unfavourable to the health of the Colony, will not induce those to despair of success, who are familiar with the history of Colonization. The number which had been sent to the Colony before the arrival of the expeditions above mentioned as so severely afflicted, was 1672 persons; and the actual population of the Colony (not including the recaptured Africans) in 1835, 1597. The whole number of emigrants, including the expeditions of last year, and the recaptured Africans, (a part of whom only were removed from this country) has been 3123, while the present population of the Colony is stated to be 2816. About fifty of the Colonists are believed to have been absent in the country, at the time this census was taken. Now it should not be forgotten, that the early emigrants were exposed to all

most every variety of hardship and suffering; that several fell in a contest with the natives; that from twenty to fifty at least have returned; that some have perished by disasters upon the rivers and at sea; that all have had to contend with difficulties inseparable from their enterprise in an untried climate and on a distant and uncultivated shore; and finally, that neither the information nor the pecuniary means of the Society, have at all times been such as to enable it adequately to fulfil the dictates of its own benevolence.

While the facts just stated, must excite painful emotions in the breast of every member of this Society,—while all will feel that human life is not to be wantonly exposed or lightly regarded; neither, the Managers may be permitted to say, on account of ordinary or temporary calamities, should a great cause, undertaken from the purest motives and for purposes of large and lasting good to mankind, be abandoned. The history of Colonization in America, proves how impotent were events, in themselves most afflictive and disheartening, to arrest the progress of settlements founded by men who grew wise in adversity, and gathered resolution and strength from defeat. The genius of our nation, sprung from the colonies of Plymouth and Jamestown, rebukes the despondency which would augur destruction to Liberia, because dark clouds have hung over it and many valuable lives perished in laying its foundations. Nearly one half the first Plymouth emigrants died in the course of four months. The first three attempts to plant a Colony in Virginia totally failed. In six months, ninety of the one hundred settlers who first landed at Jamestown died. Subsequently in the same brief period, the inhabitants of this Colony were reduced from five hundred to sixty; and long after, when \$150,000 had been expended on that Colony, and nine thousand people had been sent thither, its population amounted to but 1800 souls. It is the opinion of Dr. Mecklin, that the settlement just commenced at Grand Bassa, is more favourable to health

than Monrovia; and that future emigrants should be first sent to that place. It is stated that, at a small expense, a road might be opened to the distance of fifty miles in the interior, where the elevation of the country affords reason to believe, there exist few if any unusual causes of disease. The removal of emigrants thither, would probably conduce not only to their health, but to their more industrious and successful cultivation of the soil. It has been observed, that the natives from the upper country, are somewhat affected by the climate of the coast; yet the natives of the coast have vigorous constitutions, and enjoy the best health. This fact shows, that whatever may be the results of further inquiries and experience in regard to the dangers to which emigrants from this country may be exposed, the Colony of Liberia will increase; and if more slowly, yet surely confer on Africa the blessings it is designed to bestow.

A very valuable tract of country at Grand Bassa, lying between the central trunk south-eastern branch, of St. John's river, the latter known by the name of Benson's river, and extending fifteen miles into the interior, containing from one hundred and fifty to two hundred square miles of the best land, with two eligible mill-seats, and abounding in valuable timber, has, since the last anniversary, through the earnest and well-directed efforts of the Colonial Agent, Dr. Mecklin, been added to the territory of the Colony. He remarks,—"For fertility of soil, and the facilities for procuring articles of trade and subsistence, I know of no place within our limits, that can compare with the country in the vicinity of St. John's river." On the tract of land purchased by the same gentleman, on the Little Bassa side of St. John's river, about one hundred and fifty emigrants established themselves early in the year, and have already built houses, enclosed their lots, and made encouraging progress in agricultural improvements. The town which has been commenced, commands a fine view of the ocean, and is called Edina, in honor of the liberality of the citizens of Edinburgh, in Scotland.

Provisions are much cheaper at Grand Bassa than at Monrovia: the St. John's river abounds in fish; and indian corn, and a great variety of vegetables may be successfully cultivated. One of the native chiefs desired that his town might be included within the limits of the settlement, so that he might share in the privileges while he obeyed the laws of the Colony. The natives in the vicinity of Edina manifest the most friendly disposition, and several of the Bassa chiefs have expressed their willingness to make grants of land to the Society. The proprietor of a tract (four or five miles south of the mouth of the St. John's river, forming an admirable harbour, in which ships may anchor, and boats land their cargoes safely, at all seasons), who, until recently, refused to cede any portion of it, has become so well convinced of the advantages he may derive from a civilized settlement, as to invite the Colonial Agent to select and purchase any part of his territory; and it is the purpose of the Board to secure, as soon as possible, the benefits of this proposition.

The commercial prosperity of the Colony, has continued to increase; and the Managers have only to regret that the immediate gains of trade are too generally preferred to the slower but surer profits of agricultural labour. Several vessels have been built at the Colony: the *Liberia Herald* gives a list of sixty to seventy arrivals in the course of the last eight months; and measures have been taken to explore the country with the view of establishing commercial connexions with the powerful tribes of the interior.

The Managers state with regret, that the hopes expressed by them in their last Report, in regard to agriculture, have not been fully realized. They have deemed a vigorous cultivation of this great interest essential to the common prosperity, the durable independence of the Colony. They have instructed their Agent, and urged the settlers to consider it of primary importance; and premiums have been offered to encourage agricultural industry and enterprise. But the temptations to indolence and trade with

the natives, and in some instances the pressure of daily want, not to be satisfied with future relief, have overcome all opposing inclinations. The Managers still hope that what could not be done by argument, may be done by example. Some of the most respectable emigrants from Charleston, have wisely resolved to devote themselves to agriculture, and have formed themselves into a company, that they may prosecute it with the more energy and success. Under date of August 1st, the Rev. Colston M. Waring writes: "Though I am not a farmer, I have cultivated six acres of coffee; and have this season planted five acres more; and am planting besides, yams, and an ample supply of vegetables. I feel very sanguine that my example will be followed by many in the culture of coffee and other articles." The farms of the recaptured Africans, have well rewarded their labours; and the emigrants at Edina seem disposed to rely mainly upon their labours as husbandmen, for the means of subsistence and prosperity. The demand for mechanical labour in the Colony, is great; and those who perform it, receive a liberal compensation.

The cause of education is making progress; nearly all the settlers wish their children to enjoy its advantages, and the common schools, six in number, (three of them sustained by a benevolent society of ladies in Philadelphia) are well conducted and attended. The Auxiliary Colonization Society of Massachusetts, appropriated early in the year, \$1,000 towards the establishment and support of a school, with two teachers, to be called the Massachusetts Colonial Free School. Ample and judicious regulations have been drawn up by that Society, for the management of this school, which is to be under the immediate control of a committee consisting of the Colonial Agent or the Mayor of Monrovia, and two other persons, to be annually elected by the citizens of the Colony; and it is expected soon to be in operation. The Managers are pleased to learn that Mr. A. H. Savage, who has entered upon a

course of benevolent action in the Colony, designs to commence a manual labour school at Millsburg; and his estimable character and practical knowledge, give reason to conclude, that it will be so conducted as to prove of large and extensive utility. Many of the ladies of New York, of different denominations, have united to form a Society for the promotion of education in Liberia. It is proposed, by forming associations in the different churches, to raise in each church a sum adequate to the support of a single teacher. Several teachers have already offered their services, and the means for the support of some of them, are already pledged. The scheme excites much interest, and it is hoped that many churches will engage in this work of benevolence and mercy.

The High School or Seminary, proposed by Henry Sheldon, Esq. of New York, whose munificent donation of \$2,000 as the commencement of a permanent fund for its support, was mentioned at the last anniversary, has not yet been founded. As such an Institution would greatly promote the cause of letters and religion in Africa, the Managers trust their countrymen will not deny the means for its adequate endowment.

The Managers can add little to the statements in their last Report, in regard to the moral and religious interests of the Colony. The number of churches or meeting-houses in the various settlements, is nine; the Sabbath and public worship are well observed; many of the recaptured Africans have united themselves to the church; and the christian community have manifested a desire to impart religious knowledge to the African tribes. In May last, the Board of Missions of the Baptist Church in Monrovia, appointed Adam W. Anderson a Missionary for one year, among the Vye people at Cape Mount, and instructed him not only to preach the Gospel to the adults of this tribe, but to teach the English language to their children.

All the native Africans in the neighbourhood of the Colony, are prepared to receive instruction in letters, the

arts and christianity; and many of the chiefs have offered to make grants of lands, on the simple condition, that their youth shall enjoy the advantages of an English education. Thousands of human beings, debased in intellect and darkly bound in vice, invoke the spirit of missionary enterprise to extend its triumphs over an almost unlimited field; and in their characters renovated, and lives purified by its influence, to find for every labour and sacrifice, an ample and durable reward.

The Managers have been gratified to observe among Christians of various denominations, both in this country and Great Britain, a growing concern to civilize the manners and enlighten the minds of the people of Africa. They have rejoiced that all associations designed for the benefit of uncivilized men, might derive aid from Liberia in their merciful efforts to rescue this people from their degrading superstitions, their odious customs, and that traffic which has cursed their race, and to bring them under the dominion of knowledge, reason and the all-gracious power of divine truth.

The departure for the Colony of two Missionaries, the Rev. Mr. Cox under the authority of the Methodist Church, and the Rev. Mr. Pinney under that of the Western Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, was mentioned in the last Report. Mr. Pinney having visited several places on the coast and in the interior, and made arrangements for the vigorous prosecution of his work, returned to this country in the spring, to strengthen his impaired health, make report of his prospects, and obtain associates in his enterprise. His statements excited deep interest in many churches; and with four individuals as assistants in the same cause, he sailed for the Colony on the 5th of November.

After a voyage of four months, having touched at the Cape de Verds, Bathurst in the Gambia, and Sierra Leone, the Rev. Melville B. Cox, the first Methodist Missionary to Africa, on the 11th of March, arrived at Monrovia.—

His health had long been feeble, and on the 21st of July, after a lingering illness, he resigned his soul to God. He had conferred with many intelligent and religious men at the English colonies, acquired valuable information, comprehensively and judiciously surveyed the wide field before him, and adopted the largest plans of usefulness. His intellectual strength and activity—his zeal, charity and apostolic devotion, qualified him for great achievements; and though fallen when his armour was just put on for the conflict, he speaks to the church and her elect host, to follow him, in the words ordered by him to be engraved on his monument—"Let thousands fall before Africa be abandoned." Animated by his spirit and moved by his example, two Missionaries, with their wives, and a young lady as teacher, of the same denomination, have just gone to occupy the station which he occupied; and to seek through the might of Him who claims the homage of all hearts, to turn the Barbarians of Africa from darkness to light, and from the power of satan unto God.

The Managers state with regret that complaints have been made to them from various sources during the year, highly injurious to the character and interests of the Colony. That these are not wholly unfounded, that evils exist demanding for their remedy prompt and energetic measures, the Board cannot doubt. They have sought to ascertain the causes of these evils, and the means for their removal. They are convinced that in the methods of supplying the necessities of newly arrived emigrants; of allotting to them their lands; of guarding their health; exciting their industry and public spirit; securing increased attention to agriculture; suppressing the traffic in ardent spirits and conducting the operations and defraying the expenses of the colonial government, there is reason and room for improvement. Occasional errors in judgment, are incidental to the management of affairs so remote as those of the Colony, from the personal inspection of the Board; and if through inexperience or inadequate information, such errors have

been committed, they may hope by additional light to correct them; nor can they be slow to change or even abandon measures which are proved ineffectual to accomplish the good for which they were intended.

Mr. Anthony D. Williams, the then Vice Agent, and Mr. J. J. Roberts, High Sheriff of the Colony, (whose visit to various places in this country during the last summer, rendered special service to the cause), submitted a communication from some of the leading colonists to the Board, requesting as a measure likely to contribute to the public prosperity, that the council should be increased in number and invested with additional powers as a branch of the colonial government. The memorialists were sustained, to some extent, in their views by the opinions of the Colonial Agent; but the Managers deemed it best to postpone any decision on the subject. The entire system of political and civil jurisprudence in Liberia, may require a revision; and to it the Board have already invited the attention of gentlemen well qualified to adapt it to the circumstances and prospects of the Colony.

The Society has laboured during the year under pecuniary embarrassments; nor yet secured adequate relief. The Managers stated last year, that in assisting many to emigrate, in whose behalf urgent applications had been made to them, they had incurred expenses beyond the means at their disposal; yet, at that time, they apprehended no inability to meet their engagements. The demands upon the Society's treasury, from Liberia, (arising in part from the failure of the rice crops on that coast), have, however, been large and unexpected, and beyond the resources which the Board have yet been able to command.

The Colonial Agent, Dr. Mechlin, who has done much to enlarge the territory and extend the influence of the Colony, has returned to the United States, and resigned his office as Colonial Agent. His health has been impaired by the arduous labours of his station, and the influence of the climate. A removal from a tropical region seemed

to offer the only hope of his recovery. The services which he has rendered and the sufferings endured by him in the cause of this Society, will long be gratefully remembered by the friends of Africa.

In obedience to the instructions of the Board, the Secretary, in the course of the summer, invited public attention in the cities of Boston, New York and Philadelphia, and various other places at the North, to the claims and wants of the Society. Deep and general interest was manifested in the cause, and large public meetings were held to promote it. Resolutions were adopted by the citizens of Boston and Philadelphia, to endeavour to raise in each of their respective States, ten thousand dollars; while those of New York proposed twenty thousand dollars as their contribution to the cause. From the city of New York, many generous donations have been received; and it is hoped that purposes so nobly formed, will be fully and speedily executed. They are the purposes of men whose feelings and favour depend not upon the sunshine, and whose courage is not shaken by the storm.

The principles and proceedings of the Society, have, during the year, in the newspapers and journals of the country, been thoroughly and extensively discussed; and the reflections of the American people are awake in regard to the momentous questions which they involve. Numerous Auxiliary Societies have been formed in various States; argument and eloquence and truth have sustained the Institution: but while it has grown in strength, the conflicting elements of opposition have broken against it.

As Agents, the Rev. J. N. Danforth in New York and New England, and J. G. Birney, Esq. in the south-western States, have done much to enlighten the mind, and secure the confidence and charities of the public. The Rev. Cyril Pearl has by his addresses and writings, rendered important service in a large portion of New England. R. S. Finley, Esq., Agent of the New York Society, has continued his efficient labours for the advancement

of the cause. Others have been temporarily employed; and individuals too numerous to mention have joyfully made large sacrifices of time and money to sustain it, rewarded only but amply by the consciousness of well doing.

With ardent zeal and unbroken resolution, although amid many difficulties, and in the face of a well organized opposition, Mr. Cresson has advocated the cause of the Society throughout England, Scotland and a part of Ireland; and won over to its support many of the wisest heads and warmest hearts. Numerous branch associations have been formed; liberal contributions made to the funds of the Society, and able writers enlisted in its defence. At Perth, Greenock, Leith, Dundee, Aberdeen, Glasgow and Edinburgh, large public meetings were held, (at the last place Lord Moncrieff presiding, who with the Lord Advocate, Mr. Jeffrey, and other eminent individuals, made eloquent addresses), and resolutions adopted, expressive of entire confidence in the benevolence of the Institution, and heartfelt interest in its success. Many ladies of distinction were ready to combine their efforts in aid of the cause, and to pledge to it their influence, contributions and prayers.

In many of the English Journals, the subject of African Colonization has been discussed; and for candid expositions of its views, the Society is particularly indebted to Dr. Thomas Hodgkin, London; Rev. Josiah Pratt, Secretary of the London Missionary Society; T. G. Jacob, of Belfast; Rev. Edward Higginson, of Hull; J. Bevans, the able Editor of the Herald of Peace; James Simpson, Esq. of Edinburgh; and the Rev. Henry Duncan, of Dumfries, Scotland.

The Managers announce with the highest gratification, the formation, on the 3rd of July last, of the *British African Colonization Society*. Of this Society, the Duke of Sussex is Patron, and Lord Bexley President; and among its other officers, are enrolled some of the brightest names in England. The object of this Society is to introduce the blessings of civilization and christianity into Africa, and

abolish the slave trade, by the employment of persons of African race, and qualified by their education and principles to instruct and improve the natives of Africa; and also the establishment of colonies composed of such persons, and formed with the free consent of both natives and colonists. This Institution has declared its purpose to correspond and co-operate with the American Colonization Society, and with such missionary, religious and charitable societies in Great Britain and the United States, as are endeavouring to raise the civil, moral and religious condition of the Africans.

The Board trust that the results of Mr. Cresson's mission will be perpetuated, not only in the operations of the British Colonization Society, but in that union of spirit which should render one, the people of America and England, whenever humanity summons them to vindicate her rights, and liberty and religion, seek power from them to triumph over the vices and miseries of mankind. It has been proposed by the English government to place certain recaptured Africans that may be thrown upon its protection, in Liberia; and the Managers have consented to receive and grant to such Africans (not exceeding 1,000 annually) all the privileges allowed to other settlers, on condition said government shall pay ten pounds for each, towards defraying the expenses.

The abolition of slavery in the British West Indies, is a great event, to the consequences of which are turned with intense interest the eyes of the civilized world. To secure the inestimable benefits of freedom to any people, the light of knowledge and all the discipline of moral and religious education are indispensable.

Hence the proposition to found institutions for the education of men of colour,—to prepare them to become teachers and missionaries among their brethren in the West Indies and Africa, and especially the plan of establishing a college for their benefit in the Island of Bermuda, must receive the cordial approbation of all the friends of man-

kind. Let us cherish the hope, that through the united charities of England and America, an institution may soon rise in Bermuda, resting upon broad and solid foundations, sustained by a catholic spirit, and from which shall emanate the light and power of truth, to bring up from amid the mouldering ruins of our nature, social order and political liberty, and render them alike the possession, the greatness and the glory of the African race.

The State Colonization Society of Maryland, has adopted measures for founding at Cape Palmas, on the African coast, a new Colony, to be aided by all its resources, and exclusively under its control. Its Managers have resolved to regard the abolition of slavery in Maryland, as a primary object; to render their settlements in Africa as far as possible, agricultural; and to aid such persons only to emigrate, as will agree to abstain entirely from the use and traffic in ardent spirits. The first expedition for Cape Palmas, which has recently sailed, conveys about 25 emigrants, under the direction of Dr. Hall as Agent, assisted by the Rev. Mr. Hersey, with the Rev. Mr. Wilson, the first missionary sent to Africa by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. The vessel will touch at Liberia to receive thence some additional emigrants; she has supplies for six months, and ample materials for commencing and defending a new settlement, should suitable territory be obtained. It is due to the Maryland Society as well as to this Institution to say, that the peculiar circumstances and principles of the former, have constituted in her judgment, valid reasons for dissolving those ties by which she has been heretofore connected, as an Auxiliary, with this Society. The Managers have cheerfully afforded to the Maryland Society every aid and facility in their power; and trust that her enterprise will prove most advantageous to Maryland, and show to the whole country the great benefits of the Colonization scheme, while they cannot be deemed responsible for her peculiar views, or for the plans she may adopt for the execution of her purposes. She

has resolved, for reasons satisfactory to herself, to prosecute independently her great work; yet, without questioning the wisdom of her course, the Managers may be permitted to say, that in their judgment, great advantages are to be expected from the continued union of Auxiliaries, when united on the same principles, to the Parent Institution, and from a central organization constituted and controlled by the authority embodying the sentiments, representing the will, and exerting the power of the friends of the cause throughout the nation. To execute an object of great national importance, the largest resources may be required; and what can with difficulty be effected by a small portion of the nation, may be easily and fully accomplished by the combined sentiment and powers of the American people.

The crisis has arrived. Thought, inquiry, feeling, are awake, and while the mind of the whole nation is fast making up its permanent judgment in regard to this Society, Providence is pleased to darken its way, and call upon the host of its steadfast friends, to lift up their eyes and voices to the everlasting throne. But let no man's heart fail him. A good cause may seem to be in danger, it can never suffer a lasting defeat.

The Managers trust that the principles on which this Society is founded, are such as will endure the trial of opposition and of time. If it be benevolent to exert a moral influence to produce a voluntary separation of the people of colour from the white race among whom they reside, and their establishment in another land, as a distinct community, where they may be educated, self-governed, excited to noble actions, made to feel in themselves the consciousness of all human power, while they see around them the means of largest usefulness and all human improvement, then benevolence pervades the constitution and governs the proceedings of this Society. That many of the causes depressing the free man of colour in this country, are moral, and therefore ought to be removed; that he is the victim of prejudice; that much is neglected which might

be done here for his relief; that evils exist in Liberia; that particular measures of the Society fail of success, may be admitted, while its fundamental principles remain entire in their character of benevolence and truth. If the object proposed, be on the whole, desirable and practicable, it should not, it will not be abandoned. If the scheme of the Society tend more than any other to free the mind of the man of colour; to infuse into him heroic desires and discipline him for worthy deeds; to place him where all circumstances favour his elevation and all motives stir him to duty, to enlighten Africa, to change her barbarous and enslaved to an educated, a free and Christian population, and in fine, to cover one continent with the glory of benevolence, and another with its choicest blessings, it can never want friends on earth or a Patron in Heaven.

Towards kindred Institutions, designed to meliorate, by proper and judicious means, the condition of the people of colour in this country or Africa, the Managers cherish a sincere regard. While in their appropriate work, they hope to be sustained by the general sense and benevolence of the country; they will rejoice in all efforts, whether of individuals or associations, adopted to promote, consistently with the common welfare, the happiness of any portion of mankind. And while they cannot doubt that the principles of the Christian religion supply an adequate remedy for all the evils, originating in moral causes, of the world; to them it is not less clear, that such remedy is, in most cases, gentle in its influence, peaceful in its nature, and gradual in its effects. It enlivens the conscience, sways the will, and softens the heart. The warring passions of man subside beneath its power, and discord becomes harmony. It is by changes in the human soul, that it accomplishes the most glorious revolutions in human affairs; exhibiting the power of transmuting the bonds of affliction into the golden links of sympathy and love, and making the crimes and misfortunes of the past, contribute to the virtue and happiness of every future age. With a firm re-

liance upon Providence, resolved that no spirit of selfishness or ambition shall be permitted to disturb its councils, may this Society move on in the light of charity and of truth, overcoming opposition by meekness, enmity by love, gathering around it the affections of the wise and the good, extending the empire of Christianity, kindling hope where now is despair, and building up throughout Africa, Institutions to which the eyes of millions shall be joyfully turned, when her pyramids shall be no more.

TREASURER'S ACCOUNT.

DR.

Balance from last year, including \$101 counterfeit,	\$1,048 88
Donations by individuals,	1,188 67
Auxiliary Societies,	12,519 45
Collections by Agents,	2,049 76
4th of July collections,	4,078 70
Life-member subscriptions,	1,440 50
Annual subscriptions,	107
Subscriptions on Gerrit Smith's (\$100) plan,	2,804 06
Legacies,	10,236
Loans,	10,289 71
Subscriptions to Repository,	90
Money refunded,	10 67
Collections in Europe,	3,125 82
	\$48,939 17

CR.

Transportation and provision of Emigrants,	\$2,133 33
Supplies for the Colony,	20,044 07
Salaries of Colonial Agent and Physicians,	2,465 08
do. minor Officers at the Colony,	1,147 40
do. Agents in the United States,	1,312 49
do. Secretary, Assistant Secretary, Treasurer, and Clerk,	2,801 61
Contingencies,	1,203 34
Printing,	2,430 13
Subscriptions to Repository,	177 70
Loans to the Society paid off,	12,641 34
Expense of collecting Emigrants,	53
Loss on uncurrent money,	37 31
Interest on loans and notes,	283 24
Support and Tuition of W. Davis,	181 80
do. do. Medical Students,	1,611 80
Support of James Brown, Apothecary,	184
Balance, including \$112 counterfeit,	231 43
E. E.	\$48,939 17

Washington, January 24, 1834.

The Rev. JOSHUA N. DANFORTH, permanent Agent of the A. C. Society for the district comprising the New England States and New York, has resigned his Agency.

CONTRIBUTIONS

To American Colonization Society, from Jan. 1, to March 1, 1834.

Gerrit Smith's First Plan of Subscription.

Nicholas Brown, Providence, Rhode Island,	\$100
Hon. Jacob Burnett, Ohio,	100
Matthew Carey, Philadelphia, (paid to Rev J. N. Danforth,)	100
Dr. John Kerr, Louisiana, \$100—John M'Donough, New Orleans, \$100,	200

Collections from Churches.

Second Presbyterian church, Albany, by David Wood,	63	23
Bethlehem church, Indiana,	8	
Associated Reformed congregation, Big Spring, Pa.	25	
Buck Spring, Harrison co. Ohio, Presbyterian congregation	20	
Calvary Meeting-house, Ohio, by Rev. D. Parker,	6	23
Dutch church, Chittenango, New York, by G. Smith,	4	
Dauphin church, by the Rev. J. R. Sharon,	13	
Reformed Pres. church, Duaneburg, and others, by Dr. M'Master, pastor,	13	
Felicity church, Ohio, by Rev. D. Parker,	8	07
Hufter's school-house, Clermont co. Ohio, by Rev. D. Parker,	12	53
Kingsport, Tenn. Benevolent and Congregational Society,	5	
Kishicoquils congregation, Pennsylvania,	10	
Church and congregation of Lyme, Ohio, by John Seymour,	11	07
New London, N. Y. by Rev. S. Church,	5	
Congregational Society, Newport, N. H. from John Woods,	12	
Salem, Fauquier co. Va. by William Williamson,	3	45
Point Pleasant, Ohio, by Rev. D. Parker,	3	17
Methodist church, St. Louis, by the Rev. John S. Barger,	10	
St. John's church, Connecticut, by Rev. Allen Morgan,	12	
Seven Mile, Ohio, by Rev. B. R. Smith,	10	
Silver Spring congregation, Pennsylvania, by Rev. J. Williamson,	10	
Warrenton, Fauquier county, Virginia, by Rev. William Williamson,	5	54
Fourth Presbyterian church, Washington City,	17	00
Meth. Epis. church, Wheeling, Va. by Rev. T. M. Hudson,	6	50
do do by Rev. W. Lambdin,	8	50
Yellow Spring congregation, Green county, Ohio,	12	
Lutheran and Methodist cong'n. York, Pa. by Rev. J. Voglesong,	20	

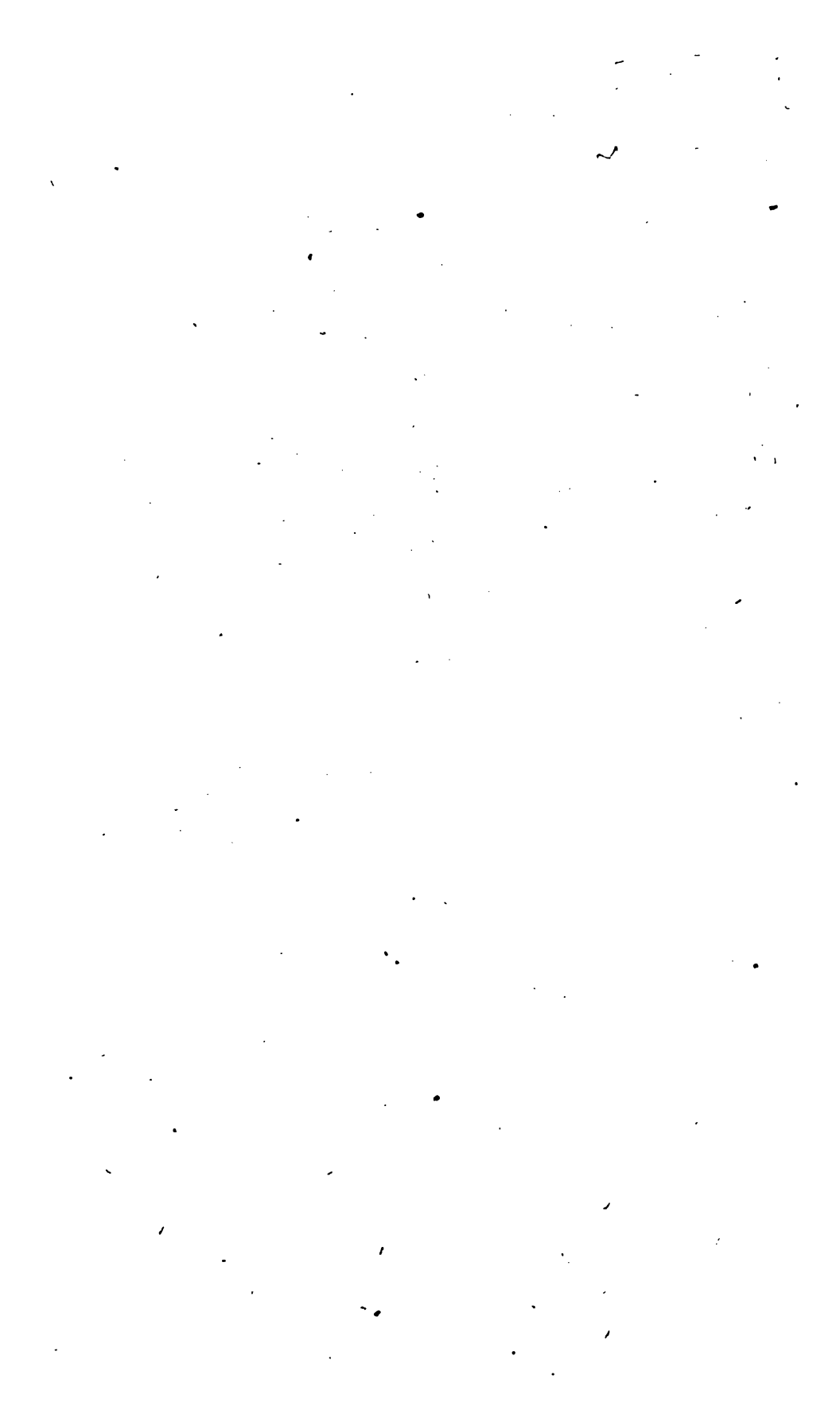
Payments by Auxiliary Societies.

Ashtabula county, Ohio, Auxiliary Society,	20	
Cincinnati, Ohio, do do	17	
Hampton county, Mass. do do	115	
New Hope and Harmony, Tenn. do do	5	
New Hampshire do do	100	01
Springfield, Ohio, Ladies' do do	50	
Wayne county, Ohio, do do	67	25
Zanesville, Ohio, do do	95	

Donations.

Chs. Brewer, Pittsburg, \$30—Lieut. Z. J. D. Kinaley, West Point, \$30,	60	
Rev. W. M. Atkinson, Petersburg, \$50; T. Edmonston, Baltimore, \$100	150	
Charles Kellogg, Kelloggsville, by the Hon. R. Day,	10	
Mrs. Lee \$10—A Lady in the District of Columbia, by Mr. Gurley,	10	
Lucian Minor, Louisa county, Virginia,	5	
Rt. Rev. Bishop Meade, Virginia,	20	
Inhabitants of Richfield, Ohio, by Hon. E. Whittlesey,	5	
Individuals in Ridgefield, Ohio, by J. Seymour,	3	03
Sundry donations at the annual meeting of the Society in Washington,		
viz:—from Cassius F. Lee, Richard Phillips, R. P. Anderson,		
Howard Stansbury, Rev. James M'Vean, John Kennedy, John G.		
Whitwell, Hon. Lewis Williams, Hon. Thomas Corwin, Daniel		
Campbell, John P. Ingle, W. H. Campbell, Hiram Chamberlain,		
Ambrose Stevens, Rev. Isaac Orr, Hon. S. L. Southard,		
	16	

Total, \$712 03

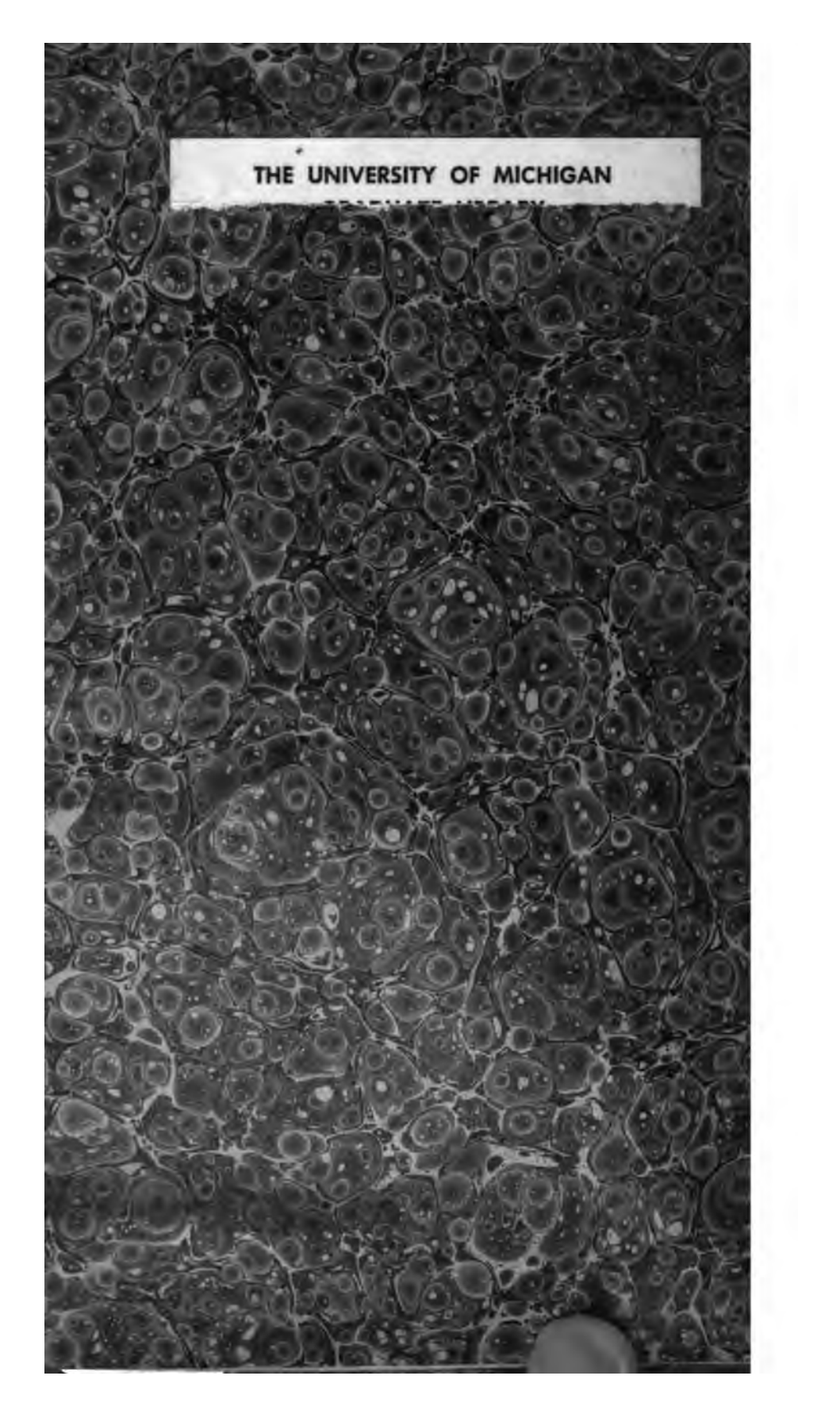




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The image shows the front cover of a book. The cover is decorated with a dense, intricate marbled pattern in shades of dark grey, black, and light grey. The pattern consists of numerous small, irregular, cell-like or stone-like shapes. At the top center, there is a horizontal white rectangular label. On this label, the text "THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN" is printed in a bold, black, sans-serif font. Below this line of text, there is a faint, smaller line of text that is partially obscured and difficult to read, but it appears to say "RESERVE LIBRARY".

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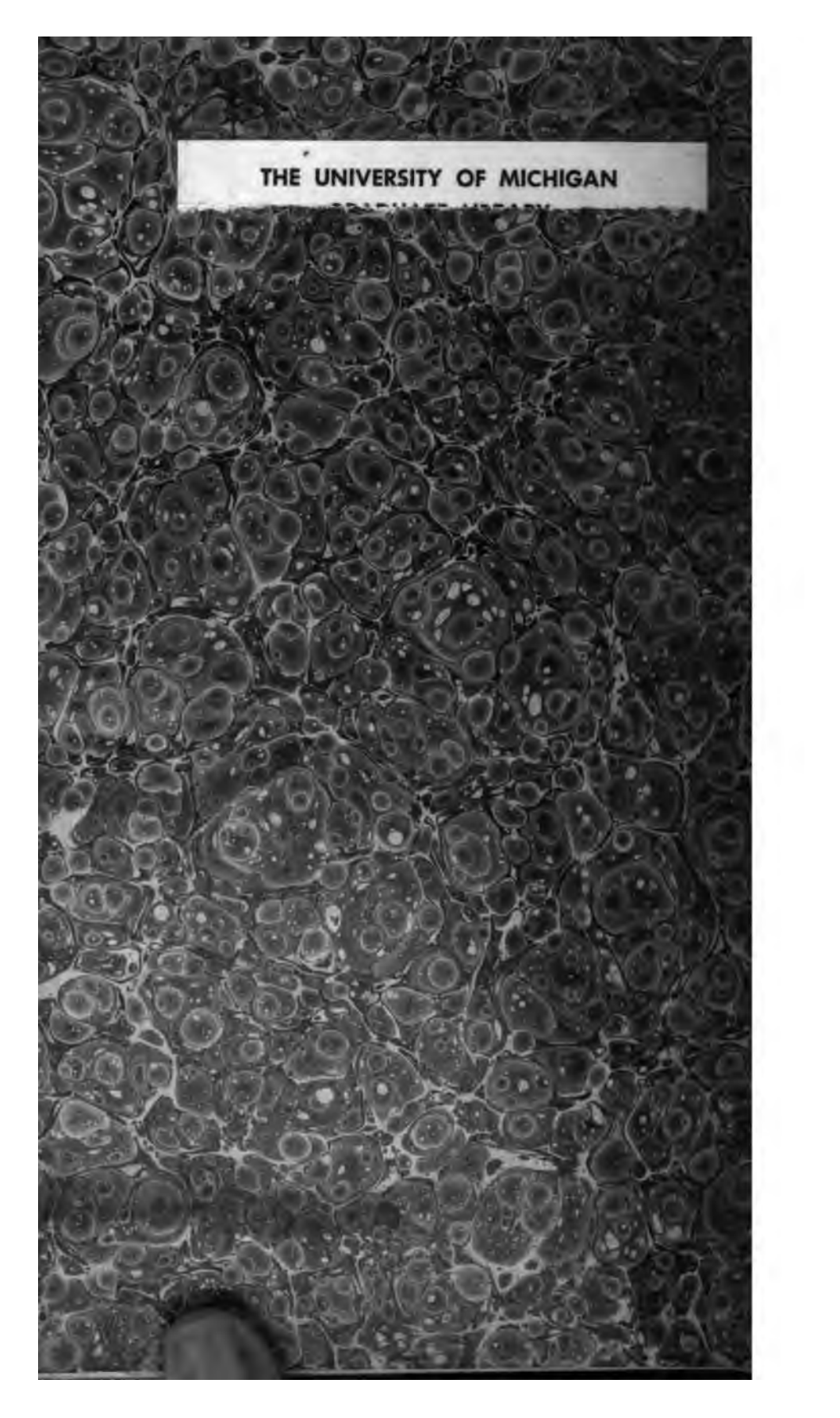
THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

DATE DUE

JUN 25 1989

JUN 28 1991

DEC 12 2003

The image shows the front cover of a book. The cover is decorated with a dense, intricate marbled pattern in shades of grey, black, and white, featuring a 'stone' or 'shell' pattern. A horizontal white rectangular label is positioned near the top center of the cover. On this label, the text 'THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN' is printed in a bold, black, sans-serif font. Below this main text, there is a line of smaller, less legible text, which appears to be a call number or accession number. The overall appearance is that of a vintage academic or library book.

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most every variety of hardship and suffering; that several fell in a contest with the natives; that from twenty to fifty at least have returned; that some have perished by disasters upon the rivers and at sea; that all have had to contend with difficulties inseparable from their enterprise in an untried climate and on a distant and uncultivated shore; and finally, that neither the information nor the pecuniary means of the Society, have at all times been such as to enable it adequately to fulfil the dictates of its own benevolence.

While the facts just stated, must excite painful emotions in the breast of every member of this Society,—while all will feel that human life is not to be wantonly exposed or lightly regarded; neither, the Managers may be permitted to say, on account of ordinary or temporary calamities, should a great cause, undertaken from the purest motives and for purposes of large and lasting good to mankind, be abandoned. The history of Colonization in America, proves how impotent were events, in themselves most afflictive and disheartening, to arrest the progress of settlements founded by men who grew wise in adversity, and gathered resolution and strength from defeat. The genius of our nation, sprung from the colonies of Plymouth and Jamestown, rebukes the despondency which would augur destruction to Liberia, because dark clouds have hung over it and many valuable lives perished in laying its foundations. Nearly one half the first Plymouth emigrants died in the course of four months. The first three attempts to plant a Colony in Virginia totally failed. In six months, ninety of the one hundred settlers who first landed at Jamestown died. Subsequently in the same brief period, the inhabitants of this Colony were reduced from five hundred to sixty; and long after, when \$150,000 had been expended on that Colony, and nine thousand people had been sent thither, its population amounted to but 1800 souls. It is the opinion of Dr. Mecklin, that the settlement just commenced at Grand Bassa, is more favourable to health

than Monrovia; and that future emigrants should be first sent to that place. It is stated that, at a small expense, a road might be opened to the distance of fifty miles in the interior, where the elevation of the country affords reason to believe, there exist few if any unusual causes of disease. The removal of emigrants thither, would probably conduce not only to their health, but to their more industrious and successful cultivation of the soil. It has been observed, that the natives from the upper country, are somewhat affected by the climate of the coast; yet the natives of the coast have vigorous constitutions and enjoy the best health. This fact shows, that whatever may be the results of further inquiries and experience in regard to the dangers to which emigrants from this country may be exposed, the Colony of Liberia will increase; and if more slowly, yet surely confer on Africa the blessings it is designed to bestow.

A very valuable tract of country at Grand Bassa, lying between the central trunk south-eastern branch of St. John's river, the latter known by the name of Benson's river, and extending fifteen miles into the interior, containing from one hundred and fifty to two hundred square miles of the best land, with two eligible mill-seats, and abounding in valuable timber, has, since the last anniversary, through the earnest and well-directed efforts of the Colonial Agent, Dr. Mecklin, been added to the territory of the Colony. He remarks,—"For fertility of soil, and the facilities for procuring articles of trade and subsistence, I know of no place within our limits, that can compare with the country in the vicinity of St. John's river." On the tract of land purchased by the same gentleman, on the Little Bassa side of St. John's river, about one hundred and fifty emigrants established themselves early in the year, and have already built houses, enclosed their lots, and made encouraging progress in agricultural improvements. The town which has been commenced, commands a fine view of the ocean, and is called Edina, in honor of the liberality of the citizens of Edinburgh in Scotland.

Provisions are much cheaper at Grand Bassa than at Monrovia: the St. John's river abounds in fish; and indian corn, and a great variety of vegetables may be successfully cultivated. One of the native chiefs desired that his town might be included within the limits of the settlement, so that he might share in the privileges while he obeyed the laws of the Colony. The natives in the vicinity of Edina manifest the most friendly disposition, and several of the Bassa chiefs have expressed their willingness to make grants of land to the Society. The proprietor of a tract (four or five miles south of the mouth of the St. John's river, forming an admirable harbour, in which ships may anchor, and boats land their cargoes safely, at all seasons), who, until recently, refused to cede any portion of it, has become so well convinced of the advantages he may derive from a civilized settlement, as to invite the Colonial Agent to select and purchase any part of his territory; and it is the purpose of the Board to secure, as soon as possible, the benefits of this proposition.

The commercial prosperity of the Colony, has continued to increase; and the Managers have only to regret that the immediate gains of trade are too generally preferred to the slower but surer profits of agricultural labour. Several vessels have been built at the Colony: the *Liberia Herald* gives a list of sixty to seventy arrivals in the course of the last eight months; and measures have been taken to explore the country with the view of establishing commercial connexions with the powerful tribes of the interior.

The Managers state with regret, that the hopes expressed by them in their last Report, in regard to agriculture, have not been fully realized. They have deemed a vigorous cultivation of this great interest essential to the common prosperity, the durable independence of the Colony. They have instructed their Agent, and urged the settlers to consider it of primary importance; and premiums have been offered to encourage agricultural industry and enterprise. But the temptations to indolence and trade with

the natives, and in some instances the pressure of daily want, not to be satisfied with future relief, have overcome all opposing inclinations. The Managers still hope that what could not be done by argument, may be done by example. Some of the most respectable emigrants from Charleston, have wisely resolved to devote themselves to agriculture, and have formed themselves into a company, that they may prosecute it with the more energy and success. Under date of August 1st, the Rev. Colston M. Waring writes: "Though I am not a farmer, I have cultivated six acres of coffee; and have this season planted five acres more; and am planting besides, yams, and an ample supply of vegetables. I feel very sanguine that my example will be followed by many in the culture of coffee and other articles." The farms of the recaptured Africans, have well rewarded their labours; and the emigrants at Edina seem disposed to rely mainly upon their labours as husbandmen, for the means of subsistence and prosperity. The demand for mechanical labour in the Colony, is great; and those who perform it, receive a liberal compensation.

The cause of education is making progress; nearly all the settlers wish their children to enjoy its advantages, and the common schools, six in number, (three of them sustained by a benevolent society of ladies in Philadelphia) are well conducted and attended. The Auxiliary Colonization Society of Massachusetts, appropriated early in the year, \$1,000 towards the establishment and support of a school, with two teachers, to be called the Massachusetts Colonial Free School. Ample and judicious regulations have been drawn up by that Society, for the management of this school, which is to be under the immediate control of a committee consisting of the Colonial Agent or the Mayor of Monrovia, and two other persons, to be annually elected by the citizens of the Colony; and it is expected soon to be in operation. The Managers are pleased to learn that Mr. A. H. Savage, who has entered upon a

course of benevolent action in the Colony, designs to commence a manual labour school at Millsburg; and his estimable character and practical knowledge, give reason to conclude, that it will be so conducted as to prove of large and extensive utility. Many of the ladies of New York, of different denominations, have united to form a Society for the promotion of education in Liberia. It is proposed, by forming associations in the different churches, to raise in each church a sum adequate to the support of a single teacher. Several teachers have already offered their services, and the means for the support of some of them, are already pledged. The scheme excites much interest, and it is hoped that many churches will engage in this work of benevolence and mercy.

The High School or Seminary, proposed by Henry Sheldon, Esq. of New York, whose munificent donation of \$2,000 as the commencement of a permanent fund for its support, was mentioned at the last anniversary, has not yet been founded. As such an Institution would greatly promote the cause of letters and religion in Africa, the Managers trust their countrymen will not deny the means for its adequate endowment.

The Managers can add little to the statements in their last Report, in regard to the moral and religious interests of the Colony. The number of churches or meeting-houses in the various settlements, is nine; the Sabbath and public worship are well observed; many of the recaptured Africans have united themselves to the church; and the christian community have manifested a desire to impart religious knowledge to the African tribes. In May last, the Board of Missions of the Baptist Church in Monrovia, appointed Adam W. Anderson a Missionary for one year, among the Vye people at Cape Mount, and instructed him not only to preach the Gospel to the adults of this tribe, but to teach the English language to their children.

All the native Africans in the neighbourhood of the Colony, are prepared to receive instruction in letters, the

arts and christianity; and many of the chiefs have offered to make grants of lands, on the simple condition, that their youth shall enjoy the advantages of an English education. Thousands of human beings, debased in intellect and darkly bound in vice, invoke the spirit of missionary enterprise to extend its triumphs over an almost unlimited field; and in their characters renovated, and lives purified by its influence, to find for every labour and sacrifice, an ample and durable reward.

The Managers have been gratified to observe among Christians of various denominations, both in this country and Great Britain, a growing concern to civilize the manners and enlighten the minds of the people of Africa. They have rejoiced that all associations designed for the benefit of uncivilized men, might derive aid from Liberia in their merciful efforts to rescue this people from their degrading superstitions, their odious customs, and that traffic which has cursed their race, and to bring them under the dominion of knowledge, reason and the all-gracious power of divine truth.

The departure for the Colony of two Missionaries, the Rev. Mr. Cox under the authority of the Methodist Church, and the Rev. Mr. Pinney under that of the Western Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, was mentioned in the last Report. Mr. Pinney having visited several places on the coast and in the interior, and made arrangements for the vigorous prosecution of his work, returned to this country in the spring, to strengthen his impaired health, make report of his prospects, and obtain associates in his enterprise. His statements excited deep interest in many churches; and with four individuals as assistants in the same cause, he sailed for the Colony on the 5th of November.

After a voyage of four months, having touched at the Cape de Verds, Bathurst in the Gambia, and Sierra Leone, the Rev. Melville B. Cox, the first Methodist Missionary to Africa, on the 11th of March, arrived at Monrovia.—

His health had long been feeble, and on the 21st of July, after a lingering illness, he resigned his soul to God. He had conferred with many intelligent and religious men at the English colonies, acquired valuable information, comprehensively and judiciously surveyed the wide field before him, and adopted the largest plans of usefulness. His intellectual strength and activity—his zeal, charity and apostolic devotion, qualified him for great achievements; and though fallen when his armour was just put on for the conflict, he speaks to the church and her elect host, to follow him, in the words ordered by him to be engraved on his monument—"Let thousands fall before Africa be abandoned." Animated by his spirit and moved by his example, two Missionaries, with their wives, and a young lady as teacher, of the same denomination, have just gone to occupy the station which he occupied; and to seek through the might of Him who claims the homage of all hearts, to turn the Barbarians of Africa from darkness to light, and from the power of satan unto God.

The Managers state with regret that complaints have been made to them from various sources during the year, highly injurious to the character and interests of the Colony. That these are not wholly unfounded, that evils exist demanding for their remedy prompt and energetic measures, the Board cannot doubt. They have sought to ascertain the causes of these evils, and the means for their removal. They are convinced that in the methods of supplying the necessities of newly arrived emigrants; of allotting to them their lands; of guarding their health; exciting their industry and public spirit; securing increased attention to agriculture; suppressing the traffic in ardent spirits and conducting the operations and defraying the expenses of the colonial government, there is reason and room for improvement. Occasional errors in judgment, are incidental to the management of affairs so remote as those of the Colony, from the personal inspection of the Board; and if through inexperience or inadequate information, such errors have

been committed, they may hope by additional light to correct them; nor can they be slow to change or even abandon measures which are proved ineffectual to accomplish the good for which they were intended.

Mr. Anthony D. Williams, the then Vice Agent, and Mr. J. J. Roberts, High Sheriff of the Colony, (whose visit to various places in this country during the last summer, rendered special service to the cause), submitted a communication from some of the leading colonists to the Board, requesting as a measure likely to contribute to the public prosperity, that the council should be increased in number and invested with additional powers as a branch of the colonial government. The memorialists were sustained, to some extent, in their views by the opinions of the Colonial Agent; but the Managers deemed it best to postpone any decision on the subject. The entire system of political and civil jurisprudence in Liberia, may require a revision; and to it the Board have already invited the attention of gentlemen well qualified to adapt it to the circumstances and prospects of the Colony.

The Society has laboured during the year under pecuniary embarrassments; nor yet secured adequate relief. The Managers stated last year, that in assisting many to emigrate, in whose behalf urgent applications had been made to them, they had incurred expenses beyond the means at their disposal; yet, at that time, they apprehended no inability to meet their engagements. The demands upon the Society's treasury, from Liberia, (arising in part from the failure of the rice crops on that coast), have, however, been large and unexpected, and beyond the resources which the Board have yet been able to command.

The Colonial Agent, Dr. Mechlin, who has done much to enlarge the territory and extend the influence of the Colony, has returned to the United States, and resigned his office as Colonial Agent. His health has been impaired by the arduous labours of his station, and the influence of the climate. A removal from a tropical region seemed

to offer the only hope of his recovery. The services which he has rendered and the sufferings endured by him in the cause of this Society, will long be gratefully remembered by the friends of Africa.

In obedience to the instructions of the Board, the Secretary, in the course of the summer, invited public attention in the cities of Boston, New York and Philadelphia, and various other places at the North, to the claims and wants of the Society. Deep and general interest was manifested in the cause, and large public meetings were held to promote it. Resolutions were adopted by the citizens of Boston and Philadelphia, to endeavour to raise in each of their respective States, ten thousand dollars; while those of New York proposed twenty thousand dollars as their contribution to the cause. From the city of New York, many generous donations have been received; and it is hoped that purposes so nobly formed, will be fully and speedily executed. They are the purposes of men whose feelings and favour depend not upon the sunshine, and whose courage is not shaken by the storm.

The principles and proceedings of the Society, have, during the year, in the newspapers and journals of the country, been thoroughly and extensively discussed; and the reflections of the American people are awake in regard to the momentous questions which they involve. Numerous Auxiliary Societies have been formed in various States; argument and eloquence and truth have sustained the Institution: but while it has grown in strength, the conflicting elements of opposition have broken against it.

As Agents, the Rev. J. N. Danforth in New York and New England, and J. G. Birney, Esq. in the south-western States, have done much to enlighten the mind, and secure the confidence and charities of the public. The Rev. Cyril Pearl has by his addresses and writings, rendered important service in a large portion of New England. R. S. Finley, Esq., Agent of the New York Society, has continued his efficient labours for the advancement

of the cause. Others have been temporarily employed; and individuals too numerous to mention have joyfully made large sacrifices of time and money to sustain it, rewarded only but amply by the consciousness of well doing.

With ardent zeal and unbroken resolution, although amid many difficulties, and in the face of a well organized opposition, Mr. Cresson has advocated the cause of the Society throughout England, Scotland and a part of Ireland; and won over to its support many of the wisest heads and warmest hearts. Numerous branch associations have been formed; liberal contributions made to the funds of the Society, and able writers enlisted in its defence. At Perth, Greenock, Leith, Dundee, Aberdeen, Glasgow and Edinburgh, large public meetings were held, (at the last place Lord Moncrieff presiding, who with the Lord Advocate, Mr. Jeffrey, and other eminent individuals, made eloquent addresses), and resolutions adopted, expressive of entire confidence in the benevolence of the Institution, and heartfelt interest in its success. Many ladies of distinction were ready to combine their efforts in aid of the cause, and to pledge to it their influence, contributions and prayers.

In many of the English Journals, the subject of African Colonization has been discussed; and for candid expositions of its views, the Society is particularly indebted to Dr. Thomas Hodgkin, London; Rev. Josiah Pratt, Secretary of the London Missionary Society; T. G. Jacob, of Belfast; Rev. Edward Higginson, of Hull; J. Bevans, the able Editor of the Herald of Peace; James Simpson, Esq. of Edinburgh; and the Rev. Henry Duncan, of Dumfries, Scotland.

The Managers announce with the highest gratification, the formation, on the 3rd of July last, of the *British African Colonization Society*. Of this Society, the Duke of Sussex is Patron, and Lord Bexley President; and among its other officers, are enrolled some of the brightest names in England. The object of this Society is to introduce the blessings of civilization and christianity into Africa, and

abolish the slave trade, by the employment of persons of African race, and qualified by their education and principles to instruct and improve the natives of Africa; and also the establishment of colonies composed of such persons, and formed with the free consent of both natives and colonists. This Institution has declared its purpose to correspond and co-operate with the American Colonization Society, and with such missionary, religious and charitable societies in Great Britain and the United States, as are endeavouring to raise the civil, moral and religious condition of the Africans.

The Board trust that the results of Mr. Cresson's mission will be perpetuated, not only in the operations of the British Colonization Society, but in that union of spirit which should render one, the people of America and England, whenever humanity summons them to vindicate her rights, and liberty and religion, seek power from them to triumph over the vices and miseries of mankind. It has been proposed by the English government to place certain recaptured Africans that may be thrown upon its protection, in Liberia; and the Managers have consented to receive and grant to such Africans (not exceeding 1,000 annually) all the privileges allowed to other settlers, on condition said government shall pay ten pounds for each, towards defraying the expenses.

The abolition of slavery in the British West Indies, is a great event, to the consequences of which are turned with intense interest the eyes of the civilized world. To secure the inestimable benefits of freedom to any people, the light of knowledge and all the discipline of moral and religious education are indispensable.

Hence the proposition to found institutions for the education of men of colour,—to prepare them to become teachers and missionaries among their brethren in the West Indies and Africa, and especially the plan of establishing a college for their benefit in the Island of Bermuda, must receive the cordial approbation of all the friends of man-

kind. Let us cherish the hope, that through the united charities of England and America, an institution may soon rise in Bermuda, resting upon broad and solid foundations, sustained by a catholic spirit, and from which shall emanate the light and power of truth, to bring up from amid the mouldering ruins of our nature, social order and political liberty, and render them alike the possession, the greatness and the glory of the African race.

The State Colonization Society of Maryland, has adopted measures for founding at Cape Palmas, on the African coast, a new Colony, to be aided by all its resources, and exclusively under its control. Its Managers have resolved to regard the abolition of slavery in Maryland, as a primary object; to render their settlements in Africa as far as possible, agricultural; and to aid such persons only to emigrate, as will agree to abstain entirely from the use and traffic in ardent spirits. The first expedition for Cape Palmas, which has recently sailed, conveys about 25 emigrants, under the direction of Dr. Hall as Agent, assisted by the Rev. Mr. Hersey, with the Rev. Mr. Wilson, the first missionary sent to Africa by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. The vessel will touch at Liberia to receive thence some additional emigrants; she has supplies for six months, and ample materials for commencing and defending a new settlement, should suitable territory be obtained. It is due to the Maryland Society as well as to this Institution to say, that the peculiar circumstances and principles of the former, have constituted in her judgment, valid reasons for dissolving those ties by which she has been heretofore connected, as an Auxiliary, with this Society. The Managers have cheerfully afforded to the Maryland Society every aid and facility in their power; and trust that her enterprise will prove most advantageous to Maryland, and show to the whole country the great benefits of the Colonization scheme, while they cannot be deemed responsible for her peculiar views, or for the plans she may adopt for the execution of her purposes. She

has resolved, for reasons satisfactory to herself, to prosecute independently her great work; yet, without questioning the wisdom of her course, the Managers may be permitted to say, that in their judgment, great advantages are to be expected from the continued union of Auxiliaries, when united on the same principles, to the Parent Institution, and from a central organization constituted and controlled by the authority embodying the sentiments, representing the will, and exerting the power of the friends of the cause throughout the nation. To execute an object of great national importance, the largest resources may be required; and what can with difficulty be effected by a small portion of the nation, may be easily and fully accomplished by the combined sentiment and powers of the American people.

The crisis has arrived. Thought, inquiry, feeling, are awake, and while the mind of the whole nation is fast making up its permanent judgment in regard to this Society, Providence is pleased to darken its way, and call upon the host of its steadfast friends, to lift up their eyes and voices to the everlasting throne. But let no man's heart fail him. A good cause may seem to be in danger, it can never suffer a lasting defeat.

The Managers trust that the principles on which this Society is founded, are such as will endure the trial of opposition and of time. If it be benevolent to exert a moral influence to produce a voluntary separation of the people of colour from the white race among whom they reside, and their establishment in another land, as a distinct community, where they may be educated, self-governed, excited to noble actions, made to feel in themselves the consciousness of all human power, while they see around them the means of largest usefulness and all human improvement, then benevolence pervades the constitution and governs the proceedings of this Society. That many of the causes depressing the free man of colour in this country, are moral, and therefore ought to be removed; that he is the victim of prejudice; that much is neglected which might

be done here for his relief; that evils exist in Liberia; that particular measures of the Society fail of success, may be admitted, while its fundamental principles remain entire in their character of benevolence and truth. If the object proposed, be on the whole, desirable and practicable, it should not, it will not be abandoned. If the scheme of the Society tend more than any other to free the mind of the man of colour; to infuse into him heroic desires and discipline him for worthy deeds; to place him where all circumstances favour his elevation and all motives stir him to duty, to enlighten Africa, to change her barbarous and enslaved to an educated, a free and Christian population, and in fine, to cover one continent with the glory of benevolence, and another with its choicest blessings, it can never want friends on earth or a Patron in Heaven.

Towards kindred Institutions, designed to meliorate, by proper and judicious means, the condition of the people of colour in this country or Africa, the Managers cherish a sincere regard. While in their appropriate work, they hope to be sustained by the general sense and benevolence of the country; they will rejoice in all efforts, whether of individuals or associations, adopted to promote, consistently with the common welfare, the happiness of any portion of mankind. And while they cannot doubt that the principles of the Christian religion supply an adequate remedy for all the evils, originating in moral causes, of the world; to them it is not less clear, that such remedy is, in most cases, gentle in its influence, peaceful in its nature, and gradual in its effects. It enlivens the conscience, sways the will, and softens the heart. The warring passions of man subside beneath its power, and discord becomes harmony. It is by changes in the human soul, that it accomplishes the most glorious revolutions in human affairs; exhibiting the power of transmuting the bonds of affliction into the golden links of sympathy and love, and making the crimes and misfortunes of the past, contribute to the virtue and happiness of every future age. With a firm re-

liance upon Providence, resolved that no spirit of selfishness or ambition shall be permitted to disturb its councils, may this Society move on in the light of charity and of truth, overcoming opposition by meekness, enmity by love, gathering around it the affections of the wise and the good, extending the empire of Christianity, kindling hope where now is despair, and building up throughout Africa, Institutions to which the eyes of millions shall be joyfully turned, when her pyramids shall be no more.

TREASURER'S ACCOUNT.

DR.

Balance from last year, including \$101 counterfeit,	\$1,048 83
Donations by individuals,	1,188 67
Auxiliary Societies,	12,519 45
Collections by Agents,	2,049 76
4th of July collections,	4,078 70
Life-member subscriptions,	1,440 50
Annual subscriptions,	107
Subscriptions on Gerrit Smith's (\$100) plan,	2,804 06
Legacies,	10,286
Loans,	10,289 71
Subscriptions to Repository,	90
Money refunded,	10 67
Collections in Europe,	3,125 82
	<u>\$48,939 17</u>

CR.

Transportation and provision of Emigrants,	\$2,183 83
Supplies for the Colony,	20,044 07
Salaries of Colonial Agent and Physicians,	2,465 08
do. minor Officers at the Colony,	1,147 40
do. Agents in the United States,	1,812 49
do. Secretary, Assistant Secretary, Treasurer, and Clerk,	2,801 61
Contingencies,	1,203 34
Printing,	2,430 13
Subscriptions to Repository,	177 70
Loans to the Society paid off,	12,641 34
Expense of collecting Emigrants,	53
Loss on uncurrent money,	37 31
Interest on loans and notes,	283 24
Support and Tuition of W. Davis,	181 80
do. do. Medical Students,	1,611 90
Support of James Brown, Apothecary,	184
Balance, including \$112 counterfeit,	231 48

E. E.
Washington, January 24, 1834.

\$48,939 17

The Rev. JOSHUA N. DANFORTH, permanent Agent of the A. C. Society for the district comprising the New England States and New York, has resigned his Agency.

CONTRIBUTIONS

To American Colonization Society, from Jan. 1, to March 1, 1834.

Gerrit Smith's First Plan of Subscription.

Nicholas Brown, Providence, Rhode Island, - - -	\$100
Hon. Jacob Burnett, Ohio, - - -	100
Matthew Carey, Philadelphia, (paid to Rev J. N. Danforth,) - -	100
Dr. John Kerr, Louisiana, \$100—John M'Donough, New Orleans, \$100, -	200

Collections from Churches.

Second Presbyterian church, Albany, by David Wood, - - -	62	28
Bethlehem church, Indiana, - - -	8	
Associated Reformed congregation, Big Spring, Pa. - - -	35	
Buck Spring, Harrison co. Ohio, Presbyterian congregation - -	20	
Calvary Meeting-house, Ohio, by Rev. D. Parker, - - -	6	22
Dutch church, Chittenango, New York, by G. Smith, - - -	9	
Dauphin church, by the Rev. J. R. Sharon, - - -	12	
Reformed Pres. church, Duaneburg, and others, by Dr. M'Master, pastor, -	13	
Felicity church, Ohio, by Rev. D. Parker, - - -	8	07
Huffer's school-house, Clermont co. Ohio, by Rev. D. Parker, - -	12	53
Kingsport, Tenn. Benevolent and Congregational Society, - - -	5	
Kishicoquils congregation, Pennsylvania, - - -	10	
Church and congregation of Lyme, Ohio, by John Seymour, - -	11	97
New London, N. Y. by Rev. S. Church, - - -	5	
Congregational Society, Newport, N. H. from John Woods, - -	12	
Salem, Fauquier co. Va. by William Williamson, - - -	3	46
Point Pleasant, Ohio, by Rev. D. Parker, - - -	3	17
Methodist church, St. Louis, by the Rev. John S. Barger, - - -	10	
St. John's church, Connecticut, by Rev. Allen Morgan, - - -	12	
Seven Mile, Ohio, by Rev. B. R. Smith, - - -	10	
Silver Spring congregation, Pennsylvania, by Rev. J. Williamson, -	10	
Warrenton, Fauquier county, Virginia, by Rev. William Williamson, -	5	54
Fourth Presbyterian church, Washington City, - - -	17	50
Meth. Epis. church, Wheeling, Va. by Rev. T. M. Hudson, - - -	6	56
do do by Rev. W. Lambdin, - - -	3	50
Yellow Spring congregation, Green county, Ohio, - - -	13	
Lutheran and Methodist cong'n. York, Pa. by Rev. J. Voglesong, - -	20	

Payments by Auxiliary Societies.

Ashtabula county, Ohio, Auxiliary Society,							28
Cincinnati, Ohio,	do	do	-	-	-	-	17
Hampton county, Mass.	do	do	-	-	-	-	116
New Hope and Harmony, Tenn.	do	do	-	-	-	-	5
New Hampshire	do	do	-	-	-	-	193 61
Springfield, Ohio, Ladies'	do	do	-	-	-	-	50
Wayne county, Ohio,	do	do	-	-	-	-	67 25
Zanesville, Ohio,	do	do	-	-	-	-	96

Donations.

Chs. Brewer, Pittsburg, \$30—Lieut. Z. J. D. Kinsley, West Point, \$30,	60
Rev. W. M. Atkinson, Petersburg, \$50; T. Edmonston, Baltimore, \$100	150
Charles Kellogg, Kelloggsville, by the Hon. R. Day,	10
Mrs. Lee \$10—A Lady in the District of Columbia, by Mr. Gurley,	10
Lucian Minor, Louisa county, Virginia,	8
Rt. Rev. Bishop Meade, Virginia,	20
Inhabitants of Richfield, Ohio, by Hon. E. Whittlesey,	8
Individuals in Ridgefield, Ohio, by J. Seymour,	3 03
Sundry donations at the annual meeting of the Society in Washington, viz:—from Cassius F. Lee, Richard Phillips, R. P. Anderson, Howard Stansbury, Rev. James M'Vean, John Kennedy, John G. Whitwell, Hon. Lewis Williams, Hon. Thomas Corwin, Daniel Campbell, John P. Ingle, W. H. Campbell, Hiram Chamberlain, Ambrose Stevens, Rev. Isaac Orr, Hon. S. L. Southard,	
	16

Total, \$1712 68







755 SEP 23

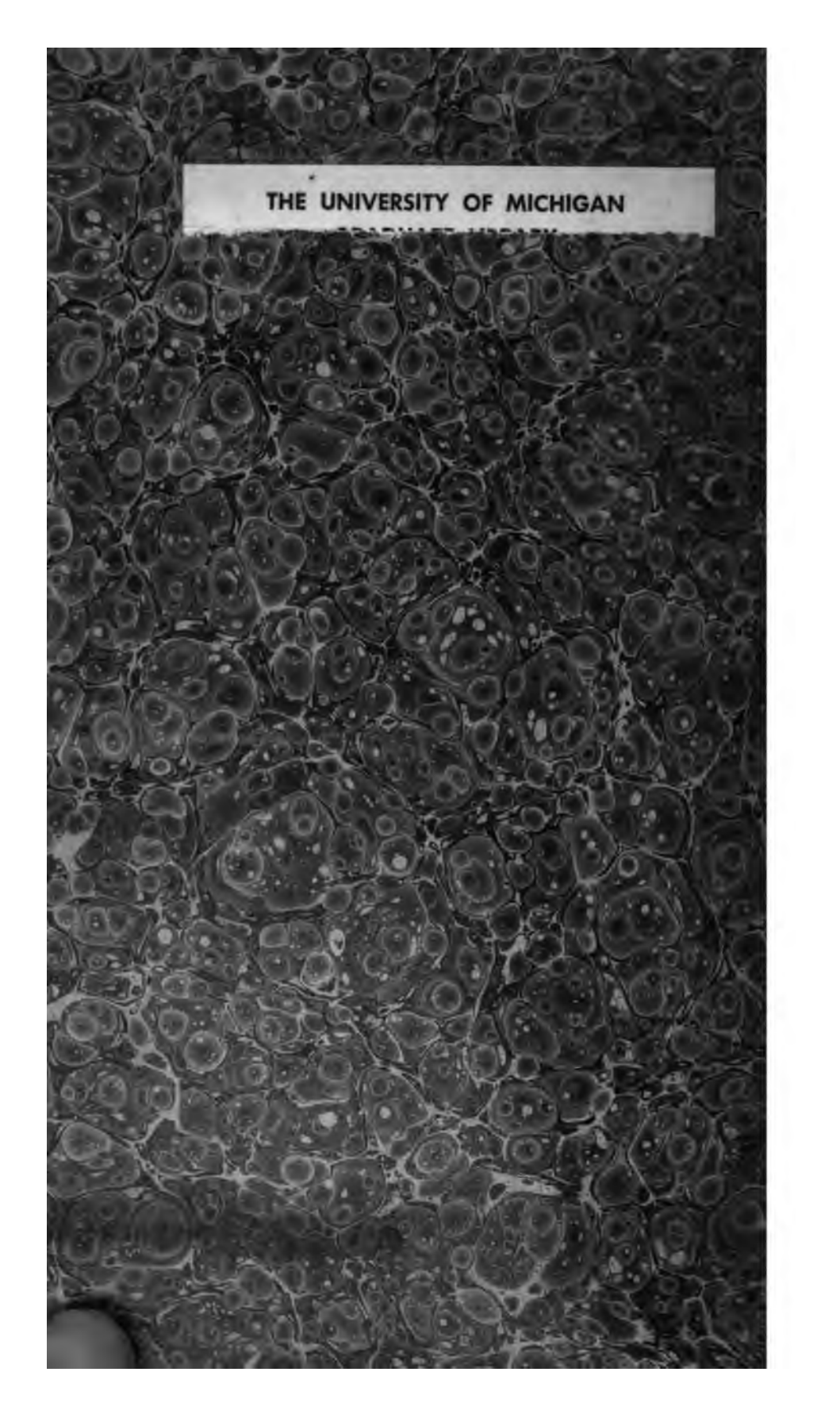
124-5-297-8





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124-5-297-8

The image shows the front cover of a book. The cover is decorated with a dense, intricate marbled pattern in shades of grey, black, and white, featuring a cellular or 'stone' design. A horizontal white rectangular label is positioned near the top center of the cover. On this label, the text 'THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN' is printed in a bold, black, sans-serif font. Below this main text, there is a line of smaller, less legible text, which appears to be 'RESERVE LIBRARY'.

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